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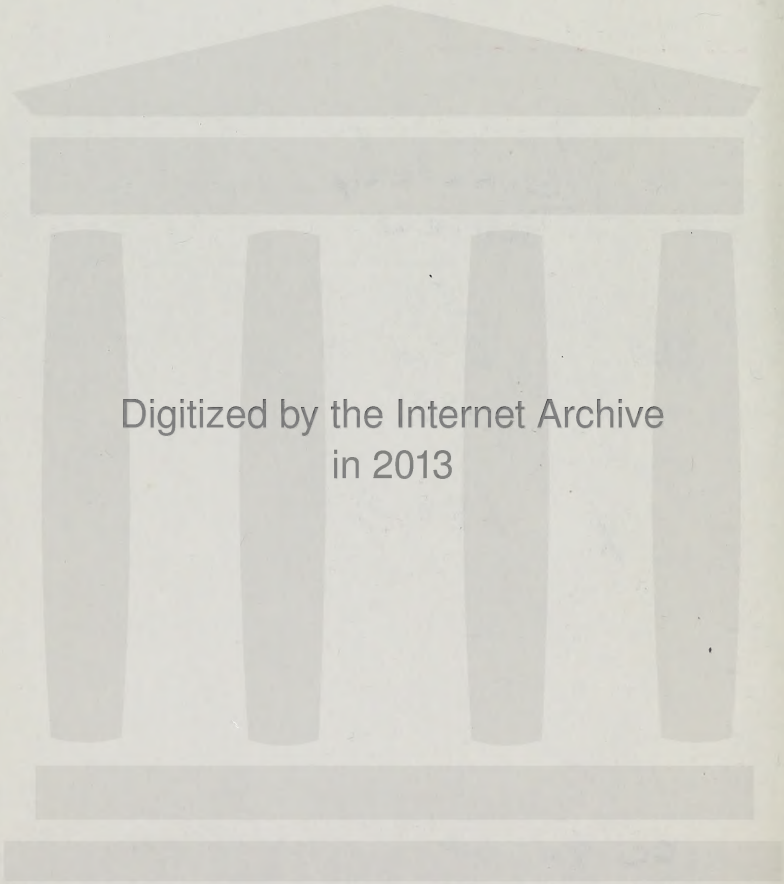

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ART. I.—THE DIVINE ELEMENT IN INSPIRATION.

Essays: Scientific, Political, and Speculative. By HERBERT SPENCER. London: Longman, Brown, Longman, & Roberts. 1858.

The New Cratylus. By JOHN W. DONALDSON, D.D. London: John W. Parker, West Strand. 1850.

Essays and Reviews. By E. P. WHIPPLE. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1848.

Lectures on the Science of Language. By MAX MÜLLER, M.A. First and Second Series. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

The Bible: its Divine Origin and Inspiration. By L. GAUSSEN, D.D. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard.

God in Christ. With a Preliminary Dissertation on Language. By HORACE BUSHNELL. Hartford: Byron & Parsons.

The Philosophy of Language. By FREDERICK VON SCHLEGEL. London: Bohn.

The Idle Word. Short Religious Essays on the Gift of Speech. By ED. MYRICK GOULBOURN. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Discourses and Essays. By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD. Andover: W. T. Draper.

Platonis Opera: Timæus, Cratylus, et Sophista.

The Human Element in the Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures. By T. F. CURTIS, D.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Liber Librorum. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

God's Word Written: the Doctrine of the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures Explained and Enforced. By Rev. EDWARD GARBETT, M.A., Select Preacher to the University of Oxford. American Tract Society, Boston.

The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament. Bampton Lectures. By T. D. BERNARD. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

Modern Philology: its Discoveries, History, and Influence. By B. W. DWIGHT. First and Second Series. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

IN approaching the consideration of what seems to us the true and only possible scriptural view of the doctrine of inspiration, we are constrained to confess that it is not ungirt with difficulties. All central truths are. Seen from one point of observa-

tion, nothing looks more blasphemous than the incarnation. Under the biting gibes of Theodore Parker it appears puerile, and even blasphemous. Equally absurd are the atonement, the Trinity in unity, the resurrection of Christ and of all mankind. Much of their strength lies in the secret hidings of the power of faith; much of their symmetry in the innermost vision of revelation and the intuitional reason. It is no small proof of the truth of verbal inspiration that it is environed with like mysteries. It is of the same family with every other received and essential doctrine of Christianity; bone of their bone, blood of their blood. It rises solemnly upon us from the immeasurable depths of divine declaration. It forces itself upon our reception contrary to the superficial criticism of a narrow rationalism. Its divine beauty, harmony, and necessity compel our acquiescence, despite the many clouds and shadows that are round about it. It is as sovereign in its sphere of thought, as the atonement is in its, or the incarnation in its; and quietly perceives wanderers and enemies, after fruitless search for better ways, or fruitless assault on its immutable positions, returning to sit submissive at its sacred feet.

But while the affinity of verbal inspiration to all the recognized essential doctrines of revealed religion, in its profundity, simplicity, and difficulty of adjustment to our lower reason, is a very strong proof of its validity, like those, and even more than those, it is susceptible of enforcement from the laws and workings of the human mind. No hint of the incarnation is found in our nature; none of the resurrection, though many resemblances have been attempted; hardly none of the Trinity. But very striking analogies to the claims of the Bible are found in the laws of language; sufficient, it may be said, not only to suggest such a revelation as possible, but to demand this mode as the only one that can be employed for the object designed. The miracle involved in it is not removed by giving the Author of the Bible a mere overseership; for that adds absurdity to a symmetrical marvel. If the union of the minds of the human writers with the Spirit of God is mysterious and miraculous, yet the work itself of the Mind Divine is not inconsistent with the laws that govern all lower mental phenomena. The communion is perfect if inexplicable. The operations of each agent accord with the most patent and utterly unchange-

able laws of thought and expression, though their dual unity is as far beyond our comprehension as is that of the God-man.

The central thought of this whole argument is our key to the discussion upon which we are about entering. God is himself the author of his religion, of all the fundamental processes by which it is established, of all the forms and laws in which it is set forth, of all the words in which it is officially stated, defended, applied, or otherwise centrally unfolded. He appeared in Eden and on Calvary. He was the Babe at Bethlehem, the Breather at the Pentecost.

As he was present personally, not merely potentially, in all this work, so must he have been in its verbal embodiment. The analogy of the case requires such presence. To withdraw from his word, and yet, as all orthodox minds confess, to appear in his work, is inconsistent. It is worse. It yields the less the greater honor. The work is a less vital expression of the innermost nature than the word. "He spake" precedes "It was done." "He commanded," is a deeper depth of Godhead than "It stood fast." If the deed, as we all acknowledge, requires the activity, not supervisional, but personal, of the Son and the Holy Spirit, much more does the word that ordered it demand a like indwelling. If the Book of God, then, is indeed *The Book* of GOD, it must be personally, directly, exclusively his book, his idea, and his expression; his in its minutest word, his in its perfect totality.

We shall confine our argument in proof of this position to three points: the laws of thought and language, of style, and of faith, allow of no other theory.

I. That verbal inspiration is the only inspiration possible is proven from the laws of philology, as set forth by their highest expounders, ancient and modern.

The best students of language affirm that it is vital and organic. It is the outgoing of the soul; not its clothing, but its manifestation. A word is something more than a mere body of the thought; it is instinct with the thought itself. The greater the word the more spiritual its nature. The greatest words, like the eye, though material in form and even in nature, are yet, like that, almost immaterial. The soul within them looks through them; so that as we hear or see these outer

symbols we instantly forget their shape or sound in the idea which flashes from them. Who lingers at the form or tones that are used in the word "love?" Who does not instantly leap through the outer tabernacle at the inner life which animates it? He feels the kindlings of the fire in all its vastness of range, from "the meanest flower that blows" to Him who declares this to be his highest name and nature.

> "The holy essence rolls
> One through separated souls."

Is the word that bears such a burden of life itself nothing? Is not the body sacred because of the soul that dwells within it? "Ye are the temples of the Holy Ghost." Are we not thereby exalted above measure in comparison with creatures that have no such honor? The forms into which the ideas of soul, heart, holiness, wisdom, eternity, heaven, angel, man, God, fashion themselves, are themselves vessels unto honor, while the dread counterparts, lust, folly, devil, hell, are equally vital with the hostile and hateful nature that possesses them as completely and as fatally as the demons did the swine.

This inherent vitality of words is the key-note of the whole doctrine of verbal inspiration, viewed in the light of reason and apart from the express declarations of the Word itself. It should therefore be fully considered. If it is true, all other views of the subject must shape themselves to its requirements. If it is not true, any lower dogma may easily ascend the vacated seat.

1. That words possess this nature was a favorite theory of the Greek philosophers. J. Stuart Mill is perhaps the first to denounce Plato and Aristotle for this opinion. He affirmed, in his inaugural address at St. Andrew, that "Plato and Aristotle are continually led away by words; mistaking the accidents of language for real relations in nature, and supposing that things which have the same name in the Greek tongue must be the same in their own essence." In this statement he misinterprets the far-thoughted Greeks. His materialistic philosophy, which, from the beginning, made him sneer at Coleridge, and all transcendentalism, colors this sentiment. With Hobbes, the prince of Materialists, he considers words as "the counters of wise men, but the money of fools;" a saying that

has a half truth mixed up with a whole error; some words being mere media of exchange, while others are the vital embodiments of hardly more vital thought.

Herbert Spencer, in his admirable essay, "The Philosophy of Style," falls partially into the same error. He speaks of words as mere vehicles of thought. "Language is an apparatus of symbols for the conveyance of thought." "Language must be regarded as a hindrance to thought, though the necessary instrument of it." He illustrates this last assertion by showing how much less expressive it is to say "leave the room," than to point to the door. While this seems to favor the idea that words are merely counters, and never inherently valuable, it hardly conveys that meaning. The pointing to the door is an outward expression of the inward thought. It may or may not be less expressive than the word "Go!" It is of the same nature. So are the other forms of speech which he mentions. Shrugs of the shoulders to express doubt, shakings of the head to express denial, lifting of the eyebrows for surprise, are as much outward forms of inward states as interjections, expletives, or the longest words of Dr. Johnson. They do not deny but confirm our law, which, as he expresses it, is that "language is the *necessary* instrument of thought." All his effort is to perfect the instrument, not to destroy it. It may become so perfect as to cease to be "a hindrance" and become a helpmeet for it—its complement and revelation—the beautiful Eve that is the exquisite image of the grand idea—its vital and eternal *expression*

If Plato and Aristotle mistook, as Mr. Mill says they did, "the accidents of language for real relations in nature," and supposed "that things which have the same name in the Greek tongue must be the same in their own essence," they did not mistake, as he does, the great fact that language *has* "real relations in nature," and that names have an essence of their own that may inhere in them perpetually. Some of these are found in the Greek tongue, because common to all tongues. Some may have a Greek form, in distinction from what they wear in other languages, and yet both eternally body forth the same true essence. As vegetable life assumes many forms, yet is ever the same; as any peculiar type of this life—that, for instance, which constitutes the pear or apple, the maple or

oak—may have many modes of revelation, and each be strictly developed from the real essence; as the same law holds true also in the animal life, both in its general and specific character; so may thought-life flow into different molds, each of which shall be organically adjusted to the inner idea, and be a fit and comely body for its soul. Thus "man" may be as generic an embodiment of the idea that is known by that word as "*vir*," or "Ἀνήρ," or "*homo*," or "Ἄνθρωπος," and each of them as perfectly fashion forth the thought of God at our creation as the word he then used when he said, "Let us make אדם in our image."

If Mr. Mill and Herbert Spencer, whose school alone questions this "real relation in nature" of words to their ideas, both more than half confess the necessity and the fact of such a relation, we may readily pass to a more full statement of the law which only material philosophy is tempted to deny.

Plato, in his Cratylus, as also in a less degree elsewhere, discusses at length the relation of words to ideas. Of course, much of this is fanciful; much, as Mr. Mill well says, confined too exclusively to Greek forms, and even to the accidents and dialectic variations of those forms. Yet the central idea pervading that dialogue—and, indeed, pervading all his dialogues where this theme is debated—is the inherent unity of the word and the idea. "Plato and Aristotle," he says, "are *continually* led away by words." Neither of these great heathens was a materialist. It was left for the sons of Christians to put out the eyes of faith and those of the inner vision in their zeal for the mere shell of thought and truth. They, in common with all their age, believed in the vital essences of nature:

> "The motion and *the spirit* that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things."

Hence they discerned this law in its relation to language. Whatever errors they fell into in the interpretation of the law, the fact of its existence they were right in affirming. In the "Sophist," while seeking for things rather than their names, Plato dwells largely on the inner relation of these names to their things. Thus, speaking of the word "something," he says, "It is impossible to pronounce it alone, as if

it were naked and placed in a desert from all entities."* In Cratylus this thought is still further developed. "It nearly appears then, Hermogenes," says Socrates, "that the imposition of names is not, as you think it, a trifling affair, nor is it the work of trivial men, or of such as one meets everywhere." "And Cratylus speaks truly when he says that names by nature belong to things," (*φύσει τα ὀνόματα εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασι,*) and that "everybody is not a maker of names, but he alone who looks carefully into the name which naturally belongs to each thing, and is able to fashion its [ideal] form into letters and syllables."† Homer's "winged words" is a yet more ancient testimony to this profound persuasion of the Greek mind. This theory is strangely confirmed by the very language used to show how Adam first inaugurated natural science. "And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam, to see what he would *call* them; and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, *that was the name* thereof." How aptly does this prefigure all modern science, which, as has been truly said, is but the giving of names. It detects a new creature, or a new characteristic, and, studying its peculiarity, gives it a distinctive term. God to-day, as at the beginning, puts before man the animate and inanimate creations, to see what he will call them. The whole science of nature is, in its last resultant, words. Every being becomes a name. That is its vital, spiritual, eternal expression.

2. Leaving those ancients, who, we see, strikingly confirm the central idea of the Scriptures themselves, we come instantly to the modern authorities who take the same position. Every writer of the penetrative school has detected the vital connection of words and thoughts. Not a few of them have strongly asserted this union. Coleridge, the modern English master of transcendentalism, despite the laxity of his views on the inspiration of the Scriptures, (an eccentricity that has no affinity to his philosophy,) often refers, though incidentally, to the

* Καὶ τοῦτο ἡμῖν που φανερὸν ὡς καὶ τὸ τί τοῦτο ῥῆμα, ἐπὶ ὃν τι λέγομεν ἑκαστοτε, μόνον γὰρ αὐτὸ λέγειν, ὥσπερ γυμνὸν καὶ απηρτημένον ἀπὸ τῶν ὄντων ἁπάντων, ἀδύνατον, ἢ γαρ; ἀδύνατον.—*Sophista*, 237, *d. Bohn*, p. 135.

† Μόνον ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀποβλέποντα εἰς τὸ τῇ φυσεὶ ὄνομα ὸν ἑκάστῳ καί δυνάμενον αυτοῦ τό γε εἶδος τιθέναι εἰς τε τά γράμματα καὶ τὰς συλλαβάς.—*Cratylus*, 390 *d*, *e*. *Bohn*, p. 296.

vitality of words. Thus, speaking of Behmen and George Fox, he says, "They made their words the *immediate echoes* of their feelings." *

Dwight, in his Modern Philology, thus discourses: "To the student who comprehends the power of words, to whom they are transparent, revealing all their inmost essence to his lingering gaze, their lost light returns again, and language is ever living and lovely." † "Language is the temple of thought and love, the *divinely-constructed* organ of communication between finite minds on the one hand, and also between mankind and the God that made them on the other." ‡

In considering the statement that words are the signs of ideas, Mr. Whipple remarks: "Words are of such inherent value in themselves, and in the concerns of the world exercise such untrammeled influence, that it is unjust to degrade them from sovereigns to representatives." "Words, in truth, are entities, real existences, immortal beings. They bear the same relation to ideas that the body bears to the soul. Take the most beautiful and sincere poetry which has ever been written, and its charm is broken as soon as the words are disturbed or altered. If any expression can be employed except that which is used, the poet is a bungling rhetorician and writes on the surface of his theme. A thought embodied and *embrained* in fit words, walks the earth a living being. No part of its body can be stricken from it or injured without disfiguring the beauty of its form, or spoiling the grace of its motion. Words head armies, overthrow dynasties, man ships, separate families, cozen cozeners, and steal hearts and purses. And if physiologists and metaphysicians are driven into a corner, and are compelled to give real distinctions between human beings and animals, they are almost sure to say it consists in the power of speech, in the capacity to frame, use, and multiply at discretion these omnipotent mouthfuls of spoken wind—words, words, words!" §

3. Less pleasant, but not less philosophical, are the almost unanimous statements of all finished students of language, especially of that class who discern a spiritual Presence informing and empowering the whole universe, and in the highest degree the highest creations. For materialism and spiritualism

* Biog. Lit., cap. ix.
† Modern Philology, first series, p. 286.
‡ Ibid, p. 287.
§ Essays and Reviews, vol. v, pp. 99, 100, 109.

the two schools of thought, affect this as they do every other question they approach, and they approach every question. Thus the author of "New Cratylus," discoursing of language and its origin, says: "The structure of human speech is the perfect reflex or image of what we know of the organization of the mind; the same description, the same arrangement of particulars, the same nomenclature would apply to both, and we might turn a treatise on the philosophy of mind into one on the philosophy of language, by merely supposing that everything said in the former of the thoughts as subjective is said again in the latter of the words as objective." * From this unity of mind he deduces the unity of man, of one speech and language, "which sprang all armed, like Minerva, from the head of the first thinking man, as a necessary result of his intellectual conformation." †

He quotes Humboldt as confirming this view: "Language is the outward appearance of the intellect of nations; their language is their intellect, and their intellect their language; we cannot sufficiently identify the two." "Understanding and speaking are only different effects of the same power of speech." "According to my fullest conviction speech must be regarded as immediately inherent in man; for it is altogether inexplicable as the work of his understanding in its simple consciousness. Man is man only by means of speech; but in order to invent speech he must be already man."

Schlegel holds the same view: "Language is the vital product of the whole inner man. All the faculties both of soul and spirit, however discordant generally, combine each in their full share and measure to perfect this their joint production." "That deep and spiritual significance, which in the original stem-syllable and radical words of some rich old language invariably is regarded as a beauty, must be ascribed to the understanding." ‡ "Speech must be regarded as a thinking outwardly projected and manifested." §

* New Cratylus, pp. 58, 59. Though he subsequently distinguishes between spoken and written language, it is not in respect to their relations to the originating mind. The soul speaks both into being, but the latter is a growth, the former a completion from the start. *Letters* are invented, not *words*.

† New Cratylus, note, pp. 86, 87.

‡ The Philosophy of Life and the Philosophy of Language, by Frederick Von Schlegel, p. 387. § Ibid., p. 388. See also his subsequent lecture, *passim*.

In the introductory essay of Dr. Bushnell to "God in Christ," he advocates the same view.

Professor Shedd sets forth this view with great clearness and fullness in his address on "The Relation of Language and Style to Thought." "Speech," he says, quoting Hartung, "is the correlate of thought." "Words are the coinage of conceptions." "The common assertions, that language is the 'dress' of thought, the 'vehicle' of thought, point to an outward and mechanical connection between the two; while the fine remark of Wordsworth, that 'language is not so much the dress of thought as its incarnation,' indicate that a vital connection is believed to exist between language and thought." * This doctrine he thoroughly proves: "We are not to look upon language as having intrinsic existence separate from the thought which it conveys, but as being *external* thought, *expressed* thought." "Language is the essence of thought." "Primarily, in the root and heart, language is self-embodied thought."† "The vocal sound is the product of physical organs which are started into action, and directed in their motion by the soul itself."‡ "The truth is, that *all* the media through which thought becomes sensuous and communicable, are in a greater or less degree, yet in *some* degree, *homogeneous and connatural with thought itself.*" §

Goulbourn, in his "Sermons on the Idle Word," holds the same view. "Speech is wrapped up in reason; so that wherever the faculty of reason is, there is the faculty of speech also. Wherever the mind is, there must be in embryo the faculty of speech. So that if we were asked which of the two is the earlier, the reason or the speech, our answer would be, that they are so inextricably intertwined together that neither the one nor the other is earlier. They are coeval. They are twin faculties, the moment of their birth the same. May we not say that in a child, as a general rule, the development of speech keeps pace exactly with the development of the understanding?" ‖ He compares this dual unity to light and color, and then proceeds to show how the Scriptures state and enforce this all-important truth, even to the declaring that this is intended as a lower expression of the nature of God. "The

* Shedd's Discourses and Essays, p. 182. † Ibid., p. 187.
‡ Ibid, p. 178. § Ibid., p. 189. ‖ The Idle Word, p. 62.

Son, or second Person in the divine nature, goes by the name of 'The Word of the Father;' that is, he stands to the Father in the same relation as that in which the word or utterance or speech stands to the reason or understanding." *

Every writer on this theme holds the same view. Bushnell, Dwight, Trench, and others, detect this vital unity, though some of them give partial adherence to a less scientific statement. No one has expressed it better than Max Müller, in both of his courses of Oxford lectures. "We *never* meet," he says, in opposition to Spencer, "with determinate ideas except as bodied forth in articulate sounds." † "Thought in the sense of reasoning is *impossible* without language." ‡ "Without speech no reason, without reason no speech," § is one of his axioms which he uses against Brown, Locke, and others, who insert an "almost" into the statement. "It is as impossible to use words without thought as to think without words." ‖ Hegel speaks more simply and more boldly. "It is in names," he says, "that we think." Very condensed and positive is this conclusion of his first series: "Language and thought are inseparable. Words without thought are dead sounds; thoughts without words are nothing. To think is to speak low, to speak is to think aloud. The word is the thought incarnate to the student who comprehends the power of words." **

From these declarations of the most eminent scholars and thinkers of past and present times, Greek, English, German, and American, poets and philosophers, †† we may affirm our

* The Idle Word, p. 66.

† He discriminates between articulate sounds that have thought in them and those without. Articulate sound without meaning is even more unreal than inarticulate sound. Second series, p. 84.

‡ Science of Language, second series, p. 72. § Ibid., p. 79.

‖ Ibid, p. 82. ¶ Ibid., p. 82. ** First series, pp. 383, 384.

†† This idea is found in Dante. "As he speaks, he thinks." Paradise, iv, 54. On this relation of body and soul, or word and thought, Mr. Longfellow, in his notes to his translation, gives these interesting quotations. Thomas Aquinas says: *Sum. Theol.* 1 Quest. lxxvi, 1, "Form is that by which *a thing is*." How vividly does this express the theory we are advocating. "The principle, therefore, by which we first think, whether it be called intellect or intellectual soul, is the form of the body." Does not the celebrated chapter on the resurrection body teach the same? Spenser (Hymn in Honour of Beautie) says:

> "For of the soule the bodie forme doth take,
> For soule is forme, and *doth the bodie make.*"

Even so doth thought the word.

first position proved. According to the highest authorities, a word is as truly inseparable from an idea, if it retains any original and living force, as a live body is inseparable from its soul. It is instinct with spirituality. It is imbued with sovereign energy. Without profanity, may we say, in view of this exalted relation, that a word is the fullness of an idea, its character or *express* image, its glory, without which it would have never been born.

We may have prolonged this argument almost to a seeming prolixity, yet its importance to the right view of the doctrine of Biblical Inspiration warrants the enlarged consideration. It is the corner-stone of the doctrine, apart from the letter of the Bible itself. If granted, the whole fabric of supervisional inspiration will be found as irrational and superficial as it is unscriptural. Words are not things that can be tossed from mouth to mouth or pen to pen with indifference. They are the essential expression of the thought. If God gives any inspiration it must be in words. He *cannot* say, "Here is the thought. Put it in such language as you please." He *cannot* give the thought without giving it its appropriate language. The two are indissolubly married. Any attempt to reduce the contrary theory to the laws of language will reveal its incurable imbecility.

Our views included under our second and third heads will be presented in a concluding article in the ensuing *Quarterly*.

Art. II.—M'CLINTOCK AND STRONG'S CYCLOPÆDIA.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by Rev. John M'Clintock, D.D., and James Strong, S.T.D. Vol. I. A—B. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1867.

The necessity for dictionaries in the various departments of science and literature results from the vastness, and constant increase, of the stores of learning. They are as important for the scholar as for the unlearned. But few of the best informed persons in the various spheres of knowledge use commonplace books; indeed, such books seem only like an awkward

substitute for the memory; and the time and work spent upon them appear, in the ardor of pursuit, to be little better than wasted. But even could every student be induced to keep a complete index of his reading, this would only leave him all the more conscious of his need of a dictionary. He wants not only to recall what he has formerly met with and read, but he wants to know all that others have met with; he wants that done for all learning which his common-place book has done for his own. This is precisely what a dictionary proposes to do within the range of its specialty. Books and manuscripts are scattered through all countries; in libraries, museums, and private studies, and in all languages. They are so numerous that the student is bewildered at the very thought of their number. He knows that on the question he may have in hand, by his unaided knowledge he can only find a hundredth part of the related literature. To get even this he must wade through a number of heavy volumes; and this process, laborious and painful as it is, must be repeated every time a new theme presents itself for investigation. Many of the questions that solicit solution will be minor ones, worthy of some pains, but not of sufficient dignity to pay for great labor; these must be passed over. The work of the dictionary is to bring into his hand, under a single glance of his eye, all libraries, with their manuscripts, volumes, pamphlets, maps, and pictorial illustrations. Not only need he not go from home, he is not obliged even to take down any considerable number of the books from his own shelves. The one book gives a general answer to his question, tells him the sum of what has been written, where, when, and by whom; and if he wishes to give special attention to any one subject, it furnishes him with a list of all the literature of any importance relating to that question.

A good dictionary, therefore, within the sphere to which it is devoted, is not merely a book, it is rather a library; nay, it is many libraries compressed into the compass of a few volumes. It is a luxury of the highest order. It has laid wealth, and commerce, and learning, and genius under contribution for the delectation of the student in his chair. It is the essential oil of universal human wisdom, put up in vials, nicely labeled and rolled up in wrappers printed over with full information of

the precious materials out of which it was manufactured. To make a dictionary worthy of the name, for some special department of science, is a work at once of the most delicate skill, the most Herculean labor, the most varied learning, and the most enormous expense. But few men of learning have purses suited to such an enterprise, and no one man, no dozen men, have the needed learning, or physical strength, or length of life for it. Herzog's *Real Encyklopadie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, employed directly about one hundred and twenty of the leading theologians of Germany, to say nothing of the many humbler laborers who must have rendered less dignified assistance. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, comprising only three volumes, numbers about seventy contributors, mostly titled and official scholars. In each case the laborers used other previously prepared dictionaries, and thus added immensely to the number of their assistants. In such an enterprise, the past is summoned to the assistance of the present; or rather, the present builds upon the foundation of the past, and the larger the foundation laid by our predecessors, the more workmen they employed, and the more material they accumulated, the larger is the band of workmen needed now, and the more richly and abundantly must they be furnished.

We are only aiming to give an idea of the wealth of work involved in producing a scientific cyclopædia, especially in a science so old and so vast in its literature as theology. We enjoy the consciousness of the costliness of the luxury. But vast as was the work in preparing Smith's, and especially Herzog's dictionary, that given to M'Clintock and Strong's promises to go far beyond it. Its plan is so comprehensive as to include more than both of them. With Smith it proposes to cover the whole ground of Bible antiquities: arts, manners, customs, habits, culture, geography, topography, climate, rites, ceremonies, and biography. With Herzog it stipulates to add Church history and theology. Beyond both it promises to include the theologies that are non-Christian, and a department of religious biography so extensive as to embrace almost every name of any considerable note in modern as well as more remote times.

Now let us see how this immense plan is carried out in the

volume before us, (the first of six or seven which are to constitute the work.) We find, as far as the first two letters of the alphabet go, not only that the plan is adhered to, but that it is carried out most punctiliously, even in regard to the smallest matters; indeed, one of the chief excellencies of the volume is its careful treatment of minor topics. Not only is there a complete vocabulary of Scripture proper names, of all sorts whatsoever, but whatever can be brought in from without to illustrate the smallest point is carefully employed. Take, for example, the word "Apple," not even mentioned in the English translation of Herzog, and only slightly treated in Smith. The new Cyclopædia, after bringing its learning and research copiously to bear on the word as biblical, introduces the "apples of Sodom," of which the reader has seen frequent mention in connection with the Dead Sea, and after identifying it with the fruit of the *Osher*, gives us a most beautiful engraving of the tree and its fruit. A similar remark may be made respecting the treatment of "Anoint." In Smith there is a brief discussion of the merely scriptural relations of the word and no pictorial illustration. The new cyclopædia gives a much more thorough treatment of its biblical connections, extends its notice to modern times, and presents three engravings: the first exhibiting the Egyptians anointing a king, the second, an ancient Egyptian servant anointing a guest, and the third an ancient Egyptian king anointing the statue of a god.

Perhaps this may be a suitable place in our article for the more extended mention of the engravings of the work. They are very numerous, and, in our opinion, of great importance. In the description of buildings, of instruments of agriculture, of mechanics' tools, of jewelry, of pottery, of furniture, of plants and trees, and of the various forms of physical movement, whether in labor or in sport, the letter press only gives us the materials out of which the imagination often labors in vain to construct the thing described. More generally, indeed, the mind passes it by without even an effort at mental construction. But the picture is almost the thing itself, set before the eye and taking its place in the mind without conscious exertion. For example, the engraving of the interior of an ancient Assyrian palace court, on page 497, will at once force

into the reader's mind a better and much more vivid idea of ancient oriental magnificence than a whole volume of type. In accordance with this natural view, as we regard it, the authors have most copiously employed the engraver's art. In architecture, in agriculture, in the treatment of jewelry and amulets, of armor, dresses, plants, etc., they have used plates in great profusion, and much to the improvement of their book. In agriculture, armor, and attitudes, the pictorial illustrations are very complete and full, and those of plants are excellent. The maps of the countries mentioned in Scripture, especially those of the different Israelitish tribes, are carefully drawn, and, distributed as they are through the work, on the ordinary page, both obviate the necessity of an atlas, and prevent interruption from the consultation of an additional volume. Maps of the modern countries related to the questions discussed, are also given, and in the same convenient form.

But all this minute care does not in the least interfere with thoroughness in matters of deeper importance. The great questions of theology are discussed with remarkable thoroughness. Let us examine a few of the principal theological articles. Take first "Apologetics." The general scientific character of the book will be seen here, once for all, by its method of dealing with a department of theological science. It begins by distinguishing between apologetics and apology, apologetics being the science of apology. Apology is a defense of Christianity, and apologetics must indicate the method of that defense. A Christian apology is no more apologetics than a book of sermons is homiletics. It is then shown that there are two principal methods of apologetics, namely, the historical and the philosophical. The former, relying upon criticism and history, and the resultant credibility, and the latter boldly attempting to prove Christianity to be the religion of humanity, by an appeal to the higher reason and the divine consciousness within us. We have recently seen an attempt at the latter method by Dr. Peabody, of Harvard, in a volume entitled "Christianity the Religion of Nature." His success is not striking. The Cyclopædia very properly remarks "that this branch of theological science must embrace both the philosophical and the historical methods," in order to show, not only that Christianity is a true religion, but that from its very nature, as

well as from the nature of man, it is the religion of mankind. These points are as fully set forth as they could well afford to be in a dictionary, while authorities are scattered all along, with volume, chapter, and page all carefully given, and an extended catalogue of the literature of the subject added at the end of the article.

Having discussed apologetics, and told where its literature lies stored; having shown that with the single doubtful exception of Farrar's "Critical History of Free Thought," we have no book in English which can be called a treatise on apologetics—that works of this sort are to be looked for in the German language—the Cyclopædia proceeds to "Apology," in an article on which word it gives the reader an admirable brief history of the Christian apologies from the earliest times. Commencing with the "early age," it proceeds to the "middle age," thence to the "Reformation," and thence to the "present time," compressing names, opinions, parties, antagonisms, quoting from the best authorities, citing others, characterizing men, books, times, movements, and taking especial pains to let the reader know which are the ablest and best, and which the worst books in the literature of the subject. In the ten pages devoted to this article, beside the information given, crowded and yet clear, literature enough is referred to to keep the student at work a short lifetime.

Another article, shorter than the last, which may be given as a striking instance of blended compactness and clearness, is "Antinomianism." In a gem of an article like this, which, however, is made up mostly of apt, sharp quotations, one forgets he is reading a dictionary.

Let us now test the theological soundness of the new Cyclopædia. Is it safe, according to the judgment of the orthodox Churches, and as tried by the faith of the Christian ages? It is not easy to find calmer discussions of Christian dogmas than are offered here. The tone throughout is so quiet and impartial that one forgets all about denominations. Quotations are made from writers who differ from the authors of the Cyclopædia fundamentally, differ in the particular passages quoted, and are still left uncontradicted. The theological standpoint of the work, or of the particular article, is quietly relied on for an answer. This is especially so where the difference of

view lies simply between the authors and others who are orthodox. But this abstinence from polemics holds even where vital error is concerned, but holds in a way to make truth all the more attractive and effective. Our authors and their assistants are most thoroughly orthodox. They do not evince even the slightest possible leaning toward the prevalent rationalism. They write like men perfectly familiar with the whole history of theological vacillation. Knowing what has been, they are prepared for what comes, and seem to feel satisfied that the divine force of Christianity which overcame error in other forms and in other ages, will be sure in every new struggle to reassert its old superiority. Indeed, this uncontroversial aspect—this absence of pen-brandishing and of all calling of hard names—seems the natural result of the mass of learning through the midst of which the book moves. Such wealth of resources, such massiveness of defense, need not be jostled from its path. It will go on quietly to its end, and let candid intelligence give its verdict. It nevertheless contradicts heresy in the most effectual way. It writes always with orthodoxy as its presupposition, and yet, when it comes to the individual questions of theology, those against which the old and the new rationalisms have tried their strength, it meets the issue in the spirit of modest certainty, and errs, if at all, by doing too much. We might illustrate these observations by reference to the articles on "Arianism" and "Atonement." Let us look for a moment at the latter. How refreshing to a Christian who believes at once in heart experience, in the plain statements of Scripture, and in the confirmations and developments of Church history, especially after the excitement of the essays and reviews, after the last book of Bushnell, to have the atonement defined as "the satisfaction offered to divine justice for the sins of mankind by the death of Jesus Christ, by virtue of which all penitent believers in Christ are reconciled to God and freed from the penalties of sin." This is the very next thing to Scripture, and sounds very like it. It is pervaded by the ancient spirit, while it is only the opening sentence of an article that gathers, compares, and cites the stores of modern and ancient learning. It is the very glow and heat of our orthodox psalmody, and yet boldly confronts and disarms the smart or ingenious criticisms of neology. The

article proceeds to discuss the "Scripture doctrine," and then to give its history, tracing its progressive development and its conflicts through the ages of the Church, and bringing it down to its last phase in the plausible and ingenious, but still feeble book of Dr. Bushnell.

As an example of fullness of treatment and boldness of criticism, we may call attention to the article on the "Authorized Version." It is introduced by a history of all the early attempts at Anglo-Saxon and English translation of the Scriptures, matters of great importance for such a book. Then comes a minute account of the origin of the authorized version itself, followed by a candid and, some will say, a harsh criticism of its merits. The writer, however, concedes to our *Bible* many excellences, among which are mentioned its simple Anglo-Saxon words and its pure and nervous style, rendering it dear to the hearts of the common people and even attractive to little children. In respect to general accuracy it is allowed to compare favorably with the Septuagint and Vulgate, and other ancient translations. To these commendations, which it seems to us ought to have been multiplied, heavy drawbacks are very justly presented. We gain nothing by concealment of blunders and weaknesses either here or elsewhere, and yet we ought to claim full credit for every advantage, especially in a case of this sort. Some of the drawbacks mentioned in the article are obvious as they were unavoidable. They are the results, as the author shows, of the crude state of oriental learning, and especially of biblical science, in the early part of the seventeenth century. How could places and customs be intelligently rendered when the explorations of the Holy Land had been so imperfectly made, and sacred antiquity had made so little progress? How could the "Hebrew tenses" be perfectly and delicately rendered when the great scholars in oriental learning had yet to be born? And how could "Hebrew poetry" be reproduced in English when, besides the want of scientific philology common to the times, there was hardly a poetic head in the whole list of translators. It perhaps never entered into the mind of King James or any of his advisers that there could be any possible relation between the divine book, on which rested the immortal fate of the world, on which was built up the mammoth State Church of the English nation, and

the art of Shakspeare and Milton. When the next authorized version is attempted it will be well to give David and Isaiah into the hands of a poet, especially if one can be found who, besides possessing the sacred fire of poesy, is steeped in the ancient lore of the Hebrews. A poet alone can translate a poet; but a poet can, as witness the rendering of some of Schiller's finest poems by Coleridge. The greatest difficulty would be for the poet to translate himself back three thousand years.

Another and most serious fault found with the Authorized Version is its indelicate words and phrases, which render its reading in some parts, particularly the Song of Solomon, inadmissible in a promiscuous assembly. The writer admits that the difficulty sometimes lies in the passage itself; and this, of course, is a sufficient reason why such passages should not be read in a mixed company. History, for example, and law, must be explicit; crimes, in the one case, must be described, and in the other, clearly defined. And as in other instances of law and history, this minuteness may not be well suited for reading in a mixed company. But it is true, as the article says, that in most cases the indelicate language could have been substituted by admissible euphemisms or circumlocutions; and hence, this fault, like those relating to poetry, philology, geography, and antiquities, must be traced to the age of the translators. Shakspeare, so pure among his contemporaries, will show that the indecencies of to-day were scarcely improprieties in his time. It seems to us, therefore, that the criticisms of the Cyclopædia lie rather against the scholarship and taste of the seventeeth century than against the work of King James's translators. Even as compared with all other modern translations, excepting that of De Wette, perhaps, their work is still the best extant. The men of the seventeenth century did nobly for their age, excelling all that went before, and being still in advance of those who come after them. Their errors were in the grain and culture of their times; and the demand for a new translation, which indeed is not slight, is no reproach to them, but rather to us, who have not met the necessity of our day as they did of theirs.

We agree with the article, however, as to the need of another translation, and believe that the spirit which created the Bible

Societies and which keeps life in the Evangelical Alliance, may yet, and perhaps at no distant day, produce it. The evangelical English-speaking Churches might effect it by joint action; and such a work, without taking the place of the old book, enthroned in the popular heart, would serve, as the writer of the article observes, an important purpose in the sphere of criticism. The work, however, will be a very delicate one, and it may be that the body of Christ is not yet sufficiently united, even in spirit, to inaugurate it. Certain it is that no one-sided movement, such as seeks to change a word in the interests of a sect, and translates the whole Bible with that view, can do the needed service. It has already been found that the word *immerse* has no power to float the Baptist Bible into popular favor.

One of the most important features of the new Cyclopædia is its extension of the sphere of theology to the inclusion of the non-Christian beliefs. It will thus embrace Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Confucianism, with the inferior forms of false religion, giving their history, their ethics, mythology, and worship. We have an excellent example of what this department may be expected to do in the article on Buddhism. It is divided into six parts, occupying eight columns. The headings are: the biography of Buddha; his system—theological, cosmological, pneumatological, anthropological, and ethical; Buddhistic worship; the history of Buddhistic progress and development; monuments and remains; and finally, the sources of information. The value of such knowledge as is here so abundantly and carefully given, for a book of this kind, cannot easily be estimated. The great work of missions, now opening to the Church with unprecedented rapidity, lays upon every Christian pastor the necessity of knowing the people to be converted, and the religions to be subverted. The same holds true of prominent laymen and of Sunday-school instructors. They must understand that these systems of oriental falsehood, hoary with age, and strong in the love of millions of the human race, are not the products of wholly uncultured minds, without subtle ingenuity, and unsupported by serious or earnest thinking. And but few pastors, to say nothing of humbler Church laborers, can find time to study the books devoted especially to these religions. In the

absence of these special works, if the article on Buddhism is a fair specimen of what is to be looked for in the same line, they will find here the whole range of the non-Christian theologies, presented in a condensed form, with lists of the literature necessary to enable them to carry their studies still further if so inclined. This is really a magnificent idea.

In the department of religious biography, the work is in keeping with its thoroughness elsewhere. Indeed, it is quite a complete dictionary of religious and ecclesiastical biography. Side by side appear the ancient and the modern, the more and the less renowned. We have admirable sketches of Augustine, Anselm, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Arminius, while our own times are honored in Lyman Beecher, Thomas Brainard, Nathan Bangs, the African bishop Francis Burns, and others.

Nor can we see any ground for the charge that too much space has been devoted to the Methodist clergy, or that the less famous among them have been disproportionately honored. It is true that some Methodist names have been rescued from oblivion which, perhaps, writers of other communions might not have recorded, but precisely the same service has been done for a still greater number of names belonging to other denominations. Indeed, we have been struck with the modest spaces devoted to the greatest names of Methodism. The authors seem to have been restrained by the apprehension of sectarian criticism, but with all their reticence have not escaped it. Was it overdoing to devote two columns to Dr. Bangs, who for many years was the foremost man in Methodist literature, who was missionary secretary, a Church historian for his own denomination, an editor, and an adroit and voluminous controversial writer? Does it not look like stinting to devote only half a column to the African bishop, Francis Burns, whose election as bishop made almost an era in Methodist Church history? Only half a column to a modern African bishop, elected in the face of great national prejudices and strong feelings of caste, and living and dying an honor to his Church, is a signal instance of calmness, especially in the very hour when everything relating to the people of color is undergoing excited and prolonged discussion. There, too, is the name of Richard Boardman, one of the first Methodist missionaries to America, one of the men who laid the foundations of Method-

ism in the land. He has his story told in thirteen lines, while George Dana Boardman, the Baptist missionary, has more than double that number. Jabez Bunting, perhaps the most distinguished Methodist since the time of Wesley, occupies a single column; and Joseph Benson, a noted commentator and brilliant preacher, half a column. But the most remarkable instance of denominational modesty and reticence in the volume, and one of the most striking on record, is the case of Bishop Asbury. This old bishop is only less than the historic idol of American Methodism; he is esteemed at once a sage and a saint; he was indeed a father with the power of a sovereign. Consecrated to poverty and celibacy for the sake of building up and establishing a true spiritual Church, he wove his labors and his journeys over the length and breadth of the continent, and at death left numerous and powerful the communion he had taken charge of in its very infancy. And yet these gentlemen are so self-restrained, so beyond the bias of sectarian influence, that they can write the history of their own apostle in two columns. The truth is, that those who complain of the amount of space here devoted to obscure Methodist names must have read under the inspiration of the evil bias they deprecate. They have created what they dreaded. The authors of the Cyclopedia have only done for their own communion what they felt themselves bound to do for others. They have placed side by side from all denominations names whose fame was confined within their own particular communions; and the readers of the several denominations, glad to meet their own minor celebrities, and not recognizing those of other parties, have wondered what they were doing in such company.

To conclude what we have to say of the department of biography, and to show the completeness of the book in this respect, we will refer to the name "Brown." In the English translation of Herzog we find but a single person mentioned of this name, and that is the founder of the English sect called *Brownists*. In the volume under review there are no less than eighteen celebrities given under this name, among them the father of the Brownists, so called. Here, as a matter of course, are John Brown, of Haddington, and his no less celebrated grandson; also an archbishop of Dublin, and, above all,

old Sir Thomas Browne, one of the noblest, quaintest, and most devout writers of the seventeenth century. So far as we know he is the greatest Browne, with or without the final e, that ever lived, and his "Christian Morals," and "Urn Burial," and "*Religio Medici*," place him in close relations with the Church and religion.

In a great cyclopedia such as this it would have been pedantic, not to say trifling to aim at originality. Where historic truth and scientific accuracy are especially sought, we think little of the mere vehicle of their conveyance. A paragraph or a column over the name of Neander, or Robinson, is much more readily trusted than the most graceful and thorough working over of the same matter by any eloquent pen unknown to historic or scientific fame. The reader wants the learning of his question; he wants to see it in the very shape in which he would have read it had he himself investigated the authorities. Remodeled by an ambitious writer it might have changed meaning. Any complaint against such a work as this for want of originality in the mere form of the matter would betray ignorance of its aim, as also of the wants of students. True, from the imperfection of previous labors in their line, as also from the necessities of their own dogmatic standpoint, the authors have been compelled to be largely original. More than half the purely biblical articles are entirely new, and most of those belonging to other departments are partially so. In some instances the minutest matters in the biblical department have cost immense labor. Their literature has been pursued through innumerable well-filled shelves, and has sometimes rewarded labor by being found in the smallest parcels, often only in inaugural addresses of German professors. Of no great value when secured and put into form for the student, it is still a relief, if not a positive comfort, to know that the whole literature of the subject is before him.

In their preface, Drs. M'Clintock and Strong tell us that, while they have done their work "from their own theological point of view, they hope they have wrought in no narrow or sectarian spirit." Candor, such as theirs, cannot fail to concede the justness of this claim. The pervading spirit of the volume, and of each particular article, is that of the broadest Christian catholicity. We say this the rather, because one or two of the

weekly religious journals have ventured to hint the contrary. As toward the scholars from whose noble labors the book has drawn so much and so wisely the authors exhibit both fairness and gratitude, so toward the divisions of the Church that differ from their theological standpoint they deal with the most rigid and kindly impartiality. We have looked in vain for an unfair, a rash, or passionate word toward any orthodox denomination. In this respect the book appears to be faultless. An example of this is to be found in the article on "Arminianism." No doubt, indeed, is left as to the views of the writer. He cannot, of course, be so polite as to distort the facts of history on behalf of the Synod of Dort, or against the Remonstrants, for example. But the truth is given in the least offensive form; not unfrequently, as indeed history demanded, putting Arminianism in bad company, personally, dogmatically, and even politically. Of the charge of paying undue attention to Methodist names we have already disposed. For every obscure Methodist name it has atoned with a half dozen non-Methodist, equally obscure, and yet all of them were persons who, by their labors among their own people, had attracted attention and earned enduring, if not wide, honors.

It will be a great recommendation to this book, as it is an indisputable excellence, that it contains so little beyond the reach of the English reader. A great deal of the Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, etc., quoted in books of reference intended for the unlearned as well as for the learned, is mere finery, which good taste would have utilized by translations, with careful references for such as might wish to verify them. The great majority of educated men retain no such easy familiarity with their school studies as to read strange Greek and Latin familiarly, and are no more anxious to get down grammars and dictionaries to explain explanations, than they are to lay aside their book to consult an atlas. The foreign languages here are dealt with very much as questions of geography are; what the interleaved maps are to countries, cities, and rivers, the translations are to the foreign languages. This may be called a part of the machinery of the book, intended, like the breadth of its plan, and the admirable division of its longer articles into different distinctly marked heads, to facilitate the use of such vast stores of material. To the learned, this lack,

if it be one, is more than compensated for by an extended bibliography, in which everything needful is included.

In a word, we have in this volume the beginning and the promise of the noblest work in its line ever attempted in our language. If prosecuted to the end as it has been commenced, it will bring great honor to the authors, to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to American ecclesiastical and theological scholarship. In its sphere it will become a universal and indispensable necessity; it will add greatly to the already wide and honorable reputation of the publishers; by its catholic spirit and its use among all denominations it will tend to bind the evangelical Churches more firmly together; and finally, in an age strikingly characterized by infidel insolence, it will place in the hands, and within the reach, of Christian teachers, the best means both of defense and aggression.

In our comparisons between this and similar works we have not meant to be invidious. Without previous workers the book under review had been an impossibility. What is now especially wanting is to convince the public that the work will be hastened on to its completion. The enterprise of the publishers and the character of the responsible authors ought to be sufficient for this; but the best assurance will be the rapid successive appearance of the several volumes.

Art. III.—NAST'S ENGLISH COMMENTARY.

A Commentary on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical; embodying for popular use and edification the results of German and English Exegetical Literature, and designed to meet the difficulties of Modern Skepticism. With a General Introduction, treating of the Genuineness, Authenticity, Historic Verity, and Inspiration of the Gospel Records, and of the Harmony and Chronology of the Gospel History. By William Nast, D.D. 8vo., pp. 760. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1864.

It is time native American theologians were looking to their laurels. With a Schaff in the department of historical theology, and a Nast in that of exegesis, the Germans are in a fair way to show us not only what they can do in their own tongue, but also in our American vernacular. Let our scholars see to it, that in the literary domain the "native" party

do not come to deserve the name applied to a certain political predecessor, the party of the "Know-Nothings."

The work whose title we have above given is one of which the whole American evangelical Church may justly be proud. In individual excellencies it may have been surpassed by one or two other works; but taken as a whole, estimated with respect to breadth of learning, critical and exegetical skill, freshness of material, perspicuity of style, sweetness of temper, and beauty of typographical execution, no commentary has yet been produced on this continent which is its equal. The German original, whose publication was commenced in 1860, called forth high encomiums both in this country and in Europe; but this English edition is in many respects an improvement upon the German.

So far our task as a reviewer is easy. After several years' regular and almost daily use of a commentary, it is very easy to pen a comprehensive statement which shall express one's general estimate of its value. This we have done. To *review* a commentary, however, is a very different thing. To do the work thoroughly one would need to make the review as voluminous as the volume reviewed. The exposition of a single verse would often require, in justice to the author and in justice to the subject, an entire review article of ordinary length. A few sweeping statements will not answer. The topics upon which the commentator is called to expatiate are so exceedingly numerous and varied that an expositor may excel all predecessors in some things, and yet be utterly deficient in others. In the parables of Christ he may be a master, in the epistles of Paul the merest neophyte. No man is equally at home on the Mount of Beatitudes and in the visions of the Apocalypse. As a consequence, we discover inequalities in all commentators; some of their expositions are much better than others. So far as these excellencies or defects are traceable to peculiarities inherent in the mental or spiritual character of the author, they may be briefly pointed out and illustrated by the critic, but even this process gives the reader but a very imperfect idea of the real scientific character and value of the work reviewed. To really review a commentary one would be obliged to descend to details, to take up, reproduce, and criticise each exposition in order, book by book, chapter by chapter. This, however, is plainly impracticable.

A strict and proper review of Dr. Nast's work being thus out of the question, we purpose to limit ourselves in the present paper to a brief description of its three distinctive features. These three distinctive features pertain to the departments of Christian Apology, Exegesis, and Systematic Theology respectively. In the first place the work is "*designed to meet the difficulties of modern skepticism;*" and in the second it aims to "*embody for popular use and edification the results of German and English exegetical literature;*" in the third it proposes to present "*the doctrines taught by Christ and his apostles as fully as is done in works of systematic divinity.*" Let us see in what manner, and with what success, these several aims have been carried out.

I. Its Apologetical Character.

Dr. Nast possesses peculiar qualifications for the work of a Christian Apologist. German born, growing up to manhood precisely at the time when Rationalism held undisputed sway throughout the German Churches, trained in the best institutions of his country, a classmate and personal friend of *David Friedrich Strauss*,* in those years himself a thorough skeptic, surely he knows "the difficulties of modern skepticism" as few others can. On the other hand, springing, as he does, from that honest Suabian stock which has given Germany so large a proportion of her profound theologians, born into the kingdom of grace by a most marked and blessed experience, matured by the studies and toils of more than thirty years in the ministry, sharpened and enriched by the experiences of a public journalist for an equal period, as perfectly familiar with English, Scotch, and American literature as with that of his native country, surely he is prepared, as few others, to meet and remove these self-same difficulties. We rejoice that a man of

* It is certainly very curious and remarkable that so many coincidences should be traceable in the lives of these two chief representatives of German Rationalism and German Methodism. The one was born in the capital, the other in the royal *Residenzstadt* of Wirtemberg. If we are rightly informed they were classmates, not only at Tübingen, but also at the preparatory school in Blaubeuren. The publication of the "Leben Jesu," and Nast's conversion and union with the Methodist Episcopal Church, fell in the same year, 1835. That year marks the grand moral crisis in the career of each. In 1864, after twenty-nine years of miscellaneous labors, Strauss reappears with a new Leben Jesu, and, strange to say, the same year, and but a few weeks later, Nast meets him with the work before us.

such natural, providential, and charismatic qualification for the work of defending the Gospel records has really entered upon the task, and that the results, so far as they lie before us, are so eminently worthy of their author.

With respect to the propriety of introducing this apologetical element into his work, the doctor seems at first to have had some doubt. (See Preface, page 8.) Having satisfied his mind on this point, however, he entered upon the argument, he tells us, "with the conviction that in order to make it answer the wants of our day it must be strictly historical, free from all dogmatical premises, compelling the opponent, by facts which he admits, to confess the unreasonableness of his doubts; in short, changing the defense of the record of revelation into an attack upon its rejectors, by requiring the skeptic to account for the historical facts of divine revelation, and especially *for the personality of Jesus Christ*, a problem which no human ingenuity or learning is able to solve on any known natural principle." To this task he devotes a general introduction of nearly two hundred pages, a treatise of such completeness and value, that it has been issued in a separate form, and incorporated into the new course of study prescribed by the bishops for the candidates of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

In this treatise one can recognize but a few pages of the

* We know not how to give a conspectus of his argument, in its full extent and logical articulation, more concisely than by presenting the epitome given us at its head:

PART I. THE GENUINENESS OR INTEGRITY OF THE SACRED TEXT.—§ 1. Introductory Remarks.

CHAPTER I. *The History of the Text.*—§ 2. The Change of the Original Text with regard to its Outward Appearance. 3. Some General Remarks on the Existing Manuscripts of the New Testament. 4. A Consideration of the Variety of Readings presented by the Manuscripts of the New Testament.

CHAPTER II. *The Impossibility of Success in an Essential Mutilation or Corruption of the Gospel Record.*—§ 5. Argument from the Agreement of the Respective Copies of the Four Gospels. 6. Argument drawn from other Considerations.

PART II. THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE GOSPEL RECORDS.—§ 7. Introductory Remarks.

CHAPTER I. *The Outward Historical Testimonies.*—§ 8. The Testimony of the Apostolical Fathers. 9. The Testimony of the Fathers in the Sub-Apostolical Age from A.D. 120–170. 10. The Formation of a Canon of the Universally-acknowledged Books of the New Testament at the Close of the Second Century. 11. The

Allgemeine Einleitung prefixed to the German edition. That was an Introduction to the entire New Testament, this limits itself to the Gospel records. Even the materials which have

Early Versions of the New Testament. 12. The Testimony of Heretical and Apocryphal Writings. 13. The Testimony of Heathen Adversaries.

CHAPTER II. *The Internal Evidences.*—§ 14. The Peculiar Dialect of Greek in which the Evangelists wrote. 15. Some other Characteristics of the Style in which the Gospels are written. 16. The Frequent Allusions of the Evangelists to the History of their Times. 17. The Relation of the Four Gospels to each other and to the Acts of the Apostles. 18. The Authenticity of the Gospels—a Postulate of Reason, as it alone accounts for the Existence of the Christian Church, and for some of Paul's Epistles, whose Authenticity is universally Admitted. 19. The Absurdity of the Mythical Theory.

PART III. THE HISTORIC VERITY OF THE GOSPEL RECORDS.—§ 20. Introductory Remarks.

CHAPTER I. *A Consideration of the Objections that have been raised against the Credibility of the Evangelists.*—§ 21. The Alleged Discrepancies or Contradictions in the Four Gospels. 22. The Assumption that Miracles are Impossible and Unsusceptible of Proof. 23. The Alleged Lack of Sufficient Testimony by Profane Writers.

CHAPTER II. *The Credibility of the Evangelists.*—§ 24. The Evangelists were in a Condition to inform themselves accurately and thoroughly concerning the Things which they record. 25. The Evangelists exhibit in their Narratives no Symptoms of Mental Derangement, which might have made them Victims of Delusion. 26. The Evangelists cannot be charged with having had any Motive or Design to impose upon the World a report of what, if it did not take place, they must have known to be false.

CHAPTER III. *The Divine Seal stamped upon the Gospel History by its Subject—The Person of Jesus Christ.*—§ 27. The Verity of the Gospel History best accredited by the Personality of Jesus Christ. 28. The admitted outer Conditions of the Life of Jesus—leaving its astounding Results, as well as the unlimited Scope of the Mind of Jesus and the perfect Symmetry of his Character, utterly inexplicable, without the admission of a Supernatural and Divine Element. 29. The Sinlessness of Jesus—the Idea of which could not have been conceived by the Evangelists if they had not seen it actualized in his Life—incontestably proving that he was not a mere Man. 30. The Miracles wrought on and performed by Jesus, the Natural and Necessary Outflow of his historically-proved Personality, and, at the same time, the Ground and Warrant of all other true Miracles preceding and succeeding his Appearance on Earth.

PART IV. *The Attacks of Modern Criticism on the Inspiration of the First Three Gospels.*—§ 31. The Relation which the Authenticity and Credibility of the Gospel Records bear to their Inspiration. 32. The Peculiar Agreement and Disagreement of the first three Evangelists in their Narratives, and the various Explanations of this Singular Phenomenon. 33. A Consideration of the Inspired Character of the Synoptical Gospels on the Ground of their being chiefly the Result of the Oral Teaching of the Apostles.

PART V. *Preliminary Remarks on the Gospel History.*—§ 34. The Condition of the World, Jewish, Greek, and Roman, at the Advent of Christ. 35. The Chronology and Harmony of the Gospel Narratives. A. The Date of the Birth of Christ. B. The Duration of our Lord's Ministry, and the Date of his Death. C. A Synoptical Table of the Gospel History. D. A Table for finding any Passage in the Synopsis of the Gospel History.

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been retained have been so thoroughly recast that the new work presents more of the appearance of being *aus einem Guss*, as the Germans say, than did the old. As may be seen even from the above contents-table, it covers much ground. Its special merit is, that it is written from the standpoint of to-day. It must necessarily touch upon some objections as old as Celsus, but it gives special attention to the cavils and sophisms of current infidelity. The mythical theory finds an admirable statement and refutation in § 19, the miracle question is discussed with equal freshness and vigor in §§ 22 and 30, and the modern argument derived from the exceptional and supernatural character of Jesus Christ is developed in §§ 27–30 with a fullness, force, and eloquence altogether refreshing. The power and value of the whole argument is greatly augmented by a liberal subsidizing (with honorable acknowledgments) of whatever seemed incapable of improvement in the latest works of Anglo-Saxon and German apologists.

But our author's apologetical labor is not confined to this comprehensive and able Introduction. It runs through the whole body of his work, appearing at every point where rationalistic ingenuity has thought to find a vulnerable spot in the history, doctrine, or spirit of the Gospel. These detail apologies are always good, often admirable. He never knowingly passes over a difficulty, never understates its force. Much of his success in meeting the objections of the unbeliever is due to his skill in placing his reader in the proper point of view. In this respect he resembles the best evangelical apologists of Germany, from whom he has learned much. A fair example of his skill in this line is furnished us in his remarks upon Christ's resurrection. We would gladly quote them at length, but lack of space forbids. Taking these apologetical portions of the Commentary in connection with the General Introduction, we have a compendious defense of the truth of the Gospels, which, in point of comprehensiveness, logical force, and adaptation to the times, may challenge comparison with the best works of professed apologists of Scripture.

II. Its Exegetical Character.

Some commentators study the Scriptures in the light of Scripture alone, some in the light of patristic lore, some in

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that of favorite denominational predecessors. Dr. Nast, while neglecting none of these sources, finds his chief stimulus and aid in the fresh-cut pages of our last great Protestant expositors. Equally at home in the literature and thought of Germany, England, Scotland, and America, he gathers from all the great fields of Protestant culture. He summons around his study-table not only the great masters of biblical interpretation, who flourished in former centuries, but also those whose names belong to ours. There they stand: Stier and Alford, and Stuart and Olshausen, and Trench and Meyer and Ryle, and Alexander and De Wette, and Kitto and Barnes, and Tholuck and Ellicott, and Owen and Lange, and Wilson and Jacobus, and Heubner and Cumming, and Morrison, etc.; a motley, but rare and fruitful convention. The results of their diversified testimonies and suggestions, when sifted, summed up, and popularized by the cool judicial mind of our author, are most precious. It has been thought high praise to style a commentary catholic, unsectarian; here is one which is free not merely from the traditions of a sect, but, in fact, from the traditions of the national and confessional literatures of Protestant Christendom—a commentary more truly cosmopolitan than any other ever yet produced. In this respect Dr. Nast's work must be regarded as pre-eminently American. For just as American civilization is gradually absorbing all that is excellent in the civilizations of the older nations, and out of these diversified elements developing a new, higher, broader, and purer type, so our young American scholarship, learning from all, but copying none, is destined to develop itself in a form which shall combine, in faultless proportion, the thoroughness of the German, the practicality of the British, the vivacity of the French, and the elegance of the Italian. No theological work has yet appeared among us more perfectly coincident with the axial line of our normal national development than the one now under review.

We might expatiate at much length upon the mutual advantages which would accrue from a more intimate association of Anglo-Saxon and German mind, and upon the mutually complemental character of the two literatures, but our space is too precious. Suffice it to say, that whatever the Germans may profitably learn from us, there is very much that we can learn

from them. No other country in the world has such a body of learned men devoted to special studies as Germany. In no other country do we find the same combination of ardor, opportunity, and patience in scientific pursuits. How large a proportion of our Church histories, our commentaries, our critical and philological apparatus, consists of translations from the German! And yet how ill-adapted to our practical use do we find these alien works! How often do we experience the embarrassment of having to choose between a profound German work, wholly unsuited to our use, and a superficial or antiquated English one, admirably adapted to our needs.

In the department of New Testament exegesis, the German literature of the last twenty-five years is exceedingly rich. The plowshare of Rationalism cut ruthlessly deep, but it only prepared for the good seed a deeper and softer soil. If old Winfred's sowings brought forth thirty, and Martin Luther's sixty, those of our day are bringing forth not less than a hundredfold. As outward persecution intensifies the spiritual life of the Church, so the attacks of skepticism concentrate her thought upon her faith, and deepen her apprehension of its august mysteries.

In the presence of powerful and active enemies she counts all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus her Lord; she ponders this knowledge in her heart, not merely in her head; she studies it from new points of view; she becomes more cautious in her statements of it, lest haply she give the enemy an advantage; in fine, she learns what nothing but appreciative, loving, reverent study can teach her. Such has been the experience of the Church in all ages, and it has been repeated in the recent history of the German evangelical Church. The results we see in the works of such men as Stier, Tholuck, Lange, etc. The project of embodying in one work the results of these men's devout studies with those of the best exegetical scholars of Great Britain and America, and of presenting them, in thoroughly digested form and in popular language, to the great Anglo-Saxon public, is a truly magnificent one. We trust it may attain to a complete realization.

But our readers will wish to learn in what manner this project has been realized as regards Matthew and Mark. Have

we in Dr. Nast's work an independent commentary or a mere compilation? This is the question they are doubtless asking, and it is an important one. In reply we would say, that it is *not* "a mere compilation." Though sometimes quoting from others where we should much prefer to hear from him, our author everywhere preserves his own individuality. He does not allow his materials to master him, he everywhere masters them. In all our readings we do not remember to have found a single passage where, to conceal his own uncertainty, he takes refuge in an accumulation of mere citations. This is more than we can say of some of the most distinguished expositors of our time. And the charm of the whole is, that the more difficult the passage is, the fuller and more originally does he treat it; and the more discrepant his authorities become, the more emphatically does he declare his own position. Wherever he introduces quotations he almost invariably does it for one of three purposes: either he introduces them to serve as forcible amplifications of some position he has taken, or he does it to exhibit a position which he is about to controvert, or, finally, he does it to relieve the tedium of expatiating upon passages so simple and common-place that a child may understand them. Surely, quotation for such purposes is allowable and desirable in the most original styles of exposition.

Our author's exposition of the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew is so complete an illustration of all we have here said, that we would fain present it to our readers entire. As this, however, is impossible, we must be content to give them a brief description, however imperfect and unsatisfactory it may prove. The doctor commences his introductory remarks by observing that "this prophetic discourse of our Lord has always, and justly, been considered one of the most difficult problems of exegesis." Classifying the various interpretations which have been attempted, he rejects (1) the one which applies the whole prophecy exclusively to the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Jewish polity; (2) the one which applies it literally to the destruction of Jerusalem and typically to the final judgment; (3) Dr. Whedon's original explanation, according to which verses 4–42 treat of the destruction of Jerusalem in contradistinction from the second coming of Christ; and (4) the premillenarian view, according to which verses 4–28

describe the condition of the Church down to the time of our Lord's second advent, and verses 29–31 his personal coming to introduce his millennial reign. In each case he gives the reasons in view of which he is constrained to refuse his assent. Of Dr. Whedon's explanation, however, he remarks in his German edition, "Were one obliged to choose between these three interpretations, [the premillenarian interpretation is not there enumerated with the others,] this last might deserve the preference." As regards the fourth view he concedes that it is philologically more natural than any other, and that it is supported by very distinguished modern authorities, such as Stier, Lange, Ebrard, Alford, and others; still, in view of its dogmatical difficulties, he is compelled to reject it. Adopting Lange's general division of the prophetic part of our Lord's discourse into three cycles, our author next proceeds to expound the first division (verses 4–14) under the superscription, "A General Survey of what must precede Christ's Judicial Coming;" the second, (verses 15–28 covering the same period as the former,) under the heading, "The Premonitory Signs of Christ's Judicial Coming;" and the third, (verses 29–36,) under that of "The Judicial Coming of the Son of Man and the Virtual Beginning of the Final Judgment." At the head of this last section we have a full and thorough discussion of the difficulties attending all known interpretations of these verses, the literal, the postmillenarian, and the premillennial alike. Finding himself unable to adopt either, the doctor proceeds:

> After weighing all the difficulties besetting the case, we venture to suggest a new solution. It is this: that we take what is said of the coming of Christ, in verses 29–36, figuratively, and understand by it *a judicial visitation of nominal Christendom by Christ, in order to destroy all ungodly institutions and principles in Church and State, of which (providential) visitation the overthrow of the Jewish polity was but a type, and which itself is in turn the full type of the final and total overthrow of all powers of darkness on the great day of judgment.* Since commentators have not hesitated to take the destruction of Jerusalem for a type of the final judgment, no one should find it strange that in the description of the judgment upon Antichrist, which, in its extent and consequences, is of much greater importance than the judgment on Jerusalem, figurative expressions are used that shall be fulfilled literally in the final judgment.

The great error in the figurative interpretation of verse 29 is, that it is referred to the overthrow of the Jewish commonwealth, while, according to the context, it must be referred to the restoration of Israel and to the overthrow of the nominally Christian, but apostate nations of the world. Now, inasmuch as this great judgment on apostate Christendom, or Antichrist, is not only a type, but the very beginning of the final judgment, the Lord uses, in describing it, figurative expressions, which will be literally fulfilled in the total change of the present heavens and the present earth, when he comes to the final judgment. In a similar manner he had described the events taking place before and at the destruction of Jerusalem in words which are to be completely fulfilled at his coming for the introduction of the millennium. The difference between this and the common view, which, taking the destruction of Jerusalem as the type of the final judgment, refers the words of the Saviour, in verses 29–31, to his visible coming to the final judgment, is very great, inasmuch as the latter view is irreconcilable with the plain words, "Immediately after the tribulation of these days."

The only question to be answered is, Are we warranted to ascribe to a prophecy a *double meaning?* All expositors, with the exception of the premillenarian literalists, return an affirmative answer to this question. We agree, however, with the literalists, in so far as to admit that the literal import of such words of the Lord as are recorded in verses 29–31 must not be deviated from, except the literal sense is contradicted by other plain declarations of the Bible, or by well authenticated historical facts; and such, we think, forbid us to find, in verses 29–31, a literal declaration of the personal coming of Christ to the final judgment. In allowing to these words a double meaning, in order to avoid the difficulties that beset the two other interpretations, we arrive at almost the same conclusions as Stier, who, though he applies the whole of chapter xxiv, and chapter xxv, 1–30, to the *personal* premillennial coming of Christ, and only chapter xxv, 31–46, to his final coming to judgment, discourses in his introductory remarks to the prophecy as follows: "The fundamental error, which most interpreters of this prophecy commit, consists in their losing sight of the relation which the great catastrophes sustain to each other. For the destruction of Jerusalem is, in itself, the first coming of the Son of man; only as such it has prophetic significance. It is a typical judgment of the world; the kingdom of the Lord appears typically established among the nations, in opposition to the rejected theocratic people; the two subsequent catastrophes—the Lord's coming at the opening and at the close of the millennium—are typified in the judgment on Jerusalem. In this light the Lord beholds the latter, and this is the reason why he uses, in chapter xxiv, 4–14, and again in 23–28, so strong expressions, that they find their complete fulfillment in the more distant events, although the intervening verses (15–22) contain a plain and unequivocal reference to Jerusalem. While in verse 29 the first

(typical) coming of Christ—to the destruction of Jerusalem—disappears almost entirely out of view, and a second (typical) coming of the Son of man for the purpose of gathering his elect into a visible kingdom appears in the foreground, it must not be overlooked that this second coming is likewise not the coming of Christ to the final judgment, but an intermediate one, and this intermediate coming of Christ is the key to the full understanding of the whole prophecy. From this intermediate coming of the Son of man is greatly to be distinguished the great final judgment day of the King of kings, the real end of the world, Christ's final coming for the purpose of separating the righteous and the wicked, and fixing their everlasting destinies immutably. Chapter xxi, 31–46."

To determine in detail how the events connected with the close of the days of Israel's tribulation will correspond to the portraiture given in verses 29–31, and in what the sign of the Son of man will consist, is impossible before the prophecy shall have been fulfilled. Yet the characteristic marks are fully revealed to us; namely, a dissolution of those powers and institutions of the world that are arrayed in hostility against Christ and his cause, (verse 29;) a conviction forcing itself upon all the inhabitants of the earth, that a revelation of Christ's judicial power is near at hand, a complete consternation of the wicked and the subsequent transformation of the kingdoms of this world into the kingdom of Christ, (verse 30;) which necessarily involves a partial separation of the wicked from the righteous, the union of all true followers of Christ, and the conversion and restoration of Israel. Verse 31; comp. Rev. xix and xx, 1–6.

Is it not perfectly scriptural to assume such a radical change of the moral state of the world by means of moral or providential instrumentalities and agencies, so that the present state of probation, which is founded on faith, not on sight, continues uninterrupted up to the end of the millennium? But if such an assumption is both rational and scriptural, how could this moral revolution of the world be symbolized more fitly than by the sublime scenes at the personal coming of Christ to the final judgment, namely, the dissolution and transformation of the present heavens and the present earth—that final completion of the probationary state of which the establishment of the millennial reign of Christ by moral means is both the earnest and germ? In short, what is more natural than that the Lord should describe the opening of the great judicial epoch with a providential judgment and its closing with his visible coming, by the same words, since the typical meaning of the first will fully correspond to the literal fulfillment of the latter?

In conclusion, the interpretation upon which we have ventured differs from all others in this: we do not take the judicial visitation of Israel, in the destruction of Jerusalem, as the full type of the final judgment; but we take as such a second providential coming of the Lord for the purpose of taking vengeance on the

antichristian powers, which have come out of nominal Christendom. We need scarcely say that, while we understand by the Lord's coming, described in verses 29–36, a providential coming, we do not thereby throw any doubt on the reality of his final personal coming. On the contrary, we can well apply to our view what Lange says on the relation of a spiritual or providential coming of Christ to his final personal coming: "The talk of a spiritual coming of Christ is in reality an absurdity, if this spiritual coming is not at the same time taken as the warrant of his final personal coming. The spiritual coming of Christ is related to his final personal coming, as the period is to the epoch. A new epoch comes in reality in every moment of the preceding period, especially with every forward move of this period. In the same manner, Christ's personal coming is prospectively seen in all that the Church and the individual believer passes through, but especially in all divine judgments upon every corrupt form of theocracy, in all reformations and purifications of the Church."

We have quoted thus largely because we knew not how otherwise to do full justice to our author's explanation and argument. When a man presents us with a new interpretation of so important a passage as the one under consideration, he is certainly entitled to be heard in its defense. It is hardly fair to lay his innovation before a thousand critical eyes without allowing him at the same time to state the reasons in view of which he deems it worthy of candid entertainment. We would gladly have given the doctor's objections to the traditional interpretations, as these are an important part of the argument for the new one, but in consideration of our limits we are confident he will excuse their omission.

In venturing some remarks upon the exposition above suggested—and certainly some remarks will be expected—the writer experiences no small degree of embarrassment from the fact that his own studies have been too little directed to the department of biblical eschatology to enable him to pronounce with any great degree of confidence upon any exegetical scheme which professes to perfectly harmonize all the varied and often apparently discrepant, allusions of Scripture to the last times. He has been accustomed to look upon those Scripture allusions as pertaining to the domain of New Testament prophecy, and consequently as being as difficult of interpretation as were the prophecies of the old dispensation before their fulfillment in the new. Still, as Raphael painted not only for the connoisseur, but also, and in fact chiefly, for the

unschooled in art, so we suppose the great masters of biblical interpretation must be content to submit their choicest *chefs d'œuvre* to the criticisms of the rude and uninitiated. Availing ourselves of this universal and traditionary license, we will venture to say that the new interpretation, though highly ingenious, and in its presentation exceedingly plausible, does not satisfy us personally. It has repeatedly appeared to our mind in so winning a form, and as a relief from so great temporary perplexities, that we almost seemed to ourselves to have already embraced it; but so often as we recurred again to the sacred page and read the clear, sober, explicit statement of the text, we have felt compelled to say, "No. If there are any passages in Holy Writ which teach in unmistakable language the visible personal advent of Christ to judgment this is one of them: Καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ," etc.

What language can more explicitly teach a *visible* advent of Christ than this? Has not Dr. Nast himself taken terms less definite than these, in chapter xvi, verse 27, to denote "our Lord's second visible coming to judge the world?" (See p. 427.) If almost the only passage in which Christ is described as being SEEN as he comes in the clouds of heaven does not refer to his VISIBLE advent, how unreliable must be our proof that there is yet to be such a visible advent. It is chiefly in view of this difficulty that we are forced to say, the new interpretation, plausible as it is in itself, skillfully as it is presented, does not command our assent.

But in such a case as the one before us it is, perhaps, too much to require of a new interpretation that it be entirely satisfactory. A fairer way of estimating its merits would be to ask, whether or no it have *less* difficulties than those which it aims to supersede—whether or no it can be regarded as *more* satisfactory than the others. Examining it thus comparatively, we think both pre and postmillenarian expositors will unite in pronouncing it decidedly preferable to that method of interpretation which regards the whole prophecy as a highly wrought description of Christ's judicial coming at the time of the subversion of the Jewish metropolis and polity. We presume, also, that the representatives of both the figurative and the postmillennarian interpretation will readily concede that to

their minds the new one is beset with fewer difficulties than the premillennarian. Finally, we are equally confident that both the premillenarian expositors, and those who refer all to the destruction of Jerusalem, will say, Dr. Nast's view is somewhat better than the old postmillennarian. With such suffrages as these, emanating from quarters so diverse, the doctor may well be content. The dissent of an individual reviewer, and he a straggler from a different department, will weigh little over against these testimonies from such varied classes of professional expositors of Scripture.*

* The only difficulty which Dr. Nast urges against the postmillennarian interpretation is this: If the coming of Christ, described in verses 29–31, is to be taken for his final and visible coming to judgment, where is there any room left for the glorious epoch of the millennium? The coming here spoken of, he affirms, is to supervene not upon a millennial period of tranquillity, but upon troublous times; ("*immediately after the tribulation of those days*," or as Mark has it, "*in those days after that tribulation*;") his final and visible coming, however, must be conceived of as to occur at the close of the millennium, in immediate connection with the final judgment. The objection is one of some force, yet we think the following considerations go far toward justifying the prevailing interpretation. 1. Nearly all the passages which treat of Christ's final coming to judgment agree with this before us in representing it as occurring at a time of abounding wickedness. *None*, so far as we can remember, *describe it as supervening upon a period of millennial glory*. The prevailing representation is this, that in the last days perilous times shall come, evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse; deceiving and being deceived; there shall be scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming? They will be saying to themselves and to others, peace and safety; but just at this juncture, all unexpectedly, as a thief in the night, sudden destruction shall come upon them. Antichrist shall the Lord consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming. To his troubled and oppressed saints he shall bring rest and deliverance; but on those who know not God, and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, he shall take vengeance in flaming fire, punishing them with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power. (Comp. 2 Pet. iii, 2–10; Jude 17, 18; 1 Thess. v, 2, 3; 2 Thess. i, 7–10; ii, 1–10; 1 Tim. iv, 1–3, etc.) If, therefore, there is a difficulty in applying Matt. xxiv, 30, to Christ's visible coming in view of the fact that the period immediately preceding seems to be one of tribulation rather than of millennial glory, it is a difficulty which appertains to nearly all passages which treat of his final coming, and to some of them much more than to the one in question. Suppose we can succeed in explaining away the terms in this passage, can we hope to do so in all the others? And if we could, what would become of the doctrine of the final judgment, and all that is connected therewith? Admit the insuperable character of this difficulty, and there is no alternative left but to take refuge in premillennarianism.

2. Christ's non-allusion to the millennial period of the Church is no more singular than a thousand other "silences of Scripture." Considering the nature of prophecy, the brevity of the one before us, the immense period embraced in it,

With a word explanatory of the plan of the commentary we close this part of our article. Retaining the chapter and verse division merely for convenience of reference, our author divides the text into natural sections, which are printed in beautiful large type, extending across the whole page. To these sections he prefixes wherever it seems necessary, introductory remarks, the object of which is to clear up peculiar critical or chronological difficultes, and to give explanations which could not conveniently be incorporated into the notes. Under the text, at the foot of the page, we find such notes as pertain to the explanation of words, critical readings, proper names, etc., printed in small type. The properly exegetical notes follow the section in clearly-printed double columns, designated, not like Lange's, but according to the vastly more convenient versicular notation. At the conclusion of these come Homiletical Suggestions, a department upon which the doctor has spent less labor in this edition than in the former. For a voluminous commentary this plan is admirable, in one of small compass it would scarcely be practicable. In the work before us it has not been uniformly and slavishly adhered to, but modified to suit the varying character of the sections expounded.

and particularly the admonitory aim which our Lord had in view, it would have been yet more remarkable if he had introduced an allusion to it. A similar *saltus* of thought and language often occurs in the Old Testament prophecies. It recurs so often in New Testament prophecy, that not only Rationalists, but many evangelical theologians, have received the impression that the inspired apostles expected Christ's coming to judgment in their own day. Compare the doctor's remarks on Matt. xvi, 28.

3. There is but one solitary passage in the whole Bible in which a millennial confinement of Satan, and a millennial reign of Christ on earth, seems to be explicitly taught. That passage is the well known one in Rev. xx, 1–8. It occurs in a book which not one in a thousand claims to understand; and of those who pretend to understand it, hardly two in a thousand agree in their interpretation of it. If reduced to the dilemma of rejecting the received interpretation of this passage, or the received interpretation of Matt. xxiv, 30, surely it would be more reasonable to cling to the latter, supported as it is by the plain teaching of half a score of parallel passages.

4. The same considerations which may be adduced to explain the omission of any allusion to the millennium in such passages as 2 Thess. i, 7–10; ii, 1–10; 2 Pet. iii, 1–10, etc.—passages which, as Dr. Nast allows, (p. 538) do undeniably treat of Christ's personal coming to judgment—apply with equal force to its omission in Matt. xxiv, 29–31. If satisfactory in one case they must be also in the other; if not satisfactory in both cases, the premillennarians are right in rejecting them.

III. Its Doctrinal Character.

We have already consumed so much of our space that our concluding section, which we originally intended to make the longest and most thorough of the three, is likely to turn out the shortest and least satisfactory. To give the reader as perfect a conception of the doctrinal character of the work as is practicable in so brief a compass, we will first examine its teachings on some of the chief *loci* of the Christian system, and then endeavor to answer the question, how far the commentary redeems its promise to "bring out of the text the doctrines taught by Christ and his apostles as fully as is done in the works of systematic divinity."

1. *Inspiration.*—There being no passage in Matthew or Mark which, like 2 Tim. iii, 16, would naturally call for a full and careful exposition of the doctrine of the inspiration of the Bible, we find of course in this volume no such exposition. In the general introduction, however, in the fourth part, our author, in repelling "the attacks of modern criticism on the inspiration of the first three Gospels," clearly indicates his views upon the subject. As they are the views to which the most learned students and expounders of Scripture have always inclined, and which are at the present day almost universally adopted, it is scarcely necessary to cite his language. His teachings on this point are substantially identical with those of Alford, from whose Prolegomena he quotes freely.

2. *Miracles.*—The apologetical value and force of miracles are admirably vindicated in § 22 of the General Introduction, (pp. 86–92.) Further remarks upon their nature and office are found pp. 283–285. How to distinguish true divine miracles from the lying wonders of evil spirits is shown in the comments on Matt. vii, 22, and Mark ix, 38 *seq.* Contrary to some theologians our author takes the ground, "that supernatural or superhuman works may be performed by false prophets." Differing from Watson, he maintains that the so-called external evidences are not the sole or even the chief authentications of a revelation.

It is true, miracles were intended for a criterion to judge divine messengers by. (See Matt. xvi, 17, 18, and *passim.*) Other and even more important criteria, however, were the nature of the doctrines preached and the effects of a sincere obedience to those

doctrines, as well as the lives of the messengers themselves. The reality of the miracle—*δύναμις*—is expressly declared by Moses, (Deut. xiii, 1, 2,) for and by itself not to be sufficient evidence of the prophet's claims, but the miracle is to be estimated by the doctrine which he preached. (*Ibid.*) That through the two dispensations there are running along with divine miracles Satanic signs and wonders, is taught in so many plain passages, that he who denies the existence of the latter can certainly not appeal to the Bible. (See, for example, Matt. xxiv, 24; 2 Thess. ii, 9, etc.) —Page 280.

The intimate connection subsisting between Christ's supernatural character and his supernatural works is well shown in § 30 of the General Introduction, (pp. 120–125;) in the Commentary, (pp. 386, 387, 389, 390.) More is promised in the introductory remarks to John vi. On the question of the discontinuance of miracles in our day, Dr. Bushnell is quoted approvingly in a foot note, p. 125. In his comment on Mark xvi, 17, 18, he says: "We are not justified in positively declaring that God has withdrawn from his Church from that time, [the apostolic age,] entirely and forever, all miraculous powers." In accounting for "the fact that they have nevertheless been virtually withdrawn," he remarks:

It is preposterous to say, as the Irvingites do, that they have been withdrawn from the Church on account of her lack of faith; that, from the third century down to the present day, the most gifted Fathers, the great Reformers, and those men of God through whose labor and zeal thousands of precious souls have been converted in our days, and the whole Church awakened to a new spiritual life, performed no miracles, because they had lost the primitive faith of Christians! In order to reconcile the absence of miraculous powers in the Church with the general promise in the words of our text, two things must be taken into consideration, namely: 1. The promise does not say that all the signs enumerated will follow all believers of all times. The promise is fulfilled if the preaching of the Gospel has been attended even only once by the signs in question: one sign in the case of this, another in the case of that believer. 2. While miracles, recognizable by the outward senses, attended the preaching of the Gospel during the first two centuries, when the foundation of the Church was laid, in order to prepare the way for the Gospel, they were at the same time, like the miracles performed by the Lord himself, the proper types and emblems of the vastly more important operations of the Holy Spirit, which are permanent in the Church. Page 757.

3. *The Holy Trinity.*—On page 640 we are informed that the discussion of this doctrine is reserved for the notes on John

i, 1. The old patristic saying, "*Abi, Ariane, ad Jordanem et videbis Trinitatem*," would lead us to expect some remarks on the subject in connection with the baptism of Christ, (Matt. iii, 13–17;) but in view of what *is* given us there, we will not complain of the omission.

4. *Providence.*—On the subject of God's general and special providence we find scattered through the commentary not a few pertinent and edifying reflections, (for example, pp. 193, 201, 207, 210, 274, 321, 327, etc., etc.;) a systematic discussion of the doctrine, however, we have nowhere met.

5. *Angelology.*—On good angels and their ministries we have nearly a column, p. 196. (Compare also notes on Matt. iv, 11; xxviii, 2, 5.) On demoniacal possession nearly three pages, pp. 291, *seq.* On Matt. xviii, 10, he observes, "It is evident that our Lord speaks here of *guardian angels.*" He infers from it that "each child of God has some angel specially devoted to his service." He devotes about a page and a half to the topic, though using for the most part the language of others. Matt. viii, 29, ("Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?") seems to have suggested no remarks on the primitive estate of the angels, the fall and destiny of Satan and his hosts. The same remark may be made with respect to Matt. xxv, 41, ("prepared for the devil and his angels.")

6. *Anthropology.*—Whether in the department of anthropology our author is a dichotomist or a trichotomist, we have not been able to gather. Judging from one or two expressions on page 588, we should suspect the latter. On the question of creationism *versus* traducianism we have likewise found nothing. Matt, vii, 18, might have called out an intimation. Of man's *status integritatis*, and of his fall, there was probably no immediate occasion to speak. Frequent allusions are made to the doctrine of human depravity, but no doctrinal statement or definition is attempted, even in connection with such passages as Matt. vi, 22, 23; vii, 11; xv, 19, etc. The discussion of "gracious" *versus* "natural ability," and the related truths, is doubtless reserved for a later stage of the work. The fullest anthropological discussion given relates to the status of children under the new dispensation. We quote:

"*For of such is the kingdom of heaven.*" In these words the Lord positively declares that all children that die while they are

unaccountable are entitled to the bliss of heaven, and for the same reason, while on earth, to membership in his Church, in the same manner as children under the old dispensation were entitled to Church membership. There can be no reasonable doubt that "the kingdom of heaven" is here, as in other passages, to be taken in its twofold meaning, namely, as the visible kingdom of grace on earth, or the Church of Christ, and as the invisible kingdom of glory in heaven; for the condition of those that are here spoken of necessarily implies, that if they have part in the one they are entitled also to the other. That unaccountable children inherit the kingdom of glory by virtue of the justification of life, which by the righteousness of one has come upon all, when they die, before they are guilty of actual transgressions, is admitted by all that believe that Christ has died for all men. From the unconditional salvation of children that die in a state of unaccountability, it plainly follows that children in that state on earth are entitled to be received into the Church by baptism; for, if the congregation of the firstborn, whose names are written in heaven, consists not only of adults that entered heaven through repentance and faith, but also of children that were incapable of exercising these graces before they entered heaven, why should their incapacity to believe and repent debar them from membership in the Church on earth? For even in the case of adults faith is only the means or condition, not the meritorious cause, of salvation. Both are saved through the universal redemption by Jesus Christ, the second Adam, as the apostle shows at full length in the fifth chapter of Romans. If a child that cannot yet believe can have part in Christ, the head, it can also have part in his mystical body, the Church.*—Page 463.

* To show the position assumed by Dr. Nast over against Mercein's notion of an unconditional regeneration of all men in infancy, we append the following judicious remarks: "There is, however, connected with this view the somewhat difficult question. If dying infants go to heaven, does not this imply that they sustain in life a real, not a merely relative or nominal, connection with Christ: and is a real spiritual union between the infant child and Jesus Christ conceivable without spiritual life imparted to the child before by the Holy Spirit? Is, for this reason, the fundamental law of the kingdom of God, 'Except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,' not applicable as well to the infant as to the adult? The affirmative answer returned to this question has, on the one hand, given rise to the unbiblical dogma that the new life necessary to infants, also, for an entrance into heaven, is imparted *through baptism*, on which point we shall say more toward the close of our remarks. On the other hand, it has been maintained more recently: As all children are born into this world with a corrupt, sinful nature, owing to their descent from Adam, so they are all unconditionally born again through the second Adam, Jesus Christ; or, in other words, all infants have for Christ's sake, through the operations of the Holy Spirit, their nature so renewed from their birth that they are thereby not only qualified for heaven, if they die, but need also no second regeneration in subsequent life, if they do not lose this grace thus received in their infancy. 'It is inconsistent with God's impartial love,' it is said, 'to suppose that the renewing of the Holy Ghost is granted to

Respecting the condition of the heathen we find nothing, notwithstanding an excursus of several pages, commencing p. 323, treats of the "Laws, Issues, and Encouragements of

those children only that die in their infancy; and that in the others that grow up natural depravity must necessarily develop, so that they must afterward be regenerated through faith and repentance.' To this view we object on the following grounds: 1. If all children, without exception, were born again immediately after their natural birth, the saying of Christ in John iii, 3, applied to children, would be very strange and dark; and if we understand Christ to speak of regeneration in subsequent life, the passage would teach the necessity of a second regeneration in advanced life. 2. This view of a renewal of the whole race, effected in infancy, is contradicted by experience, although we are not disposed to deny the possibility that a child, from the first dawn of self-consciousness, may yield itself to the influence of the Holy Spirit, so as to be preserved from intentional sins by God's preventing grace. 3. If the Holy Spirit is assumed to effect more in the salvation of infants that die than in those that grow up to years of discretion, the reason of it lies in the difference of the circumstances under which it pleases God to save them. We cannot conceive of regeneration taking place in a child before it has awakened to self-consciousness. This takes place in the case of the dying infant in the hour of death, when the spirit leaves the body; and as there can be no opposition to the operations of the Holy Spirit in the soul of such a child, it cannot be but that such a child, dying in its innocence, is regenerated at the very moment when the soul leaves the body and awakes to self-consciousness. In the case of the child that grows up, divine grace is the same, but the circumstances are different. Here regeneration cannot take place before the soul assents to it, and it is this in which consists the difference between conditional and unconditional salvation. With the first dawn of self-consciousness and the feeling of moral responsibility, the justification of life is granted to the child, according to the circumstances to which it is ordained, either for the enjoyment of bliss in heaven or for the acceptance of grace for this life. Though, for these reasons, the view of a real regeneration that runs parallel with the universal depravity of human nature appears untenable, yet there is this truth at the bottom of it: that in the same manner as every human being has inherited spiritual death through Adam's sin, the germ of spiritual life, or the susceptibility of it, is implanted in every one from his birth, without any efforts on his part, solely for the sake of the righteousness of the second Adam, and through his grace, so that every man has offered by the second Adam a perfect remedy for the injury sustained through the first Adam, from his very birth. 'The life,' says John, 'was the light of men: and that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' John i, 4, 9. The same idea is expressed by Paul, when he says: 'As by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.' Rom. v, 18. The justification of life, or the new life awakened by the Holy Spirit, can, indeed, not manifest itself in the infant child; but who is, therefore, prepared to deny that grace can affect the infant child as well as sin? Why should the infant be incapable of having the principle of spiritual life in itself before it is conscious of it? If the children (*παιδια* or *βρεφη*) brought to Jesus had been incapable of receiving any spiritual blessings at his hands, would the Lord, who never did anything that was useless, have laid his hands upon them and blessed them?"

Evangelical Missions." The magi are represented (p. 202) as having been acquainted with the prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the Messiah. Whether our author holds to the "*natural* immortality" of the soul or not, is not quite clear from his comment on Matt. xxii, 31, 32.

7. *Christology.*—This department of didactic theology is, more than any other, a favorite with our author. In it he is especially at home. Probably no theologian in America has followed the modern Christological discussions of Germany with closer attention or livelier interest. One of the most interesting, valuable, and timely portions of his general introduction to the German edition is that which relates to the incarnation of Christ, (pp. 92–109.) This is not found in the English reproduction, but will doubtless reappear in substance when the doctor comes to speak on that subject, which he promises (p. 197) to do in the exposition of Luke i, 35, and John i, 14. Those who are impatient for a foretaste of some of the good things in store for them may turn to an article which our author published in the Methodist Quarterly Review of 1860, pp. 441–458. They will there see with what caution, comprehensiveness, and learning he can handle these high themes. The doctrine of the person of Christ is doubtless reserved for presentation in connection with the discussions above promised. On the work of Christ we find less than we had expected. In the exposition of such passages, as, for example, Matt. xx, 28, we should naturally look for at least a distinct intimation of an expositor's views of the atonement, and perhaps our author intended to give such an intimation in the statement, "Christ gave his *bodily* life that our spiritual and eternal life might be restored unto us." He finds the idea of vicariousness fully expressed in the ἀντί of the text, but makes no allusion to the different theories of Christ's vicarious suffering. As regards the universality of the atonement, he is, of course, sound and true, though it seems to us that his last remark on the word "MANY," in the passage just cited, very nearly contradicts the remarks with which he set out (p. 480.) In the German edition we remember to have somewhere met with a passage in which the notion that Christ in his passion endured the agonies of the damned is emphatically rejected, and the commercial theory of the atonement shown up in its

true light; but in the English work the only allusions of the kind we have discovered are in quotations from others, as, for example, p. 620, (where Stier says, somewhat too unguardedly, "Christ does not here [Matt. xxvii, 46,] speak in the person and in the place of condemned sinners in any such sense as the theology of satisfaction teaches;") p. 50, (where the homilist rejects the idea that Christ sustained the burden of the wrath of God, "however popular it may be in some systems of theology,") etc. We may, however, have overlooked more pertinent and decisive statements. The necessity, sufficiency, and perfection of Christ's atoning work are recognized, (p. 584,) but only *en passant*. Perhaps the best Christological discussion in the volume is, all things considered, the one introductory to the comment on Christ's temptation, (pp. 222–229.)

8. *Of Sin and Salvation.*—The doctrine of sin in general finds no elaborate exhibition in our work; the unpardonable sin, however, is treated at considerable length, and with commendable discrimination. The following views he rejects: (1) that this awful sin consists in doing precisely what the Pharisees did on the occasion of Christ's delivering them the warning; (2) that it is any and every willful and personal offense against the Holy Ghost; (3) that it consists in the mere utterance of certain blasphemous words; and (4) that every state of impenitence persevered in until death always involves the sin against the Holy Ghost. He expresses his view of it as follows:

> We must understand by it such a resistance to the Holy Ghost as incapacitates the sinner ever afterward to become a subject of converting grace. That man may before his death carry his resistance to such a degree, we believe, as fully as that the Pharisees were warned against it by our Saviour. "The blasphemy of the Holy Ghost," says Dr. Schaff, "is the self-conscious and persistent manifestation of consummate hatred against the Divine in its highest and purest manifestation: it is not only an unqualified contradiction to, but a perfect abhorrence of God's sin-pardoning grace; it is a hatred which manifests itself sometimes more reservedly under apparent composure, sometimes without any disguise, and against better knowledge calls the Divine satanic, and involves the stern determination to destroy its object by all means possible."—Pp. 350, 351.

That the day of grace terminates with some before death is still more strongly asserted on page 353, where he remarks:

The time of grace closes upon some before they die. Man can attain to such a height of wickedness as to preclude penitence and pardon; this state, called the sin unto death, is twofold, namely, that of a perfect hardening against God's converting grace, (the unpardonable sin committed by the unregenerate,) and that of complete and final apostasy, (the unpardonable sin committed by the regenerate.) No one, however, is authorized to apply these truths to individual cases; that is, he has no scriptural authority whatever to tell any human being that he is beyond the pale of mercy.

Our author's Methodistic views of repentance, faith, justification, regeneration, and adoption, stand out so plainly upon almost every page that it is needless to quote under these heads. To show, however, how loyally he stands to what Wesley styled "the grand depositum" of our denomination, the doctrine of personal holiness, we will here give a portion of his remarks on Matt. v, 48:

This may be the right place to say a few words on the doctrine of Christian perfection. A thing is perfect if it contains everything that by its nature and design it ought to contain. Fallen man can in this life never become perfect, as the angels are perfect, or as Adam was before the fall. For by the fall the original faculties of man, both of body and soul, have sustained an injury that will not be fully repaired before the resurrection. Christian perfection, or the perfection of a Christian, consists in this, that he is what he ought to be, that for which Christ has redeemed him, and which the Gospel promises to accomplish in him through the power of the Holy Ghost. Whatever God does is perfect; in applying the term "perfect" to the work of grace in the soul, we must, however, make a distinction in its meaning. A thing is perfect which has all the parts that essentially belong to it; at the same time it may be imperfect in degree—that is, every one of its parts may admit of a growth and development, and thus become more perfect in itself. Justification is a full pardon of all sins, both original and actual; this work is perfect both in its nature and degree—it cannot become more perfect. Regeneration is also a perfect work, but only in its nature, not in degree. Just as a newly-born, healthful child can be called a perfect man, (homo,) having all the essential parts of the human organism, although the individual members are still imperfect, in so far as they must grow and be developed—so the new birth out of God is also a perfect work, though only in its nature, not in degree. Whoever is born of God has all the fruits of the Spirit—faith, love, humility, meekness, resignation to the will of God; not, however, in that perfect degree in which they are possessed by the man of God that has come unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ, when everything that resists the

gracious operations of the Holy Ghost is removed out of the heart. Whether, and how, this state of grace is attainable in this life, we shall consider in connection with other passages of Scripture. We will here make only the additional remark that Christian perfection includes neither a legal perfection—that is, a coming up to the demands of God's law upon an unfallen nature—nor does it exclude in the case of him that possesses it all further growth in grace. Even when the believer is perfectly redeemed by grace through faith, from the guilt, power, and pollution of sin, it is his privilege and duty to increase in the new life of holiness more and more.—P. 260.

With Fletcher, he finds no difficulty in a saint's using the Lord's prayer, (p. 269;) and with Watson, he makes the wedding garment to consist of Christian holiness, (p. 505.)

9. *The Positive Institutions of Christianity.*—In the department of *Ecclesiology* we find little except what is quoted from Mr. Wilson in the exposition of Matt. xvi, 18, and from Auberlen under Matt. vi, 10. The question of Peter's headship in the apostolic college, and in the Church generally, is very well treated, pp. 409–419. So the cause of evangelical Church discipline is well defended against the lax notions of State Church theologians, pp. 448–454, 370–372. Valuable expositions of the phrase "the kingdom of heaven" are given, pp. 215, 264–267. The sense in which invincibility and perpetuity are promised to the Church in Matt. xvi, 18, is defined with commendable circumspection, p. 416.

As regards the *ministry*, we have nowhere found an explicit statement of the Methodistic view of a call to the ministerial work, though several passages plainly imply our author's full adherence to said view. On the relation of classical and theological education to the question of ministerial fitness, he expresses himself as follows:

These remarks of the great Church historian go far to confirm the principle, that a man must be born again and have a special calling for the ministry before he can be prepared for it in the higher schools of learning. These higher institutions of learning answer great and important purposes; but to prepare young men for the ministry without the call and qualification of the Spirit of God is neither their object nor within their power. From the fact that a man has received a good moral education and thorough mental training, it follows by no means that he has the necessary qualifications for the Gospel ministry; nor is it true that a man without a classical education is at no time and under no circum-

stances qualified to discharge the duties of the Gospel ministry successfully.—P. 239.

High views of clerical authority are nowhere advanced. The "power of the keys" is explained as pertaining primarily and in its proper sense to the apostles alone, pp. 417–419; so far, however, as it is a perpetuated and permanent power, it pertains not to the clergy as such, but to the whole Church.

A distinctively ministerial *potestas clavium* Dr. Nast nowhere acknowledges.

The *holy Sabbath* receives the attention so justly its due. Its divine authority and beneficence are set forth on every appropriate occasion. Under Mark ii, 27, we are happy to find the substance of the admirable essay entitled "*Anglo-American Sabbath*," read by Dr. Schaff before the Saratoga National Sabbath Convention in 1863, and afterward issued in tract form by the New York Sabbath Committee. Our author is right in characterizing its argument as eminently "thorough, lucid, and concise."

In the treatment of the *sacraments* we discover a certain inequality. Baptism is honored with a systematic presentation in a formal dissertation, filling eleven closely-printed double-columned pages; but the Lord's Supper is treated of more briefly, and only in the form of comments on Matt. xxvi, 26–30. In the dissertation we wish the Methodist view of infant baptism might have been as clearly and sharply distinguished from the genuine old *Reformed* view as it is from the Lutheran. As it is, the Reformed view finds no representation except in the person of Dr. Ebrard, who on the point before us represents nobody but himself. On the whole, however, no part of the work is more satisfactory than that treating of the holy sacraments.

10. *Eschatology.*—That our author is a postmillennarian as regards the second coming of Christ we have already seen. Few commentators, however, have ever given the expositions of the premillennarians so candid an attention and so full a presentation as he. (Compare p. 547.) In one place he expresses the conviction that the views and arguments of the party have not received the notice from evangelical theologians to which they are entitled, (p. 264.) Of course he believes in no premillennial resurrection of the good, but only in a general

resurrection in connection with the judgment. He attempts no elaborate description of either heaven, hell, or hades. As regards the condition of the impenitent dead, however, he maintains the orthodox view, that their punishment is not annihilation, (pp. 320, 321,) that it is endless, (pp. 218, 458, 559, etc.,) that there is no escape from it even between death and the final judgment, (p. 757.)

This rapid survey of the most important doctrinal positions and discussions of Dr. Nast's commentary will enable our readers to form for themselves a pretty correct estimate of the doctrinal character of the work, and to answer for themselves, with considerable accuracy, the question with which we commenced this section of our article. Many commentaries have been written of a more strictly doctrinal character; many present us, either under the text or in learned excursuses, expositions of Christian doctrine profounder in conception, more systematic in statement, and more exhaustive in details; but these works are, almost without exception, merely doctrinal expositions of Scripture, written for professional theologians. With these it would, of course, be unjust to compare the work before us. Comparing it, however, with other commentaries of equal scope, with expositions at once apologetical, critical, doctrinal, and homiletical, it will be found difficult to instance another whose doctrinal discussions are equally permeated with the live thought of the day, equally pertinent to the necessities of the hour. Gladly would we longer linger in converse over the fair-paged volume,* but dread of editorial bisection stays our hand. We close, reiterating the pious wish of a previous reviewer, that for our author's giant task he may be given giant longevity. Heathenish as the prayer may be, doctor,

"Serus in cœlum redeas."

* The mechanical execution of the commentary is all that could be desired. In this respect it does credit not only to the house which publishes it, but also to American workmanship. Its freedom from errata is uncommon. Only the following have caught our eye: "Inspiration," p. 196, second column, tenth line from top, should read "Appearance." "Torgau," p. 490, second column, eighth line from bottom, is erroneously spelled "Tergau." P. 526, column one, line twenty-five from bottom, τῆς οἴκος should read τοῦ αἰῶνος. P. 480, second column, eighth line from bottom, "wanted" should read "wanting." In the heading to § 35, "warneth" should be "warns." Whether the omission of Matt. xiii, 34–36, was intentional or not, we have not been able to determine.

Art. IV.—QUEEN ELIZABETH'S RELATIONS WITH THE PROTESTANTS OF THE CONTINENT.

History of England from the fall of Wolsey to the death of Elizabeth. By James Anthony Froude. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1867.

No century since the Christian era deserves at the hands of the historian a more careful and thorough treatment than the sixteenth. Whether we consider the magnitude of the political movements it inaugurated, or the importance of the religious convulsions that rent Christendom asunder, and threatened to involve Christianity itself in hopeless destruction, the world has rarely seen a period of equal length that has exerted a more lasting influence upon the destinies of civilized man. The conflict between liberty and a centralized despotism; the rivalry between several powerful monarchies, each seeking to establish upon the ruins of its neighbors a state that should vie in extent and resources with the old Roman empire; the struggles of a purer faith to obtain recognition and toleration, if not sole credit; the desperate efforts of the ecclesiastical organization which claimed for itself the exclusive designation of the Church to retain its ancient ascendancy; these all furnish copious and instructive themes worthy of the pens of those who delight in weighing the causes that have advanced or retarded the progress of the great interests of humanity. Of so fertile a field of inquiry no part can be too insignificant to reward the most assiduous culture.

Mr. Froude, in the volumes before us, has undertaken to elucidate a portion of this history, which is by no means the least interesting and instructive. His plan embraces the critical period of the establishment of the Reformation in England. If the time it covers be comparatively short, its brevity is compensated by the minuteness of detail, and the fullness of illustration that are called in, to assist in completing the historical picture. Nor is this particularity of treatment in a circumscribed field at all to be censured. With the cultivation of historical taste, the demand for a careful and independent study of the authorities has been so enhanced, that it is no longer practicable for a single investigator to acquire that intimate acquaintance with an extensive subject which alone will satisfy

his readers. Histories of the world, and histories of nations, except so far as these are handled in professed compendiums, have generally given place to the more limited but far more thorough and critical researches into the reigns of particular monarchs, or, at most, to the annals of a dynasty or an age. It is no longer sufficient to entitle a writer to the attention of the public that he has made a readable work, in which he has given the substance of half a score of his predecessors without troubling himself to discriminate between the trustworthy and the worthless; between the contemporary of the events he chronicles and the writer who, living long after, relates only at second-hand; between the eye-witness and the writer who, on account of his distance from the scene of action, can in no sense be regarded as worthy of much confidence. For a history to be accepted as deserving the reader's attention in this busy age, when the startling nature of the changes that are going on under his very eyes offers every inducement to distract him from the contemplation of the past, it is necessary that it possess some unequivocal claims to superiority over the accumulated treasures of past research. A slow and laborious study of the period must be pursued under the guidance of the best qualified contemporary authorities, when those authorities have themselves been discovered by preliminary study. Manuscripts must be deciphered or their contents mastered in those more convenient publications of the great antiquarian societies and commissions, where, while the minutest eccentricities of spelling and phraseology are retained, the examination is divested of the difficulties arising from crabbed handwriting and half obliterated ink. The great stores of published or unpublished letters must be ransacked to discover the secret causes of enigmatical transactions. Kings, ministers of state, embassadors, must be made to give information which, in their lifetime, they denied to their most intimate associates. Letters, instructions, memoirs, private journals must be perused. No less attention must be given to printed books, especially to that class of rare and antiquated works, of which Villemain has made the paradoxical but just remark, that "they contain an incredible quantity of inedited material." In short, the historian is called upon to throw himself into the period he undertakes to describe; to breathe its atmosphere, to familiarize himself with its man

ners and customs, its theories of religion and government, its superstitions, and to be able to convey correctly to his readers the impression he has thus obtained. These requirements, (and we believe that Mr. Froude has endeavored to meet them,) it will plainly be seen, render the composition of a work embracing a protracted period well-nigh impossible, while they necessitate the extension of even a limited historical treatise far beyond the bounds within which it was formerly customary to compress it.

The first four volumes of Mr. Froude's History of England, embracing the reign of Henry VIII., have long been before the public. His excellences as a writer and as a historian have, therefore, been freely canvassed, and are generally admitted. Among the great advantages that he has possessed for the composition of this work is that of access to extensive manuscript collections, both public and private, from some of which, until our own days, the student was wholly debarred. Not only has Mr. Froude turned to good account the abundant sources thus laid open to him, but he has drawn his historical material almost exclusively from them. They are cited at every point in the narrative, so uniformly, indeed, that an ignorant person taking up these volumes would almost be led to suppose that a consecutive history of England had never before been undertaken. Whatever may be our opinion as to the propriety of this exclusive reliance upon the hitherto unpublished documents of the day, to the neglect of valuable contemporary and later productions that have found their way into print, there can be no doubt that it lends uncommon freshness to the story, and that the correspondence of the Spanish and French envoys, disinterred from their sepulchral repose of three centuries in the shelves of the library of Simancas or the Bibliothèque Impériale of Paris, contributes much to a better understanding of the tortuous and changeable diplomacy of the Tudors.

It is not surprising that his rambles amid this musty lore should disclose to Mr. Froude many singular and unexpected facts, and lead him to reverse more than one unchallenged decision of his predecessors. Nor perhaps need it appear strange if, under the fascinating influence of the novel information he alights upon, he should frequently be tempted to use too bold a hand in reconstructing the historical fabric, the un-

soundness of some parts of the foundation of which he has discovered. The world, even after a careful survey of the evidence he adduces, will scarcely be persuaded to recall its verdict in the case of Henry VIII., and to pronounce him "more sinned against than sinning." Yet it is not amiss that the question of the motives that swayed him in his successive matrimonial projects, and in his final rupture with the pope, should be once more submitted for argument, based upon new testimony. If the re-examination does not force upon us the conviction that conscience, and not lust—a due regard for the public weal, and not the gratification of the lowest of passions and the silliest of caprices—was the ruling motive in the monarch's breast; if, to employ the figure that has been applied to the case by another, we are not driven to the conclusion that the popular record of this period of English history is in reality a *palimpsest*, wherein the authentic characters, dim and half obliterated, have been altogether lost sight of under the lines with which prejudice and ignorance have boldly covered them—there may at least be found some reasons for modifying our too harsh judgments on minor points, and we shall reach a more firm and tenable ground of opinion.

Dismissing all particular consideration of the volumes that treat of Henry, and of the two succeeding volumes, which are taken up with the events of the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, we purpose to confine ourselves to the four volumes lately issued, in which the story is brought down to the fifteenth year from Queen Elizabeth's accession, that is, to the year 1573. The narrative is minute, and given, as it is, in the author's brilliant and dramatic style, it conveys perhaps the most accurate and comprehensible view of this important period. Never was an independent state in a position that required more astute statesmanship than did England during most of the reign of the last of the Tudors. On the north, Scotland, a prey to commotions political and religious, and ruled over by the nearest heir to the English throne, demanded the interposition of Elizabeth to maintain the rights of the Protestants against an unprincipled queen, supported by the counsel, if not by the arms, of the strongest monarchies of the continent. From France came the oft-repeated summons to support the Huguenots in the war of extermination which a

fanatical party would never suffer to be long intermitted. On the other side of the Pyrenees, Philip II., after securing uniformity of faith at home by the remorseless logic of the auto-da-fé, was marshaling the vast resources of an empire upon which the sun never set in the bloody but futile endeavor to destroy heresy and liberty in the Netherland provinces, while he was lavish in his promises of assistance wherever the reformed doctrines and their professors were to be assailed.

In the presence of these powerful but discordant neighbors England stood exposed to imminent peril. The fact that it was now nominally Protestant was in itself a sufficient pretext for foreign interference, but the danger was much enhanced by its being "a house divided against itself." "At the accession of Elizabeth, three fourths of the population of England, a third of the privy council, and a large majority of the lay peers were opposed to the alteration of religion." * Thus, in the very heart of the kingdom, and, above all, in close proximity to the throne, there were elements of disaffection ready to kindle into a formidable conflagration from the least spark of foreign support. A powerful party, initiated in all the mysteries of government, and skilled in intrigue and treachery, stood prepared to welcome the intervention, and rejoice in the successes of the most formidable enemy of the crown. "When the queen had declared for the Reformation, it was to Philip that the Catholics looked for advice and support, and it was the chief duty of his embassadors to keep the party together, and to communicate to them the wishes of the court of Spain." †

Under such circumstances what was the course which a due regard to her own dignity, if not to her own safety, should have dictated to a monarch of high principle and lofty determination? Evidently it was to throw in her lot with the oppressed and struggling Protestants of the continent, to espouse the cause of religion and liberty as her own: in a word, to become the head of a league not for aggression, but for common defense against a common enemy. In confronting such appalling dangers the minor differences between the various reformed creeds might well have been forgotten. Thus might liberty of conscience for all, and perhaps, with God's blessing, the ultimate triumph of a purer faith throughout all

* Froude, pref. to vol. vii. † Ibid., *ubi supra.*

Christendom, have been secured by the presentation of an unbroken front to the spirit of superstition and despotism, whether displaying itself in Great Britain, in France, or in Flanders.

How it was that Elizabeth failed to seize the opportunity for acquiring true glory, and for reaping a harvest of gratitude in all future time, Mr. Froude has skillfully and patiently inquired in these volumes. It was through no lack of a bold, sagacious, and large-souled minister to trace out for her the path of glory and lasting honor. Seldom has a monarch been blessed with a more trustworthy counselor than she possessed in William Cecil, better known by his later appellation of Lord Burleigh. Far-sighted and prudent, he yet knew when the sweets of security were to be best obtained by bold ventures. He recognized the difference between a praiseworthy caution and cowardly hesitation, and was convinced that the brave escape more blows in facing their opponents than poltroons in trying to avoid them. Unfortunately, however, although his mistress never discarded him, and always preferred him in the end to her more highly-titled advisers, she but half followed his wise recommendations. Rarely were his suggestions warmly espoused and promptly executed. Although the event had so often proved to her the wisdom of her minister's policy, the queen continued to the end of life to procrastinate in every important matter until absolutely forced, by the irresistible argument of events around her, to take immediate and decided measures. But from the temporary display of energy she soon relapsed into her wonted habits of chronic suspense, ceaselessly weighing in her mind the merits of the opposite courses of action, but from day to day renewing their consideration not where she had left off, but at the same starting-point. Not a few of the flagrant errors of her reign are to be attributed to this pernicious tendency rather than to any deliberate purpose. "History," says Mr. Froude, "ever prone to interpret unfavorably the ambiguous conduct of sovereigns, has accepted her enemies' explanation of Elizabeth's behavior. She has been allowed credit for ability at the expense of principle and character. *To her own ministers she appeared to be incapable, through infirmity of purpose, of forming any settled resolution whatever; to be distracted between conflicting policies and torn*

by feminine emotions." * Fortunate indeed was it for England and for Protestantism that she had in Philip II. her match in dilatoriness; a prince of whom his latest biographer says, "There was a certain apathy or sluggishness in his nature, which led him sometimes to leave events to take their own course rather than to shape a course for himself." †

Unhappily other causes, besides this constitutional defect, contributed to prevent Elizabeth from giving to the appeals of the Protestants upon the continent that kindly hearing which they deserved. One of the chief was a difference of theology. The daughter of Henry VIII. was a stickler for the real presence of our Lord's body in the eucharist, at times adopting the very theory of the Papists, but wavering continually between that and the modified views of the German Reformers. Their single rejection of this doctrine made the Huguenots of France and the Low Countries distasteful to her. She hated to have her tenets in danger of being confounded with those of the "Sacramentarians," of whom so much evil had been said.

"Personally Elizabeth had but little sympathy with the Netherlanders," says Mr. Froude when relating the first assumption of arms by William of Orange. "She was a Lutheran, and the Netherlanders were Calvinists. The refugees caused her continual trouble both in themselves and in the rapidity with which they made proselytes. The Lutherans detested the Calvinists as bringing a reproach upon the Reformation. The Catholics encouraged them by affecting to make a marked distinction between the two forms of heresy. They avoided meddling with the Confession of Augsburg till they had first disposed of the more dangerous doctrines of Geneva; and they desired it to be understood that, except for Calvin and Calvin's disciples, the wounds of Europe might be amicably healed." ‡

It is humiliating to see how easily this great princess—for great she was in many points, though of lamentably contracted views in this—suffered herself to be diverted from the glorious mission to which she was called by God's providence, and how imperfectly she therefore fulfilled it. And the prejudice engendered by minor theological differences, whose consideration should have been instantly dismissed from her mind when such momentous issues were depending upon her course of conduct,

* Ibid., ix, 395. † Prescott, Philip II., i, 495. ‡ Froude, ix, 324.

was strengthened by the dread she morbidly cherished of allying herself with subjects who were in arms against their sovereigns, and thus upholding the right of rebellion against anointed kings. Between the fear of encouraging a hated doctrine respecting the eucharist and the fear of encouraging discontented subjects, she bid fair to prove useless, or worse than useless, to the cause of Protestantism.

"Elizabeth, with the queen of Scots upon her hands, could not afford to sympathize with rebels. Unfortunately rebellion and Protestantism in all countries but her own were going hand in hand, and she was alike frightened and exasperated at seeing that the reforming part of her own subjects were drifting further and further from her own standing-ground. . . . Thus, being forever in fear of the example being turned against herself, *she disclaimed for herself all sympathy with the foreign Protestants.* She ostentatiously claimed communion for her own Anglicanism with the mystic body of the visible Church, and De Silva caught at every opportunity of encouraging her humor, applauding the loyalty of her Catholic subjects, and contrasting their temper with the anarchic libertinism of the heretics."*

And so it came to pass that Elizabeth, the last person in the world that should have sympathized with the oppression of Protestantism in the Netherlands, "listened with seeming satisfaction to the account of Alva's successes. Thus only can we give credit to the report of the Spanish envoy to his master in Spain, that "when Egmont was executed she expressed some regret that he had not been heard in his defense, but she admitted that he had deserved his fate, and she complained of the unreasonableness of mankind, who, when crimes were committed, clamored for their punishment, and when the punishment came, could only compassionate the sufferers." She, consequently, not only winked at the celebration of a popish *Te Deum* in the embassador's chapel in honor of Louis of Nassau's disastrous defeat at Jemmingen, but while all Protestant Christendom was overwhelmed with grief, and the hearts of ten thousand Christians were turned toward heaven to supplicate the removal of God's heavy judgments, she could, with unfeeling calmness, jest on the completeness of the discomfiture

* Ibid., ix, 326.

of the Dutch, and say to the representative of the monarch, whose hands were imbrued in the blood of her brethren in the faith, that "the duke's victory reminded her of what was said of a gentleman, who, with his servant, was set upon by a dozen thieves, and killed or disabled them all, 'One man with a head on his shoulders was worth a dozen without.'" †

If to the traits of character which we have just mentioned—irresolution, narrow-mindedness on religious questions, and aversion to rebellion under any provocation—we add a selfish regard for her own interests that outweighed the clearest dictates of humanity, and a love of accumulation often too short-sighted not to defeat its own ends, we have the principal impediments with which the Protestants of the continent, and indeed her own liberal adviser, Cecil, were forced to contend. A certain hatred of oppression, at least of oppression which she did not herself inflict—a woman's pity for distress, and indignation at tales of cruelty and bloodshed—a prevailing attachment for the Reformation, especially viewed as a revolt from the Roman see—and, above all, an occasional capacity for descrying the doom that awaited her as soon as the rest of the Protestant world was overwhelmed, these were the leading qualities to which the Huguenots of France and the Gueux of the Low Countries could appeal with some hope of success.

Toward the close of the year 1561 the court of France, and, in fact, the whole country itself, was in a position that could not be regarded even by those who were too near the events to take in their full magnitude, otherwise than as most precarious. The colloquy of Poissy had failed of bringing about the reconciliation between the Romish and the Reformed parties which a few superficial minds had expected from it. The bishops had entered upon it resolved to break it up or make it fruitless of good; but the Protestants had shown their intellectual and moral power, and, what was of more consequence with the court, had given probably an exaggerated impression of their numbers in France, and so they were enjoying a temporary toleration which the bloody edicts did not legally accord to them. The wily Catharine de Medici was not quite sure which side would prove the stronger, and was therefore hesitating whether to play Papist or Huguenot.

† Ibid., ix, 325.

Reformed ministers preached in Admiral Coligny's quarters. The Roman Catholic preachers were neglected. Catharine slept, the courtiers jested, young Charles IX. played with his dog during the sermon. An Englishman wrote from the palace of St. Germain: "Here is new fire, here is new green wood reeking, new smoke, and much contrary wind blowing against Mr. Holy Pope, for in all haste the king of Navarre, with his tribe, will have another council, and the cardinal [of Ferrara, the papal legate] stamps and takes on like a madman, and goeth up and down, here to the queen, there to the cardinal of Tournon, with such unquieting in himself as all the house marvels at it." * But this state of things could not continue long. It was well known that, some months before, the hostility of the Papists to the legalized toleration to which the Huguenots aspired had taken definite shape in the formation of the "triumvirate" of the Constable Montmorency, the duke of Guise, and the marshal of St. André. It was equally certain that this nefarious combination contemplated nothing less than the annihilation of the Protestants of France, if not of Europe entire, and that it sought to attract to itself the queen-mother and the frivolous king of Navarre. Civil war was imminent. The Huguenots could not suffer themselves to be led like sheep to the slaughter. Forty years of *legal* persecution and incessant martyrdoms were surely sufficient without an *illegal* massacre, undertaken at the bidding of three private noblemen, and those not of royal blood. A Protestant league for defense was suggested. Solicitations were made to the queen of England to provide for her own safety as well as for that of the Protestants of France, Switzerland, Germany, Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries, by joining it. The mere publication of the fact that Elizabeth would stand by the cause of Protestantism across the channel might have deterred its enemies from inaugurating civil war, and history might have lost some of those mournful pages which it could best afford to do without; but "Elizabeth would join it and would not join it, and changed her mind or her language from day to day," until she made all parties distrust her equally, and the project fell to the ground.

On the 17th of January 1562, an edict was framed by the

* Froude, vii, 391, 392.

king, at the recommendation of a deliberative body in which not only delegates from the parliaments, but all the highest and most influential of the nobility had seats, by which the Huguenots for the first time obtained legal recognition. They were guaranteed liberty of conscience, and places for worship in the suburbs of the cities. If not all they were entitled to, it was, at least, a law under whose protection they could have lived peaceably, and continued to grow in numbers and in influence. It was all they sought to maintain or recover in that dreary generation of civil war. But their enemies would not permit them to enjoy what were now their *legal*, as well as their moral, rights. After intriguing in Alsace to alienate the Germans from the Huguenots, the duke of Guise started for Paris with the avowed purpose of breaking up by force their worship in the vicinity of the capital. At Vassy, on the first of March, 1562, he fell upon an unoffending and defenseless congregation of Protestants assembled in a barn, and butchered or wounded nearly two hundred persons. The massacre of Vassy was the spark that kindled a conflagration which swept over France for thirty years. A little more than a month from the ill-fated day when Guise entered that village of Champagne, two armies were on foot—the one to protect, the other to exterminate the Protestants of France.*

* It is extremely unfortunate that Mr. Froude should have based his account of French affairs at this important point upon so inaccurate and prejudiced a writer as Varillas. To be correct in his delineation of these was almost as important for his object as to be correct in his narration of purely insular occurrences. If he desired to avoid the labor, from which he might well be excused, of mastering the great accumulation of contemporary and original French authorities, he might have resorted with propriety, as he has done in the case of the St. Bartholomew's Eve massacre, to Henri Martin's noble history, or to that of Sismondi, not to speak of Soldan, Von Polenz, and a host of other special works. Varillas wrote, nearly a century after the events he describes, a number of works of little literary and still less historical value. His "Histoire de Charles IX.," (Cologne, 1686,) which lies before us—the work which Mr. Froude has but too often followed—begins with a dedication to Louis XIV., the first sentence of which sufficiently reveals the author's prepossessions: "Sire, it is impossible to write the history of Charles IX., without beginning the panegyric of your majesty." No wonder that Mr. Froude's account of the massacre of Vassy, (vii. 401–2,) derived solely from this source, (Hist. de Charles IX., i. 126, etc.), is as favorable to Guise as his most ardent partisan could have desired. But where in the world—even in Varillas—did the author ever find authority for the statement (vii. 402) that, in consequence of the necessity felt by Guise for temporizing, a little later "*the affair at Vassy was censured in a public decree!*" To have done *that*

The outbreak of the first French civil war thrilled the souls of ardent Protestants like a clarion's note. The Papists of France, it was at once discovered, were to be assisted, if need be, by Philip II. The English envoy Throgmorton wrote home, less than a fortnight after Condé had established himself in Orleans: "Already the embassador of Spain hath within these three days used such language to the Queen-mother as she may conceive the King his master *doth mind to make waar to repress the Prince of Condé*—if the king her son and she will not—as one that saith he hath such interest in the crown of France by the marriage of his wife, and in respect of the Christian religion, as that he will not suffer the same to fall into ruin and danger by heresy and sedition."* And in the same letter he assured the queen that "although this Papistical complot did begin here first to break out, yet the plot thereof was large, and intended to be executed and practiced as well in your majesty's realm as Scotland and elsewhere." And he drew from a dreadful massacre that had taken place at Sens but two days before this salutary hint for Elizabeth: "Your majesty may perceive how dangerous it is to suffer Papists that be of great heart and enterprise to lift up their crests so high."† Yet, in spite of Throgmorton's warnings and Cecil's expostulations, for four long months Elizabeth continued to look passively on while Condé fought single handed the battles of Protestant Europe. She slighted the picture drawn by her secretary's hand of the dangers that would accrue to England from Condé's failure: "Philip and the Guises would become the dictators of Europe; Spain would have Ireland; the queen of Scots would marry Don Carlos; the Council of Trent would pass a general sentence against all Protestants, and the English Catholics, directed and supported from abroad, would rise in universal rebellion."

would have been for Guise to admit that he was guilty of murder, and that his enemies had not slandered him when they called him a "butcher of the human race." He *never did* make such an acknowledgment; on the contrary, he asseverated his innocence just before his death. What *was* done on the occasion referred to was, to try to shift the responsibility of the war from the shoulders of the Papists to those of the Huguenots, by pretending to re-enact the edict of January with some restrictions. It need scarcely be added that we fully appreciate the new light which the English letters Mr. Froude has made use of, throw upon contemporary French history.

* Letter to Cecil, April 17th, in Froude, vii, 404. † Ibid., *ubi supra.*

She maintained such friendly intercourse with the Spanish embassador, De Quadra, that the popular tide in London set strong against Condé. "I have not since I came last over," wrote William Hawes, "come in any company where almost the greater part have not in reasoning defended Papistry, allowed the Guisian proceedings, and seemed to deface the prince's quarrel and design." *

It was not till late in the summer that Elizabeth's co-operation was secured. The calls to disinterested action had all been unheeded. Now the prince of Condé, conscious of the urgency of the case, and of the hopelessness of otherwise gaining her support, offered as an equivalent the cities of Dieppe and Havre to be held as pledges for the restoration of Calais, the term of whose occupation by the French, according to the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, was in part expired. It was a sacrifice of national pride that ought never to have been exacted. It was the only thing that could tempt Elizabeth. "She had her eye on Calais and Normandy, and was ready to run some risks for them." But even after entering into an alliance with the Huguenots, her course was as undecided, as selfish, as ever. She would not move her troops from the cities which she had entered, it seemed, with little idea of serving any other interest than her own. The few English troops present at the defense of Rouen were there contrary to her orders. Mr. Froude has shown † that she was not without remonstrances as to the alienation which so unprincipled a policy would produce in the very Huguenots that had invited her. "Unfortunately," he adds, "the warning was thrown away. Elizabeth wished well on the whole to freedom, and was ready at the last emergency to fight for it; but truth and right in her mind were never wholly separated from advantage. She drove hard bargains, and occasionally overreached herself by excess of shrewdness." If any proof of her selfish motives, additional to that afforded by the very facts of the case, is needed, it is found in a letter she wrote to Philip, in which she distinctly told him that the recovery of Calais was the object of her interference, and that when it was restored she would "revoke" her forces at once! ‡

The assistance rendered under such circumstances could

* In Froude, vii, 425. † Ibid., vii, 434. ‡ Ibid., vii, 439.

scarcely be very effective. But the English alliance soon proved an embarrassment to the Huguenots. After the death of Saint-André at the battle of Dreux, and the assassination of Guise by Poltrot at the siege of Orleans,* there remained of the original triumvirate only the aged Constable Montmorency. He and the Prince of Condé were prisoners in the opposite camps. Catharine de Medici was not averse to a reconciliation. But how was Elizabeth to be brought to consent to such terms as the French government could with honor accord? Condé wrote to her "that he had taken arms for freedom of conscience, which was now conceded;" she answered by bidding him beware "how he set an example of perfidy to the world." He offered, in his own name and in the name of the queen and the entire nobility of the kingdom, to renew solemnly the clause of the treaty of Cambray which provided for the restoration of Calais in 1567, to repay the money Elizabeth had advanced to him, and to secure the admission of the English to free trade in all parts of France. Elizabeth preferred to reject these liberal terms, to undertake to hold Havre by force, and to risk the final loss of Calais, rather than await patiently the arrival of the time when it would become hers by right of treaty stipulations. The natural result of her greediness was that Havre was captured, and Calais never restored, and that she alienated the French Protestants, whose friendship would have been more valuable to her than the possession of a dozen towns beyond the channel.

Four years of peace ensued, during which the Huguenots patiently submitted to gradually more and more open infringements of their rights under the pacification of Amboise. After another brief struggle arms were a second time laid down; but the peace was only a truce. In a few months a third and more deadly contest was inaugurated. While the merciless Alva was deluging the Netherlands with the blood of all that could be apprehended who had participated in any demonstrations of hostility against the usurpations of Philip, the heads of the Roman Catholic party in France had taken advantage of the

* Mr. Froude does Admiral Coligny great injustice when he asserts that "Châtillon never wholly convinced the world of his innocence." The implication is, that his defense was unsatisfactory, whereas it was full, candid, and, like his own character, straightforward. Only partial and insincere writers of the stamp of Varillas remained unconvinced.

false security into which the Huguenots had suffered themselves to be lulled to attempt a general arrest of all the most prominent men among the Protestant leaders. What their subsequent fate would have been had not the enterprise miscarried the recent instructive examples of Egmont and Horn sufficiently indicated.* It needed no prophet's eye to see "that the safety of Elizabeth's throne depended on the Protestants of the continent being saved from utter destruction." William of Nassau, in a letter to Cecil, which Mr. Froude has published from the manuscripts of the Rolls House, described briefly but pathetically the wretched condition of the commonwealths whose deliverance he had espoused.† Condé strove to move the queen by sending Odêt de Châtillon, the married cardinal, Coligny's elder brother,‡ to plead the cause of humanity and a common religion in behalf of the Huguenots. But neither Condé nor Orange met with much encouragement. "The English nobles did not recognize the identity of religion." Elizabeth, while treating Châtillon with a fair show of respect, told the French embassador, La Mothe Fénélon, *that she had no sympathy with the Huguenots, and that she hoped that the defeats they had experienced would be a lesson everywhere to subjects who took up arms against their princes.* If she recommended the exercise of toleration by Charles IX., the suggestion was so made as to sound more like an approval of his past course than a hope of amelioration in future. "If the queen-mother had consulted her in the first instance," she said, "she would have advised that as, after all, both parties worshiped the same God, *one service or the other should have been prohibited in France.* Since Catharine had preferred to attempt toleration, it would have been better if the experiment had lasted longer." Again Cecil suggested, as the only remedy for the evils impending over Christendom, a Protestant alliance, and wished Elizabeth to declare openly that England could not look calmly upon a general persecution for religion. But the queen's parsimony prevented her from taking this

* Leopold Ranké, Civil Wars and Monarchy in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, (English translation; New York, 1853,) p. 238.

† Froude, ix, 333, 334.

‡ Not "the younger Coligny, the Cardinal of Châtillon," as Mr. Froude inadvertently calls him, ix, 334.

noble step, and before she could bring herself to it, Condé was defeated and slain at Jarnac, (February, 1569,) whereupon she lost no time in assuring the French government that she would meddle no more with the Huguenots.*

In August, 1570, the third civil war came to an end. For the next two years the Protestants of France enjoyed at court a degree of favor that contrasted strangely with the persistent aversion with which they had been regarded for years. Coligny, from being the traitor whom the parliament of Paris had proscribed, whose escutcheon had been broken with every mark of indignity, had become the favorite "whom the king delighted to honor." So completely did Charles IX. desire to efface all recollection of the past that he ordered the first president of the parliament to bring him from Paris the records of that court, and, after looking them over, tore out several leaves on which were written the proceedings against Cardinal Coligny, the admiral's brother. "He was not at all obliged to the Cardinal of Bourbon," he said, "for having obtained judgment against the house of Châtillon, *which had done him so much good service, and had taken up arms in his behalf.*" †

It was when her envoy, Walsingham, had reported to her these or similar indications of the disposition of the French king and his mother to lay the foundations of a permanent peace by establishing harmony and concord at home that Elizabeth first broached the subject of her marriage with one of Charles's younger brothers. The negotiations which this project gave rise to were long and tedious. Mr. Froude has devoted no inconsiderable part of his last volume to unraveling their intricate tangle. He has shown with how much difficulty Catharine de Medici was persuaded that the English queen was not, as usual, dissembling, but was really in earnest in her desire to marry, and how zealously she strove to remove the obstacles that Elizabeth successively raised to a match which it became evident she only thought of actually making in case she was forced into it by domestic rebellion and a Spanish war. He has exhibited the caprice of Elizabeth, now

* Froude, ix, 445.

† See the interesting account given of this scene (for the first time, we believe,) in the "Mémoires de Jehan de la Fosse," recently published by M. Barthelemy; (Paris, 1865,) under the title "Mémoires d'un Curé ligueur de Paris," p. 122.

assuring Cecil of her desire for a French alliance, cemented by her nuptials with Anjou or Alençon; now driving her prime minister almost distracted by the "combination of obstinacy and vacillation" in her movements. For she was "at once determined to go her own way, and unable to decide which way she wished to go." Meantime the Protestants of France could read the future sufficiently well to be convinced that upon the union between their native land and England, of which the marriage was to be the pledge, depended their toleration, or a renewed effort to destroy them. If Elizabeth espoused Anjou, it seemed incontrovertible that Catharine, spurred on by the belief that her daughter Isabella had been poisoned by Philip II., would cause war to be declared against Spain, and that Coligny would lead a French army of deliverance into the Low Countries. If again she played false, a vague presage of coming disaster weighed down their spirits. The fact was that nothing short of a close tie of interest could so bind the English queen as to make Charles or Catharine feel safe in entering upon a Spanish war. There was nothing more probable in their eyes than that otherwise, after getting her neighbors fairly involved in mutual hostilities, she would herself retire from the arena, and take advantage of their embarrassments.

Yet in this critical juncture Elizabeth did not lay aside her old vices of procrastination and irresolution. To such an extent did she attempt to play a double part, that while treating with France she was listening to the offers which Alva privately made her, and while feeding the Prince of Orange with hopes of assistance she was, if we regard the letter of a Spanish emissary to the Duke of Alva as sufficient proof to authenticate so strange an act of perfidy, actually proposing to betray the city of Flushing into its enemies' hands.* True or false, the reports of Elizabeth's bad faith destroyed all the hopes which Catharine had entertained of a joint march into Flanders; and the unprincipled Italian woman promptly renounced the war which she was to have waged as the ally of an excommunicated queen for a massacre through which she was to regain her influence over her unhappy son by ridding

* The passage of Anton de Guaras's note of June 30, 1572, containing this almost incredible statement, is given by Mr. Froude in the original, x, 383, *note*.

herself of a formidable rival in his esteem, and to acquire with papal Europe a renown for devotion to the faith which she little deserved.

And here we must close this brief sketch of Elizabeth's relations with the Huguenots at the great catastrophe with which Mr. Froude's account for the time concludes. And we cannot better weigh her responsibility and sum up the results of her culpable recklessness than by quoting his own forcible words: "Elizabeth had trifled too long. The bars of hell's gates were broken, and the devils were loose. It is not pretended that she ought to have sacrificed herself. She might have declined, had she pleased it, both the marriage with Alençon, and all interference for good or evil with the affairs of the continent; but to 'practice,' as she had done deliberately for so many years, with the subjects of other princes; to encourage insurrection for her own purposes, and then to leave the fire to burn; to hold out hopes, and disappoint them; 'to build,' as Walsingham expressed it, 'with one hand and overthrow with the other;' all this might be sport to her, but it was death to those with whom she toyed so cruelly." *

From the perusal of the volumes in which Mr. Froude has treated of the first years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, we rise with a high appreciation of the singular skill which is everywhere manifested. Few specimens of recent historical composition surpass in dramatic interest the accounts of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve and of the death of John Knox, as well as several other passages that might be named. Mr. Froude becomes eloquent when treating of a great man or of a critical juncture in the world's story. While we cannot sympathize with him in his detestation of theology,† and while we regret some unnecessary allusions to biblical history,‡ which sound too much like the utterances of a half-avowed skepticism, we must give Mr. Froude the credit of doing honor to those whose religious views he could by no means indorse.

* Froude, x, 387, 388.

† "God gave the Gospel, the father of lies invented theology," ix, 305. "'By their fruits ye shall know them.' Through Christ came charity and mercy, from theology came strife and hatred, and that fatal root of bitterness of which our Lord spoke himself in the mournful prophecy, that he had not come to send peace on earth, but a sword."—Page 306.

‡ Froude, ix, 414; x, 411, etc.

Scotch Protestantism, though, according to him, a "narrow, fierce, defiant creed," that held the ten commandments as more important than the sciences, and the Bible above all the literature of the world, he admits had strength enough "to prevent Elizabeth's diplomacies from ruining both herself and Scotland;" * while of the Puritans of England he observes that "it was they, after all, who saved the Church which attempted to disown them, and with the Church, saved also the stolid mediocrity to which the fates then and ever committed and commit the government of it." †

We shall await with some impatience the publication of the remaining volumes of a work which combines the fruits of long and patient research, with the advantages of a clear, forcible, and very attractive style.

Art. V.—THE MISSIONARY POLICY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. ‡

The most thoughtful friends of the missionary cause recognize the fact that the present is an important, not to say critical, period in the history of the enterprise. It is now a little more than half a century since the evangelical Churches of Christendom adopted this plan for carrying out their great commission to convert the world to Christ, and now it is beginning to be felt that the time has come for collecting and comparing results, and more especially for inquiring whether the success achieved has been such as to justify the confidence of the Church in this peculiar kind of evangelizing labor. The friends of missions cannot avoid the inquiry, for although they may justly claim that much time should be allowed for preparatory labor, yet they can hardly expect practical men to put much confidence in an enterprise which cannot be tested by fifty years of patient effort. They must meet the question fairly; and, in an age which impatiently tolerates any enterprise which is not

* Froude, x, 24. † Ibid, x, 115.

‡ We have decided to insert this article in view of some of the suggestions it makes, as well as to give our working missionary an audience before the Church which, as he claims, allows him no representation. But we must not be understood as adopting the tone or the positions of the entire piece.—Ed.

practical in its aims and successful in its operations, they must show not merely that modern missions do good, but that they accomplish the peculiar work for which they were undertaken. They must show that communities, cities, nations, may in this way be brought to Christ; that education and civilization may in this way be diffused throughout the abodes of darkness and cruelty; that the social condition of empires may be revolutionized; and, in short, that our world may be made a Christian world.

It cannot be said that the friends of missions have manifested any reluctance to enter upon this inquiry. On the contrary, they have been eager to point to the achievements of their favorite enterprise. They tell us that Pentecost has more nearly repeated itself in the mission fields of the South Pacific than at any other place in the history of the Church. They point to the Sandwich Islands to show how a whole nation may be converted. They bring before us the martyrs of Madagascar to remind an apathetic Church and a skeptical world that the spirit of Stephen still animates the breasts of believers. They call up the reformed cannibals of Feejee to witness that the lowest possible depths to which humanity can sink are not beyond the saving power of the Gospel. They point with just pride to India, where a mere handful of missionaries displayed greater courage and achieved greater success in grappling with great national evils than forty thousand Protestant ministers had done in the case of a single evil in the United States. And, lastly, they array their statistics to prove that there are more members in connection with the mission Churches of the world, than there were in the apostolical Churches at the close of the first half century after Pentecost.

All this is very encouraging; but when it is all thankfully admitted, a little doubt will probably remain in the minds of many, who look less at special instances of heroism and devotion than at the main object attempted—the conversion of the world. They will feel a reluctant conviction that the past history of the missionary cause shows what may be done, rather than what has been actually accomplished toward this great consummation. The revival in the South Seas may become universal; the conversion of Hawaii may be repeated

in China; the devoted heroism of Madagascar may be implanted in all human hearts, and the regeneration of an island in the ocean may be but a miniature of the regeneration of our world; but when the resources of the Church, the millions of Christians in the world at the beginning of this enterprise, are compared with the poor handful of expectant disciples at the prayer-meeting in Jerusalem, it will not do to say that our missionaries have made converts as rapidly as the apostles did. They ought to be able to show tenfold more. They have done good, are doing good, but as yet their work does not look like an organized campaign for the conversion of the world. At the present rate of progress the conversion of our race will be the painful work of many weary centuries. But the best convictions of earnest Christians tell them that this need not, ought not, shall not be. They ask if there is no better way, no plan for calling out the great resources of the Church, no means of bringing the strength of the Christian world to bear on this great contest, so as to make it short, quick, and decisive.

It is in this spirit that earnest Christians are beginning to review the operations of modern missions; and it is but too manifest that the best of all enterprises will lose the sympathies of many whom it can least spare, unless it can be shown that the work is to be organized on a basis, and carried on with an efficiency, commensurate with the gigantic task to be accomplished. If we see few indications of a tendency to desert the cause, it is because a general hope is entertained that better days await it, and that some plan or plans will be devised for placing it on a new and more worthy basis. The missionary cause is deeply rooted in the affections of the Christian public, and before it is thrown aside as a failure, every possible effort will be made to realize the golden hopes of its earlier days. Many plans have been proposed, and many suggestions are being constantly offered by men who seem to be convinced that something must be done to save the enterprise, but it is as needless as it would be impossible to notice their views in detail. Very many seem to think that the enterprise is to be saved by some startling discovery of a new method of labor. Some fine day it will be discovered that Judson and Carey were old fogies, and that the world is to

be converted by some new style of preaching, or teaching, or writing. Others, again, think some one kind of labor should be adopted and all others abandoned, and hence endless discussions have arisen as to the best methods of missionary labor. Thus we find a hundred psalms, and as many interpretations, but among them all it is noticeable that attention is wholly directed to the missionary field. It is there that the reform is to be effected, if at all; and hence all suggestions are directed to the missionary body, and a little impatience is sometimes expressed with men who cannot, on an occasion like this, devise some plan of operations worthy of the emergency. Perhaps the time has come to gently hint, that possibly the reform should begin at home; that the army is less to blame than the government; and that instead of complaining of the soldiers on the field, it would be better to sustain them, *and give them strength for great campaigns.* The truth is, that missionaries have not been wanting in the trial of new expedients, and that man would be ingenious indeed who could suggest a plan which had never been tried before. It is now pretty generally accepted among experienced men that there is no royal road to success in this work other than that heretofore followed; but with this opinion comes a very general conviction, that to give proper efficiency to the old methods, the home management might, perhaps, be advantageously modified. This opinion is not confined to any one society, nor is it the rash conclusion of inexperienced or, perhaps, insubordinate young men; but the most tried and trusted veterans in the field will be found almost unanimous in saying, that if reform is needed anywhere, it is at the base of supplies rather than in the field of action.

In briefly noticing two or three features of the missionary policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it is not intended to imply that there is anything peculiarly defective in the management of our own society. It is conducted very much like all others of the kind; but, to bring the matter home to us, it may be well to look at the great enterprise as we stand related to it through our own Church.

First, let us glance at the financial situation. It is no reflection on either the faith or devotion of the missionary body, to say that they feel a very serious anxiety for the

future, growing out of the unsatisfactory condition of the home treasuries. For some years past the financial reports of the leading societies of England have shown unmistakable signs, perhaps not of exhaustion, but certainly of uncomfortable tension. Here and there a slight increase may be reported; but, taking the field as a whole, there has been very little extension of the work during the past eight or ten years, while at some points important work has been abandoned for want of funds. It requires the utmost possible effort to collect enough from all sources, ordinary and extraordinary, to maintain the work in its present proportions, while many, perhaps a majority, of the leading managers of the different societies do not hesitate to express regret that so much work has been undertaken. In America, the more rapid increase of evangelical Christians, the still more rapid increase of wealth, and the elasticity imparted to all financial interests by the recent expansion of the currency, have partially averted the embarrassment of the English societies; but there is abundant evidence to show that the receipts of all Churches are rapidly approaching a maximum, beyond which it will be difficult to advance. These remarks may seem irrelevant to the Methodist Episcopal Church, as the unprecedent buoyancy of her missionary finances during the past few years seems strangely in contrast with the story of depression which we hear from other quarters. The contrast, however, is more apparent than real. The M. E. Church was later in the field than most of her sister denominations, and up to the time of the recent expansion of the currency, her contributions had been relatively lower than theirs. The growing missionary zeal of the membership was suddenly and powerfully stimulated by the remarkable openings among the freedmen, while the unexampled commercial prosperity of the country made it easy to augment the collections beyond all precedent. Already, however, it begins to be evident that in many sections our Churches have reached their maximum of liberality, and that the experience of other denominations is soon to be repeated in the stringency, if not embarrassment, of our own missionary finances. The aspect of our work abroad is not very pleasing. It begins to look doubtful whether the magnificent scheme for a powerful mission in India can ever be practically carried

into effect, while the utmost efforts of the Board hardly suffice to keep up the working force of the little mission in China. In India, China, Bulgaria, and Africa, we simply hold a few advanced posts, which we cannot strengthen, and which we do not hold with a firm and confident grasp.

It is such facts as these which make a thoughtful missionary look into the future with anxiety. He has entered upon his work because he had faith in its future. He saw in the missionary scheme a simple organization, promising little in the present age, but capable of expansion until it covered our earth, like a vast network, with evangelizing agencies. But when he sees the resources of the Church failing before his work is fairly begun—when he sees the expansion of the work cease, and in some places contraction begin—his heart cannot but fail him. He sees the leading missionary society of the world so straitened for funds, that when it is about to enter the most populous empire on the globe it is obliged to stake the financial support of the mission on the proceeds of an annual breakfast meeting. He looks at this programme for the conversion of four hundred millions of human beings, and remembering that it represents the present spirit of the movement, he finds it difficult to believe that the magnificent scheme of Carey and Coke, and Judson and Martyn, will be ever realized.

There is no cause for despairing of the future. If the resources of the Church are not reached, there must be something wrong in the methods employed, and it will be well to look carefully for the cause of the difficulty. Without presuming to point out all that is defective in our present methods, it may, perhaps, be safe to assume that nothing has contributed more to insure scanty contributions than the mistaken policy of making the missionary cause a religious charity rather than a Church enterprise. From the days of Carey and Coke down to the present, the appeal has been made to the pity of the public rather than to the conscience of the Church. The collector has been a beggar, and has received a beggar's portion. The public do not, and will not, honor a cause which does not honor itself; and just so long as the missionary cause is made to depend on the proceeds of sewing circles, bazars, Sunday-school exhibitions, and the pretty impudence of committees of

little girls, just so long will the princely contributions of a few noble men, or model Churches, fail to bring up the aggregate result to anything like a fair measure of the ability of the Church. Nor will the more popular method of raising large collections on special occasions in Churches ever solve the difficulty. Eloquent addresses, stirring hymns, and fervent prayers are all right and necessary in their proper place; but the practice of putting up a man's popularity for sale in the shape of a life-membership, the still more questionable practice of putting a not very gentle pressure on Mr. A. to induce him to give as much as Mr. B., and the various schemes of well-meant trickery by which money is wrung from unwilling hands, will always hinder rather than help those who strive to put our missionary finances on a healthy and permanent basis. The whole policy is unworthy of a noble cause, and unworthy of a powerful Church. If it be proposed to pursue a similar plan in raising a minister's salary, both pastor and people would resent it as degrading, if not insulting. The members of any respectable Church respect themselves too highly, and recognize their obligations too clearly, to condescend to such a measure. But surely the obligations are alike. It is the *Church*, and not a few beggared missionaries, that has taken up this enterprise, and its interests should be trusted to the obligations of the membership. Let the missionary fund be raised in the usual way that all other legitimate Church expenses are raised; and whatever is secured by extraordinary methods, such as the more unobjectionable of those now employed, will be to the main fund what the proceeds of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions were to the government during the late war. There will always be ample need of such additional funds, but the main revenue should not be dependent on such resources.

The plan for the support of missions laid down in the Discipline has many most commendable features; but so far as it relates to the collection of money, it inclines by far too much in the direction of the error just pointed out. The plan of having collectors canvass for the cause throughout the year has not been generally followed, and probably will never prove adapted to our usages or tastes. The more common method is to bring all possible pressure to bear on the services of some appointed

Sabbath, and the money given on that occasion is the gift of the Church for the year. The tactics of the day are usually too artificial to touch many consciences, and while it sometimes happens that a hallowed religious impression rests on the assembly, there is reason to fear that the influence is more frequently such as to make the annual return of the missionary day a source of more discomfort than joy. There may be scores of exceptions to these remarks; but the fact remains, that this plan does not succeed in reaching the great mass of the membership; and if it did, there is reason to fear that it would not call out anything like the full measure of their liberality.

To show that these remarks are not wholly misapplied, both as regards the cause of the difficulty and its remedy, we have but to glance at the history of another of the miscalled charities of the Church. While admitting that the widows and orphans of our preachers, as well as those preachers themselves who have been superannuated from active service, are in equity entitled to a reasonable support, we have for years found it difficult to give them the smallest annuity. The Church has been able, and apparently willing, but for some reason the money has not been forthcoming. The explanation of this is not difficult. The appeal has been made to the pity, and not to the obligations, of the people. The widow and orphan have been annually introduced to public congregations as friendless beggars, and have received the beggars' pennies. That the humiliating failure has been owing to this cause alone is proved by the example of one or two conferences where a better policy has been adopted. Instead of vaguely asking for a public collection in all the Churches, an estimate is made of the amount actually needed, and this is distributed among the Churches according to their ability, the result being that the amount asked for is secured without the slightest difficulty. A similar policy would soon solve the difficulty in the case of the missionary funds; and if the recent apportionment to the conference of the annual appropriations is intended to be the first step toward the initiation of such a policy, the friends of the cause may well congratulate themselves on so promising a movement. An attempt to go further, and assess a fixed sum on each Church, to be raised in whatever way the membership may

have adopted for collecting their funds, would probably be decried by some as an attempt to do away with the "voluntary principle" in our Church, but the same objection might with equal justice be urged against all other Church funds. The principle of voluntary support of religious institutions depends on the free choice of joining or not joining a particular Church, rather than on the whim of the donor in the case of each special department of Christian labor.

Another cause of anxiety to the friends of missions is found in the difficulty of securing efficient reinforcements for our foreign work. If rivers of wealth flowed at our feet it would avail little so long as suitable men could not be found to engage in the work. This seems to be the great embarrassment of nearly all societies at present, and if no means can be devised for solving the difficulty, the fate of the missionary cause is sealed. Perhaps it would be doing injustice to no one to add, that if missions have not always been successful in the past, the failure has been more frequently owing to this cause than to any other. There have been periods when men have been found in sufficient numbers; but it is hard to resist the conviction that they have not always been the right men for this peculiar work. In the early days of the enterprise the sole aim of missionary societies was to send abroad men who were willing to devote themselves to this work, without much reference to their peculiar qualifications; and if this mistake has been generally discovered, there is reason to fear that there is still much need of reform in the manner of making appointments. A very large proportion of those sent abroad return within a few years, without having accomplished much in the missionary field; while a rigorous inquiry might possibly disclose the fact that not a few of those who remain are less efficient than the importance of the work demands. In some cases fifty per cent. of a reinforcement prove failures; while, taking all societies together, it would perhaps be safe to say that twenty-five per cent. of those sent abroad fail to spend their lives in efficient service on the mission field. The failure may be sometimes unavoidable, and in every case the missionary may be blameless; but the discouraging fact remains, that at present it is not only difficult to secure reinforcements, but that when found they too often fail to add

strength to the work to which they are sent. No Church has greater cause of solicitude in this respect than our own. In the midst of the celebration of her first Centenary, at a time of unparalleled prosperity, while boasting to the world of her achievements in the past and her strength for the future, her missionary secretaries were obliged to write to one of their foreign missions that they could not in the course of a whole year find two men for the foreign work. This paucity of candidates would be discouraging at any time; but when, in connection with it, we notice how short the average term of service has been in our foreign missions, and remember that a majority of the missionaries in our two Asiatic missions are still young men, virtually on their probation, we may well look to the future with more than solicitude. The work cannot expand —cannot, indeed, be maintained—unless some way can be devised for recruiting efficient men for the service.

It is impossible to believe that suitable men cannot be found. The missionary ardor of our young men is not burning so low as the above statements may seem to indicate. Hundreds of men can be found who would have been glad to go abroad had a chance been offered them when young, and scores of younger men can be found to-day who would be willing to devote their lives to this work if called upon. But some are too old, some have not a suitable education, some have ill health, some are held back by the entanglements of family or business, and, among them all, it is difficult to find one suitable man who is ready to start just at the time when the call is made on him. Here lies the difficulty, but the very statement of it suggests its remedy. The call should be made *long before the time of going abroad.* The mistake has always been, that when a man is needed a search is instituted among the younger preachers in the conferences, or at best among the graduating classes of colleges or theological schools, the aim being in every case to find a man willing and *ready* to go abroad within a few months. Instead of this, the appeal should be made to young men while they are settling the great question of their life's calling, no matter if they are but boys in their teens; and then, when they have their work before them, they can properly prepare for it, and when called upon can respond at a day's notice. If the appeal is made in

this way there will be no lack of candidates, and from the numbers who volunteer judicious selections can be made, and a reserve force be kept constantly on hand ready for any emergency. In connection with this a course of special instruction should be added, either in a seminary organized for the purpose, or in connection with a first-class theological school. Young men would thus be tested, in many respects, before going abroad, and many of the lamentable failures now experienced might thus be avoided. But in the absence of a training school, it should at once be made the settled policy of the Board to make the appointments at an early day, and to keep a reserve force constantly on hand.

The present system is painfully defective, as nearly all our foreign missionaries can testify. In some cases all the preparations for sailing, involving, perhaps, the most delicate and important interests of the young man's life, have to be arranged in the course of five or six hurried weeks. It is impossible to avoid mistakes while pursuing such a policy; and even where the result seems to justify the course pursued, the parties interested seldom fail to regret through life that they have been obliged to sever the tender ties which bound them to friends and country, and set out for a distant, perhaps almost unknown country, without any kind of preparation for the work which awaited them. Nor does it lessen their regret to remember that they would have been equally ready to offer themselves years before the call was made upon them; and they cannot but hope that a more prudent, as well as generous, policy may be followed in the case of those who are to come after them. So long as it is established by the statistics of all societies that a mission can only be kept up to its full strength by receiving annually a reinforcement equal to five *per cent.* of its entire numbers, there can be no risk in securing the men at an early day, and there can be no valid excuse for not doing so.

Another question, which, perhaps, merits more careful attention than it has heretofore received is, that of the government of foreign missions. To secure a vigorous administration, without disturbing the fraternal harmony of a mission, is at best a difficult problem. No men in the world are so free from sectarian strife as missionaries; but, at the same time, it

must be added that none are more prone to fall into serious, if not unpleasant, differences than they. They are men of earnest convictions, profoundly impressed with the importance of their work; and, in a position where they have few precedents to guide them, and where an error may seem fraught with most serious results to the Church of the future, it is but reasonable to expect that they should differ, not only frequently, but earnestly, in their councils. Under such circumstances, too much care cannot be bestowed on the organization of a foreign mission and the administration of its affairs. That this has been too much overlooked, the unwritten history of scores of missions might but too faithfully testify. The error has usually been that there has been too much, or else too little government, causing in one case chafing, and in the other confusion. It required experience to convince some boards that a mission in Asia or Africa could no more be governed from London or New York than a colony could have its affairs administered by a home government; and on the other hand, it required a painful experience in other cases to convince the responsible authorities that, in missions as elsewhere, a proper organization is absolutely necessary to secure efficiency of action.

A mere glance at the foreign missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church will convince any one that this subject has not been carefully elaborated by our missionary authorities. One mission is organized as a conference, with a resident bishop; a second has a conference organization with a superintendent; a third has a conference, without either bishop or superintendent; while four others have superintendents without conferences. Turning to the Discipline, we are surprised to find no reference whatever to a question of so great importance, the whole section on missions being devoted to the single subject of "support" for the work. Nor does our surprise altogether abate when we are told that the silence of the Discipline is compensated for by the "Manual for Missionaries and Superintendents," published by authority of the Missionary Board. This little pamphlet of twenty-four pages gives minute instructions as to the deportment of missionaries on shipboard and in the mission field, and proffers much good advice which cannot be too well followed; but so far as the

practical details of the administration of the mission are concerned, it is, for the most part, silent, or where it speaks at all not very satisfactory. The reciprocal duties and privileges of the superintendent and his brethren are stated with sufficient emphasis to arrest attention, and yet with so much vagueness as to make differences inevitable. At one or two points the modest little pamphlet puts on the airs of a veritable Discipline, and when it gravely proceeds to create a presiding eldership unknown to the law of the Church, one can hardly help suspecting that its compiler had forgotten that there was such a legislative body as the General Conference. In addition to this Manual, our missions receive from time to time general letters of instruction from the Board, or special letters bearing on particular cases, and in some instances special episcopal decisions are sent out, enunciating the law of the Church or of the Board. These documents are often useful, but in the lapse of years they have sometimes become obsolete, and sometimes contradictory; while the missionaries might possibly be better satisfied with episcopal decisions, if given in the disciplinary way at a conference session.

If our missionary work is to be expanded in the future, the time has surely come for introducing a little more system into its management, and giving its laws a place in the Discipline of the Church. Many details must be left to the discretion of the several missions, but some general rules, or at least some formal policy, is needed to regulate them all. The simplest, and certainly the best, manner of organizing a mission is to introduce the entire machinery of our Church system at the earliest possible day. Let there be a conference, even though it have less than half a dozen members; and then let the work be conducted on the home model, and one half the difficulties will vanish in a moment. An occasional visit from a bishop is desirable in any case; and if granted every four or five years, the conference can be successfully managed in the interim by the brethren on the field. Such a plan, of course, involves some risk, but infinitely less than the policy heretofore followed, while it will reduce the government of a mission to the simple question of successfully administering the law of the Church. To this it adds the advantage of at once beginning the work of planting an indigenous Church on a foreign soil.

Very little progress will be made in this direction so long as the mission is kept in a state of pupilage; but the moment that it begins to assume the responsibilities of a Church, the native converts will begin to understand the career that is before them, and the tree brought from foreign shores will take permanent root in the new soil. Just here, however, we meet the most plausible objection which is made to this policy. We are reminded that native converts are often ignorant and unreliable; that important modifications of our economy may, possibly, be found needful in some foreign fields; and that under such circumstances the utmost caution is necessary in extending weighty responsibilities to such men. To this we reply, that the simplest philosophy teaches that the development of an indigenous Church must come from within, and not from without a community, and that we have but little choice in the matter. Moreover, it is every day being demonstrated by the experience of multitudes, that the best way to fit people for responsibility is to give them a good share of it to carry. Children who are never trusted are seldom trustworthy; and native converts will never learn how to manage the affairs of their Church until they have a *bona fide* Church to manage. Nor is there so much fear of their doing so many foolish or dangerous things as many suppose. The missionary body will be conservative enough to guard their conference doors with all needful care, since no men have so much to fear from an irruption of unworthy converts as they; while the natives associated with them will be cautious, perhaps jealous, lest too many of their brethren are elevated to the honorable position which they enjoy. There need be no danger of a conference being overwhelmed by the multitude of half-educated, half-converted native teachers who are expected to fill our missions. It is more probable that as the number of native helpers increases, some subordinate organization will be found needful for them; and if Methodism in our mission fields is true to the genius which has marked her history elsewhere, no difficulty will be experienced in following the leadings of Providence, and providing for the emergency as it arises. Let our missionaries be trusted; let us expect some slight novelties in the development of their work, and let us not be alarmed when they come; let us give them ample opportunity for developing

their tiny little conferences into great Christian empires, and the result will not disappoint our confidence.

It is very much to be regretted that the General Conference, so far as this question has come before it, has not assumed a more liberal attitude toward our foreign missions. While formally conceding that our foreign missions should be organized into conferences "as soon as their condition severally shall render such organization proper," a most singular proviso was enacted to the effect that these conferences should only exercise their limited prerogatives "with the concurrence of the presiding bishop." A provision so new to the law of our Church, and so extraordinary in its character, very naturally excited the apprehensions of our missionaries, nor have they had their solicitude entirely quieted by the explanations of its supporters on the General Conference floor and elsewhere. The reasons assigned for the measure seem so utterly irrelevant, that those most directly interested can hardly be censured for doubting what its ultimate design was really intended to be. One reason assigned was, that a foreign conference might be filled with native members, who would compel a bishop to ordain unworthy men. This danger, however, is simply one of the imagination. It is a new thing in Methodism to hear it asserted that a bishop can be compelled to ordain any and every man at the bidding of a conference. If we could conceive it possible that the New York Conference should elect John Morrisey to deacon's orders, it would not follow that one of our bishops would be obliged to profane his office by ordaining him. Another plea for this restriction was, that our foreign missions were supported from home, and that the Church should reserve some control over their finances. This plea, however, is utterly groundless, since the Board and General Committee have absolute control of the finances in any case, and the presiding bishop could have no chance to exercise his authority in this respect other than that now granted by the Discipline in the case of home conferences. Nor is the claim more valid, that such a veto power is necessary to prevent irregularities in a conference where the law and usages of our Church are imperfectly understood. Surely the framers of this proviso must have been aware that in any conference the bishop presiding can arrest any action which he believes to be

irregular, and that in any case the proceedings are sent up to the General Conference for final revision. If any better reason than these can be assigned for this proviso, it has never yet been brought forward, and in its absence our missionaries can hardly be blamed for their earnest protests against a measure which must have a hidden design, if it is not superfluous. They claim that it is wholly uncalled for; that in a foreign land, and in the midst of a strange language, it could hardly be used without liability to greater errors than those against which it is to guard; that if used at all, it virtually reduces the conference to a mere form, and that it is calculated to provoke irritation without securing any benefit not provided for before. They do not mistrust the beloved men who have been set over them as chief pastors, but they regret deeply that it should thus be made to seem that the Church mistrusts them.

In this connection it may not be amiss to notice another restriction on our mission conferences. It has been thought best to deny them representation in the General Conference; and the great expense necessary to send a representative home has made this restriction seem reasonable to all parties, including the missionaries themselves. If, however, this objection can be removed—if a foreign conference can send a delegate at its own expense—it becomes a question whether the General Conference should not avail itself of an opportunity to secure a representative from our mission fields. It frequently happens that one or more members of a mission are absent on sick furlough at the time of the session, and if a conference chooses to delegate some one thus absent to represent it, there is no apparent reason why the representation should be denied. Among our Wesleyan brethren it is considered desirable to have the missionary interest as strongly represented in the conference as possible; and more than once of late years we have seen a distinguished missionary elected to the highest office in the gift of the denomination. It may be of little practical moment at present whether this restriction is removed or not; but, looking to the future of the work, it certainly seems advisable to let our missions have a voice in the highest council of the Church.

Any discussion of our missionary policy would be incomplete which did not allude to the peculiar arrangement by

which all our missionary interests are managed from one office. It has been our peculiarity, and sometimes our boast, that we have only one missionary society, and that we make little or no distinction between the home and foreign work. This policy has had its advantages in the past, and even now, in the greatly enlarged state of the work, it is, in some respects, better than the more usual method of maintaining two expensive, and often cumbersome, organizations. But while admitting these advantages for the plan, it must be confessed that it has not worked to the entire satisfaction of all parties. As the mission field has expanded from year to year, the work has seemed to outgrow the ability of the society, and the result in part has been, that a society to aid in the erection of mission Churches, and another to look after the missionary interests of the freedmen, have grown up side by side with the Missionary Society. Without discussing the propriety of organizing these societies, we may simply say, that under the circumstances they were inevitable. There was a public sentiment, which, if it did not call for, certainly approved their organization, on the ground that they did a work which, but for them, must be left undone. Christian liberality is sure to find an outlet somewhere, and if no organization is found at hand to afford a channel in which contributions may flow to the chosen object, one will be created for the express purpose. There are not wanting those who believe that a foreign missionary society will spring up in our midst before many years, especially if it should begin to appear that our present society cannot efficiently maintain the work. We have scarcely a missionary abroad who could not double his resources if allowed to accept the aid which friends and Churches are anxious to send him. There is a powerful sympathy felt throughout the Church for our foreign work, and should it become apparent that our present agencies failed to carry on the work with reasonable efficiency, a new organization would certainly come to the relief.

The creation of so many kindred societies is, for many reasons, to be deplored, and the proper adjustment of their relations must soon become a prominent question before the Church. All will agree that the work which they represent must not be neglected; but the general judgment of the Church will be,

that we do not need four, perhaps five or six, societies to carry on our mission work. Of the various proposals which have been made for reducing the number of these societies, the one which probably finds most favor is that of merging all into one, or, as it has been expressed by an eminent authority, "consolidating all our aggressive Church movements into a single agency." It is singular, however, that those who put forward this plan do not recollect that it is simply proposing to go back to our original policy, a policy which the very existence of these societies proves to have been a failure. It is impossible to consolidate diverse interests in this way, without insuring neglect in portions of the work, and thus again creating the difficulty which now confronts us. The mistake in the discussion thus far has been, that the chief object proposed has been to reduce the number of our public collections, rather than to properly use the money when collected. A missionary society has other functions than that of simply raising funds. Its responsibility is a thousandfold greater in disbursing than in collecting money, and the question before the Church is not how the embarrassment of pastors may be relieved, in announcing so many public collections, but how the money shall be administered by our missionary authorities.

Viewing the question from this standpoint, we have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that no one office can safely and efficiently administer all the interests of our home and foreign missions. It is simply impossible. If John Wesley himself were to rise from the grave, his unmatched administrative genius would be unequal to the task. The secretary who manages our foreign work must have not only a thorough knowledge of missionary work in general, but more especially of our foreign fields; and as the work on the Ganges and the Min, on the Plata and the St. Paul's, expands from month to month, it will tax his ability to the utmost to keep before him a clear idea of the schools, colleges, chapels, circuits, teachers, preachers, parsonages, orphanages, and presses, with which he must be familiar, if he does not allow their interests to suffer. Add to this the hundreds of weak charges in home conferences, the new churches, the freedmen's schools, the embryo conferences, and the ever

rising demands of the great work in the West, and we have a load of responsibility which no man in the Church can carry. A division must be made, and the only question for us to settle is that of determining where the line of demarkation shall be drawn. The obvious policy is the right one. Let our foreign and our home missions have a separate management. The number of officers need not be greater than now, but when men have a specific and limited work they can look after it. As it now stands, three secretaries are each supposed to master the whole situation—an impossible task. Limit the field, and define the responsibility of each office, and fewer complaints of neglect will be heard in the future than have been in the past. The distribution of funds may be made as at present, by a General Committee; but the further administration being in the hands of distinct societies, or at least separate offices, a degree of efficiency will be attained which has never yet been reached.

Art. VI.—STEVENS'S HISTORY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America. By Abel Stevens, LL.D., Author of "The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism," etc. In four volumes. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1864–1867.

Dr. Stevens has given to the Methodist Episcopal Church a history worthy of her and of himself. It is for the statesman as well as the ecclesiastic, for the American Protestant as well as the Methodist, for the general reader equally with the scholar and critic. Rightly viewed, it is one of the most important contributions of late years to our national literature. Methodism has so greatly influenced the national life, that the thinker who is unacquainted with its facts will utterly fail to penetrate the true philosophy of American institutions. Previous works, whether histories, annals, or biographies, had performed important offices; but the time has come for a correct, full, impartial, and philosophical history of the denomination. Dr. Stevens's design is to show what Methodism

really is, in its genius, constitution, historical significance, and the conditions and lessons of its success. Though the narrative is brought down, in detail, to only the year 1820, the work is comprehensive of the whole history of the Church—of all that is essential to it, "its inception, its organization, its chief personal agents, its theological and disciplinary systems, and finally the adjuncts of its practical system—publishing, educational, Sunday-school, and missionary institutions"—of everything, indeed, except a period of its later working and its recent controversies, for the full and impartial record of which the time has not arrived.

For nearly thirty years the extraordinary history of Methodism has been a subject of profound interest to Dr. Stevens. His pen originated the series of local productions which have rescued from destruction many valuable facts and documents which must soon have been irrecoverable. Though availing himself to the fullest extent of the labors of others, he has, when possible, carefully resorted to original authorities, and not unfrequently corrected important errors of former works. More than half of the materials used are new, being obtained chiefly from obscure, and often private sources, correspondence, fragmentary accounts, clippings from periodicals, autobiographical sketches, and local records, which must first be gathered, then collated, and afterward supplied with their connecting links. The labor of these researches has been vast, perplexing often, and discouraging to a degree intelligible only to those who have themselves been bewildered among incoherent statements and contradictory authorities; but every page shows it to have been a labor of love.

The result corresponds with the design and the years of patient, conscientious toil devoted to its execution. The work must hold a high place in literature, and its author must rank with the great historians of the age. He has not only done for Methodism what Macaulay did for England, but he has done it with equal fullness and brilliancy and less artificiality and iciness. With the variety and detail of Motley, he has a richer and more polished diction. Bancroft is statelier, but not more philosophical or comprehensive, and much less attractive. Equally fascinating with Prescott, he surpasses him in vigor and soul. As clear, direct, and profound as Draper,

he is more accurate in his facts, and logical in his reasoning. And in the great quality of fervid heartiness, Dr. Stevens excels them all. Among modern ecclesiastical histories, this work stands alone; we know of none of any denomination that approaches it in completeness of either matter or execution. Great candor, fairness, and catholicity are manifest on every page. However exultant the strains which record denominational successes, of asperity there is not a line, of bigotry not a word.

A large part of the interest of these volumes is found in the panoramic view they present of the onward course of the denomination from its very inception. Statistics may show increasing strength; ecclesiastical laws and documents may unfold the legal system; the narrative may trace the succession of events. But genuine history gives a resurrection to the past, and clothes it with living flesh. We want to feel that Asbury, Watters, Abbott, Lee, and the host of worthies who planted and trained the Church, were living men; to hear them preach, and shout, and sing; to accompany them around or across the continent, and witness their battles and triumphs. It is precisely here that Dr. Stevens's work is particularly successful. By sketches of leading personal characters, embracing every early itinerant and many godly men and women of the laity, we know the story of their awakening from guilt, their struggles into the blessedness of pardon, their trembling self-distrust and brave confidence in Christ as they go forth to do his bidding. Add to this a certain vividness of description and happy facility in grouping the incidents of his story, and we have one secret of the wonderful charm which Dr. Stevens has thrown upon his pages. Devoted itinerants are pictured before us going out to seek lost men, ready to preach wherever people are ready to hear, in barns, in private houses, or by the wayside, in the face of opposition, threatenings, revilings, and violence, determined, if it please God, to save souls or perish in the attempt. They form circuits in the mountains and on the frontier, where dangers press from the godless white and merciless Indian, as well as in the city; they traverse forests, ford or swim rivers, flounder through swamps, as well as travel the civilized highway; they sleep sweetly on the ground in log cabins, or in the mansions of Perry Hall, Rembert Hall,

Rhinebeck, and Waltham. The "burden of the Lord" is upon them. They can turn aside for no controversies except in defense of the vital doctrines which they proclaim. They are a living voice, perpetually crying to sinning men, "Repent, and believe the Gospel." True to the inculcations of Wesley, no sooner do they lead them with shouts and songs to the witness of pardon, than they bid them "go on to perfection." From Asbury down to the humblest itinerant, they seek the most intimate spiritual communion with the people, both in class meetings and in visiting pastorally from house to house, in which the heroic bishop, greater in labors than any other of his generation, whom Coke styled "the most apostolic man he ever saw except Mr. Wesley," is as eminent among his brethren as in more public toils.

There is of necessity a wide difference between this work and the "History of the Religious Movement," which preceded it. Methodism originated in a land of Churches and universities, in the midst of profound scholastic and theological learning and complete literary culture. Its birth was in halls that had for ages been sacred to letters; and the men who first bore its stigma were consecrated to their pursuit. It sprang into being full armed; its first preachers possessed from the outset a commanding power, and would have been great men had Methodism never existed. Of its history from the halls of Oxford, abundant contemporary records remain. But American Methodism had an humble origin. The place and time of its birth were long in dispute. Its real founder is now ascertained to have been a woman, "a woman of deep piety," indeed, but so obscure that the place of her burial, and even the orthography of her name, were long unknown. Months elapsed before it attracted any attention outside the narrow circle of the lowly, among whom its mission began. Its first preachers were not men of scholarly culture or literary habits; while the early records have mostly perished. The materials for a full history of those first years do not exist; and if they did, they could but illustrate the feebleness of the beginning. The scattered fragments that remain Dr. Stevens has brought together, and shown us how stone after stone was, with great difficulty and toil, hewn and polished, and prepared for its place in the temple of God.

The reader of this history will be constantly impressed with a wonder that the early movements, so cursorily passed over by former historians, but so fully detailed in these volumes, were not utterly defeated through their own weakness and the great embarrassments attending them. The Methodism of Whitefield had infused a new life into existing Churches, but Arminian Methodism, the Methodism that in the hands of Wesley took on an organic form of classes and societies, had another work. Its first preacher was a carpenter of no extraordinary intelligence, and of only moderate ability, who for six years had omitted the duties of his office. For months its only adherents were Irish-German emigrants, poor and without influence. The first chapel, long unfinished, had seats without backs, and galleries without breastwork or stairs; the second was without floor, door, or windows, and was never completed. Not until 1773 was even a private house opened for preaching in Baltimore, although itinerants had visited the town and preached in the streets. "America" has no recognition in Wesley's Minutes till 1770; and, though Herculean labors had been performed, the total members in society reported in the Minutes of 1771 are only three hundred and sixteen. Embury, Strawbridge, and Webb, the last the most efficient, were for three years the only preachers, when they were reinforced by Williams, another Irish local preacher. Wesley's missionaries, few in number, were sent late, and returned soon. Pilmoor and Boardman labored in the colonies but four years; and Wright, who arrived two years later, but three. Seven years had elapsed before Rankin and Shadford came, and their stay was less than five. Of the three others sent in 1774, two soon became Presbyterians; and Rodda returned in 1778, but not until by his active political partisanship he had brought grave scandal and persecution upon the cause. Asbury alone remained.

The times were not favorable to a religious revival. The year of the formation of the first class was the year of the political storm which compelled the repeal of the Stamp Act. The struggles of the Revolution, already begun, for a long time controlled the public mind. It was not the hour that a prudent man, foreseeing the future conflict, would have been likely to choose for the commencement of a great religious

mission. Besides this, the frail bark was in danger of foundering before it was fairly launched. Asbury found, on his arrival in 1771, that there was practically no head, and but little organization, of the societies. Boardman and Pilmoor had limited their labors chiefly to the cities; and the people were strongly disposed to localize their pastors. Dissensions early arose. The administration of the sacraments was a subject of discussion and division, and Asbury was compelled "to connive at some things for the sake of peace." Worse still, there was little disposition to submit to the discipline of Asbury; and even Rankin failed to comprehend him, and made such representations to Wesley that the future bishop was in 1775 actually ordered home.

Such were some of the embarrassments attending the infancy of Methodism in this country, and imperiling its entire future history. Prompt, vigorous action alone could save it from disaster. A conference, consisting of ten members, all Europeans, met at Rankin's call July 16th, 1773, the first of a long series, to end, perhaps, only with time. They finally agreed to submit to the authority of Wesley and the British Minutes as their "sole rule," thus binding themselves to that rigorous military discipline which Rankin was sent to enforce. Under the strong guidance of that "honest, obstinate Englishman," they went forth to new labors with fresh enthusiasm, fully resolved to "spread genuine Methodism with all their might." This was the crisis of the cause, and Rankin saved it. These seven years of toil had gathered into the societies only eleven hundred and sixty souls, nearly half of whom were in Maryland; at the time of Wesley's first conference, six years after his conversion, there were more than two thousand in London alone. So efficient was Rankin's administration, though uneasily endured, that in ten months the membership was nearly doubled, more than two thirds of them being in Maryland and Virginia; and at the close of the first decade it numbered four thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, notwithstanding severe losses by the war in New York, Philadelphia, and New Jersey.

A vivid outline of the system whose foundations were thus laid is presented in the "Introduction" to the History. Its thirty-two pages set forth the future of the rapidly-growing country, the

imperative providential necessity thus created, and the system providentially originated to meet it. So lofty is the strain that the reader almost hesitates lest future pages shall fail to sustain it; but the needless apprehension soon fades as the splendid prelude opens into harmonies which become the richest in the final volume. Contemplating the rapid growth and steady movement westward, Dr. Stevens truly and tersely says that "a religious system, energetic, migratory, 'itinerant,' extempore, like the population itself, must arise; or demoralization, if not barbarism, must overflow the continent." These conditions are found in only the lay ministry and itinerancy of Methodism; and while he is careful to record the recognition, by some of the profoundest thinkers of the nation, of the powerful influence of her economy upon the religious interests of the United States, he is equally careful to claim no praise for Methodism or Wesley. "Wesley believed," he says, "that not himself, but Divine Providence, legislated the system of Methodism."

If the legislation was providential, so was its application in our early history. Had it not been for the unbending purpose of Asbury, the itinerancy would not have been established. For nearly twenty years upon a "lay ministry" alone rested the burden of the work; local preachers have to this day been distinguished as pioneers in new fields, and laborers in old ones; but fatal to any wide or enduring success of either was the tendency to localization which Asbury's keen eye immediately detected, and which would have soon been beyond remedy. This was, in his opinion, a betrayal of the cause. Notwithstanding difficulties, opposition, and soft words, he must have "a circulation of preachers." He resolved to "show them the way," and by his example enforced the words with which he insisted upon "the Methodist plan" that had been already so effectually proved. He became the soul of the new order of things until he was superseded by Rankin; and in the importance of this feature of the work they never differed. But in the hands of the latter, the itinerancy, thus saved, was terribly severe. Preachers in the country were changed every six months, and in the cities quarterly. "The system," says Dr. Stevens, "speedily killed off such as were weak in body, and drove off such as were feeble in character; the remnant

were the 'giants of those days' morally, very often intellectually, and to a notable extent physically. Many whose souls were equal to their work sunk under it. Its early records are full of examples of martyrdom."

The first "book" of the History extends to the beginning of the revolutionary war in 1775; the second, to the organization of the Church in 1784. The relations of the revolution to Methodism are portrayed in a masterly style. None saw more clearly than Asbury the critical situation of the cause; and the day preceding the conference of 1775, less than a month after the first blood of the war was shed, he employed in conversations with his brethren upon the necessity of an exclusive devotion to their one work. But in a struggle that divided communities and families, no amount of caution could have prevented grave suspicions respecting the political sympathies of a body of people whose principal ministers were Englishmen, and whose founder had issued the "Calm Address," and was otherwise known to be loyal to his king. Asbury regretted that "the venerable man, ever dipped into the politics of America;" but neither he nor the men of that time knew that on the day after receiving the intelligence of the battles of Concord and Lexington Wesley wrote to both Lord North and the Earl of Dartmouth, asserting that the Americans, "an oppressed people, asked for no more than their legal rights, and that in the most modest and inoffensive manner that the nature of the thing would allow;" and then, as if the right of the case were insufficient, added a pithy line that must have penetrated even the thickest brain: "But waiving this, I ask, Is it common sense to use force toward the Americans?" He saw more clearly than they the inevitable result. But the English preachers did not follow his counsel. Rankin and Webb were imprudent, and Rodda's open Toryism compelled him to fly for his life, while it entailed bitter persecution upon his brethren through several subsequent years. What a recent writer* has dared boldly to assert, that

* Henry B. Dawson, in "The Historical Magazine" for December, 1866, and June 1867. Documents proving Wesley's loyalty to the king as against the Lord Gordon anti-Catholic riots he shamelessly and persistently perverts to prove his support of the king as against the colonies. With Dr. Stevens's volumes before his eyes, he denies that Wesley "ever entertained the least sympathy" for the colonial cause. Because Asbury, Lee, and others could not take the test oaths which

"Methodism was Toryism," was then, in Maryland especially, widely believed. Political jealousy, fed by the wickedness of haters of the Gospel, excited a storm that soon burst on innocent heads. Hartley was whipped and imprisoned; Forrest, Wren, and Garrettson were put in jail, and the last was afterward badly beaten; Gatch was tarred; Pedicord was whipped until the blood flowed—and these are only specimens of the indignities inflicted upon Methodists of that day. But the native preachers and the mass of the members were loyal to the core. Of the latter, many served in the army as privates or officers, though not a few were, like the Quakers, opposed to all war. The preachers could not fight; the work upon their hands was greater than the American cause. Asbury's sympathies were with the patriots; but he wrote, "The Lord is my witness, that if my whole body, yea, every hair of my head could labor and suffer, they should be freely given for God and souls." "I have come to preach my Master's Gospel," exclaimed Garrettson, "and I am not afraid to trust him with body and soul." Of his persecutors Gatch said, "If I ever felt for the souls of men, I did for theirs." This lofty, glowing spirit towered above the controversies of the times, and consecrated their entire thoughts and energies to a holy warfare, without victory in which the new Republic would rise only to speedily perish. With an almost reverential love, our author traces this thrilling passage of ecclesiastical history, to which there are but few parallels; a record of struggles, sufferings, and triumphs, through regions desolated by war, among societies broken up, and again into new regions southward, witnessing some of the most remarkable outpourings of the

bound them to forsake their work, and take up arms, if called on, he insists that they were Tories, despite the well-known friendship of public men of the time. He asserts that "every Methodist of that period, whether in Europe or America, was necessarily an Episcopalian," which is false both in logic and in fact; and that, as such, he was of necessity a Tory, which proves to a demonstration, that Washington himself was a Tory! But what can be expected of a historical writer who affects a denial that the Address to Washington by Coke and Asbury was presented "in behalf of the Conference," or was "even alluded to in that body;" or who asserts that the Constitution did not supersede the Articles of Confederation, but was "only an amendment" to them? If these are specimens of the "unadorned history" to which this Magazine is "devoted," it surely lacks the adornment of the first element of reliable history, namely, *truth;* yea, the second also, namely, *honesty*.

Spirit, of modern times. Interpositions were experienced as marvelous, and deliverances as complete, as were ever granted to the apostles. Persecutors were chained by the power of God, and often converted to a following of them whose lives they had sought; and by judgments as sudden as those which fell upon Ananias and Sapphira, men who could not be drawn, were driven from their blasphemy. The itinerancy, wasted under the tremendous strain it endured, nevertheless grew stronger continually, gathering the future master-builders of the Church, heroes nurtured in the fire, some of whom were unequaled even in England except by Wesley and Fletcher.

Dr. Bangs, noting that Asbury did not preside at the Fluvanna session of the conference of 1779, although he had been recognized as general assistant by the "preparatory conference" held at Judge White's, and forgetting, if, indeed, he was aware of it, that the office had been in 1777 conditionally confided to a committee, one of whom presided at the session of 1778, concludes that the one held by Asbury was "the regular conference." Dr. Stevens, however, clearly shows that the Fluvanna session was the "regularly appointed" one, held according to adjournment from the preceding year, presided over by Gatch, a member of the commission, composed of a large majority of the preachers, and was, therefore, the legal session. Dr. Bangs also records the Baltimore session of 1780 as "the eighth Conference;" while Dr. Stevens shows that the regularly adjourned session, of which no official records exist, was held at Manikintown, Va., and that the Baltimore session was "called" by Asbury for the "convenience" of the northern preachers. Apparently trivial as are these corrections, they have a great significance from their connection with the sacramental controversy. Our old, uncomfortable feeling that a factious spirit incited a revolt against legitimate authority, and that for the sake of the sacraments the Fluvanna brethren were guilty of schism, is removed. They have been characterized as at least partial separatists and disturbers; and charity has drawn a vail over conduct which now stands forth in a new light, needing no palliation, but rather demanding applause. The necessity for some provision for the administration of the sacraments had long been felt, and deference to the views of Wesley had caused the post-

ponement of the decision from year to year. They were his sons in the Gospel, and would not willingly displease him; some of them had been trained under his eye, and, like him, were unwilling to trespass against the canons of the Established Church, to which most of them considered themselves as belonging, although the Methodist societies had never acknowledged her authority. The American preachers had fewer scruples of this sort than the English, though none of them were deficient in reverence for Wesley. The question came up at Fluvanna by postponement from the previous year. "The Episcopal Establishment is now dissolved in this country," they said; and they were right. The blow that severed the colonies from the British crown had destroyed the Church of England within their territory. This disposed of one half of the case; and the flight from the country of nearly the entire body of Episcopal clergymen, leaving the people for years without the sacraments, settled the remainder. Here was a rapidly growing religious body, constituting as real a Church as ever existed, whose pastors were without ordination, whose members were denied the eucharist, and from whose children the rite of baptism was withheld. What ought they to do? A necessity had arisen for some extraordinary departure from ecclesiastical usage, and, never questioning their right, they constituted four of their number a "presbytery," who with solemn forms proceeded first to ordain one another, and afterward others of their brethren. They thus expressed in a legal manner the sentiment of American Methodism as not deeming even the presbyterial ordination by Wesley essential to the validity of its ministry. Transcendantly glorious was that scene in the wilderness, so accordant with common sense, where they who rejected in theory the popish fiction of succession, threw off also its practical trammels, and, with solemn prayer and the imposition of hands, set apart chosen men to ministerial functions, thus recording a protest against mere ecclesiasticism as opposed to spiritual good, in behalf of a people destined soon to exercise a greater moral power than any other on the continent. But grand as is the eminence to which they were thereby exalted, they rise still higher when, a year later, for the sake of peace and union they agreed to suspend the ordinances and seek the counsel of Wesley. Love and unity are

of higher worth than even the prescribed sacraments of the Church.

The "organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church," to which the third "book" is devoted, occupies nearly ninety pages of the history, not a line of which can be spared. The time had come for the deliverance of the societies from the vagueness and uncertainty of their position. Wesley's counsel had been that the old plan be continued "until further direction." What various measures he meditated we shall never know, or how much depended upon the final issue of the revolutionary struggle. But we may be sure that there would be as little deviation as possible from ecclesiastical usage, for unnecessary innovation did not comport with Wesley's character. The war had closed. The shattered remnants of the abolished Establishment had not been gathered; and no mortal could tell in what form they ever would be, if at all. Of the eighty-four itinerant pastors and the fifteen thousand souls who followed him as their spiritual guide, more than eighty-nine per cent. were south of Mason & Dixon's line, where the Episcopal Church, once so strong, exhibited only forsaken altars and ruined parishes. In Delaware and Maryland they were the dominant religious power. Lowth could ordain men "who knew no more of saving souls than of catching whales," but not one at Wesley's request; and Wesley would not again seek it, for he "dared not entangle again" his American brethren with the English state or hierarchy. With his career already plentifully dotted with irregularities, he decided to add yet another which would assuredly bring relief. He ordained Coke to the episcopal office, and Whatcoat and Vasey to accompany him as elders for the sake of "propriety and universal practice," using the forms of the Church of England, simply because they were solemn and appropriate, and then sent them to America, recommending the organization of the societies into a Church. This cut the knot. The sixty itinerants who gathered at Baltimore promptly accepted the act, and, without a dissenting voice, on the 24th of December, 1784, "agreed to form a Methodist Episcopal Church, in which the Liturgy (as presented by the Rev. John Wesley) should be read, and the sacraments be administered by a superintendent, elders, and deacons, who shall be ordained by a presbytery,

using the Episcopal form, as prescribed in the Rev. Mr. Wesley's prayer-book." Coke and Asbury were elected to the superintendency, and Asbury was ordained. The "Liturgy" and "Articles" prepared by Wesley were adopted; some changes were made in the "Discipline" to adapt it to the new organization; and the body stood before the world "an Episcopal Church," and, in the words of Dr. Stevens, "the first Protestant Episcopal Church of the New World; . . . the real successor to the Anglican Church in America."

It is unquestionably important that the historian decisively answer the question, "Were these extraordinary proceedings in accordance with the intentions of Wesley?" not for the satisfaction of Methodists, but because of the ignorance or arrogance of parties outside the denomination, whose fancies or prejudicies have discovered in them a transcending of his design. Briefly but fully does Dr. Stevens answer it. Wesley did intend a Church, an Episcopal Church, a Church independent of all other ecclesiastical bodies; and he ordained its first bishop. In two terse lines he clinches the argument of pages: "Coke was already a presbyter; to what was he now ordained if not to the only remaining office of bishop?" But it is possible to lay too much stress upon the point; for whether Wesley intended the proceedings of 1784 or not is immaterial, except as showing whether, three thousand miles away, he had a full understanding of the necessities of the hour. The obligation upon Asbury and his eighty preachers to provide the means of grace, among which are the sacraments, for the thousands whom they had won to Christ, was superior to all ecclesiastical law or usage; and they were wise enough to decide for themselves what was needful, independent of all precedents or authority, save the written word of God. Methodists are not careful to discuss the legitimacy of that work of ten days; it has been before the world for more than fourscore years, and needs no apology. In the godly men who have been placed in the episcopacy, whose unpretentious simplicity, pure integrity, unwearied labors, and earnest devotion to spiritual Christianity, often combined with profound learning and ability to shine with the brightest in literature and eloquence, have for three generations been so conspicuous, we see a repetition of the episcopacy of the primitive Church.

Their marvelous success is, for ourselves at least, an ample vindication against the assumptions of a prelacy whose pompous arrogance is unrivaled except by the poverty of its own deeds.

The organization of Methodism into a Church was simply clothing it with power. Its theological platform remained unchanged. The Articles, a simple compendium of "the leading dogmas of the universal Church," and excluding the points about which Christians varied, even to the peculiar features of the Wesleyan theology, afford a basis for the broadest catholicity. Formal assent to them was not required by Wesley or by any legislation of the conference which accepted them. Neither the "satisfactory assurances of the correctness of their faith" demanded of candidates by the legislation of a later day, nor the direct question in the more recently adopted "Form for receiving persons into the Church after probation," need be interpreted as making them a positively and unexceptionably "obligatory standard of theological belief." We must otherwise think with Dr. Stevens, that the General Conference transcended its power. But for the ministry, conformity to not only the articles but to the peculiar tenets of Wesley, his Arminianism, his doctrines of the witness of the Spirit and Christian perfection, was, and still is, made an inexorable test; and the standards of doctrine no earthly power can change. The organization was for a perpetuation and extension of the evangelic revival, and not for dogmatic conflicts. Afterward, as before, it went forth saying to all men, "Is thy heart as my heart? If it be, give me thy hand." The ecclesiastical system, as established at the Christmas Conference, was essentially Wesleyan in character, admirably adapted to evangelistic effort, and none the less so to pastoral efficiency. Its best exposition is the narrative itself, although Dr. Stevens minutely and lucidly exhibits its "organic form; its series of synodal bodies, extending from the fourth of a year to four years, from the local circuit to the whole nation; its series of pastoral functionaries, class-leaders, exhorters, local preachers, circuit preachers, district preachers, or presiding elders, and bishops whose common diocese was the entire country; its prayer-meetings, band-meetings, class meetings, love-feasts, and almost daily preaching; its liturgy, articles of religion,

psalmody, and singularly minute moral discipline, as prescribed in its 'general rules' and ministerial regimen." It aimed at the highest spiritual development of all whom it might claim as its children, and the widest usefulness of its laborers. It asked of the former only compliance with Christ's law; upon the latter it imposed a "regimen" of severity and self-sacrifice which only the love of Christ and the hope of eternal glory could render endurable, but wonderfully designed to make them successful pastors and mighty evangelists. Central in authority, it placed the episcopacy, almost plenary in power, yet in labors and endurance chief among the men who at its word were transferred from Maine to Georgia, from the populous city to the remote frontier. The ministry were not only the legislators of the Church, but of necessity her rulers also in their respective circuits, to which they were often sent to create the membership whom they were to teach. The military figure, in which Dr. Stevens delights as illustrating the system and its workings, is both expressive and just. The system was peculiarly self-propagating. "Its class and prayer meetings trained most, if not all, its laity to practical missionary labor, and three or four of them, meeting in any distant part of the earth, by the emigrations of these times, were prepared to become immediately the nucleus of a Church. The lay or local ministry, borne on by the tide of population, were almost everywhere found, prior to the arrival of regular preachers, ready to sustain religious services—the pioneers of the Church in nearly every new field." The labors of the local ministry form some of the brightest features in the brilliant picture. "It may be affirmed," says our author, "that not only was Methodism founded in the New World by local preachers, but that nearly its whole frontier march, from the extreme North to the Gulf of Mexico, has been led on by these humble laborers."

What the adoption of the federal constitution effected for the Republic, the organization of the Church did for Methodism. The immediately visible effects were the administration of the eucharist to thousands of disciples who had never partaken of it, and the baptism of numbers of both adults and children, scores of the latter often receiving the rite at a single meeting. But the sense of consolidation and certainty

which it induced, kindled a fervor in all hearts as they viewed the field before them. "We are raised up," they said, "to reform the continent, and to spread scriptural holiness over these lands;" and the words were the utterance of the deep convictions and purposes of souls burning with quenchless ardor. No story is more heroic or more royally told than that of the onward march of the itinerants after the Christmas Conference for more than half a century. Hitherto the narrative has concentrated our interest around the center of the country, leading us away from time to time upon vast circuits, across the Alleghanies, and into every state of the Union except New England; but now we read of the "first conference" in North Carolina in 1785, in South Carolina in 1787, in Georgia and Tennessee in 1788, and in New England in 1792, in which year at least seventeen conferences were gathered, so many centers of moral and Methodistic power. Until now, we have been able to keep before us the whole scene with its constantly changing forms; but it so expands that henceforth the historian divides the view. In the fourth "book" he gives the "introduction of Methodism" into "the West," "the North American British Provinces," and "New England," and, at its close, sums up the whole in a distinct chapter on "Conferences and Progress" from 1785 to 1792, the date of the second General Conference. Similar divisions of "Methodism" in "the South," the "Middle States," "Canada," the "Eastern States," the "West," with a final "Review of the Period," are continued in the fifth "book" which ends in 1804; and also in the sixth, closing the history in 1820. A constantly growing strength and symmetry characterize the work in its central portion; but for many years its remote parts are fragmentary, repeating on the ever-advancing frontier its original struggle of faith and heroism, until, in 1820, Methodism, with two hundred and seventy thousand members and nearly a thousand itinerants, had become consolidated in every state of the Union and in Canada, and numerically outstripped the parent Societies in Great Britain. Coke, who on the ocean had cried, "I want the wings of an eagle, and the voice of a trumpet, that I may proclaim the Gospel through the East and the West, the North and the South," traveling, preaching, and catching the frontier

spirit which founds the whole missionary system of Wesleyanism, well typifies the fervor of the onward movement. But the master spirit was Asbury, unconquerable but by death, and even then victorious, performing the greatest and not omitting the smallest labors, organizing and directing the work until he had traveled 270,000 miles, and laid his hands on more than four thousand men. Around him were mighty men, proved in many a well-fought field. Young men flocked to their standard, to become the giants of the next generation of Methodist preachers. Led on by Lee, they firmly established their cause in New England, melting its frozen formalism, and with their Arminian thunderbolts breaking its iron fatalism, but not without immense sacrifices and sufferings, fines, imprisonments, and mobs. Around Poythress, and afterward M'Kendree, in the great Western Conference rise up men of renown, whose names alone would fill a page, who save the West from sinking into barbarism, and stamp a Methodistic character on the vast valley of the Mississippi. For heroic adventure, thrilling incident, unconquerable purpose, and varying character, their personal sketches as given in these volumes are unsurpassed in entrancing power by anything we know in the pages of romance.

The Methodist peculiarity of providing for an exigency when it arises, is traceable through its entire history. The Christmas Conference, inexperienced in legislation, and thinking chiefly of immediate necessities, left it for time to show the weakness of their work at its central point. The remedy found in the quadrennial General Conference, and its subsequent modification as a delegated assembly, has proved a center and bond of union to the body. Under its legislation and overseership, the system has made great and necessary changes, and will yet make others, constantly adapting itself to the circumstances of the hour. In this providential way, all the secondary institutions of the Church have been created. Their germs are found in its early history, although years may have elapsed before they had so grown as to assume an organic form. In its early order that collections be made in all the circuits to aid in the erection of chapels, to which it was expected "that every member not supported by charity should give something," we have the distant foreshadowing of

the recent Church extension movement, too long delayed. Asbury, in 1786, established the first American Sunday-school, and four years later the conferences directed their formation throughout the Church, "to instruct poor children, white and black," and that they be held "in or near the place of worship." Nearly forty years elapsed before the organization of the Sunday-School Union, but the measure has in our day brought nearly a million of scholars under Sabbath instruction, with instruments for usefulness of incalculable power. The chapter of Methodist history on the employment of the press as a religious agency, creating from nothing a capital of $960,000, and scattering the issues of the Book Concern in its bound volumes and numerous periodicals over the whole land, is full of significance. "If Methodism had made no other contribution to the progress of knowledge and civilization in the New World than that of this powerful institution, this alone would suffice to vindicate its claim to the respect of the enlightened world."

Dr. Stevens in these volumes, by simply recording the facts, shows that the early Methodists were more deeply interested in the cause of education than is commonly supposed. Asbury wished a "school" rather than a "college," just as Wesley preferred the title of "superintendent" to that of "bishop." Not only was Cokesbury College built and rebuilt, but measures were early adopted for the establishment of colleges and academies in various parts of the Church. Asbury designed a school for every conference, and in 1792 believed that he would soon be able to have two thousand children in course of education. The regulations of these schools were in some respects curious, and almost whimsical, such as avowed celibates might be expected to frame; but they illustrate the severity of the old Methodistic training. The truth is, they undertook too much for their strength. Their plans were too broad for the hour, and embraced provisions beyond what the Church has attempted in her maturity. They were compelled to wait for success until a day of greater financial ability. That day came, but not till after still further attempts and failures. Ruter, Bangs, and Fisk are names to be had in everlasting remembrance as leaders in the fresh movements which have given to the Church its vast educational power, and the

fame of having accomplished more for the cause during the last half century than any other denomination in the land.

From the Christmas Conference sprung the missions to Nova Scotia and to the West Indies, and, indeed, the whole Wesleyan missionary system. Methodism was itself a grand mission spreading rapidly over a vast home field. The conference of 1784 ordered an annual collection, and, if necessary, a quarterly one, "for carrying on the whole work of God," including the expenses of missions in new or remote sections. The whole system was missionary in its character. Very naturally, in process of time and consolidation, a necessity was perceived for more specific modes of gathering the resources of the Church and giving them direction and efficiency, which led to the formation of the Missionary Society. The measure gave new vitality to the energy and spiritual life of the Church; it has powerfully aided in the spread of the work at home, and planted the cause in other lands. The ancient militant spirit has arisen with new vigor, and, bending to its responsibility for the world's evangelization, has ceased to regard itself as created for the quickening of a decayed Protestantism, and aims at nothing less than the subjugation of the entire race to Christ. Thus have originated and grown these "auxiliaries to the working system" of the Church, so essential to the prevention of stagnation and death, so important to its progress and power.

What has been the relation of Methodism to public affairs? In less than a month after the commencement of hostilities, the conference of 1775 ordained a fast for "the prosperity of the Church and the peace of America," which was repeated in several subsequent years. None rejoiced more heartily than the Methodists at the successful issue of the revolutionary struggle. The Church at its organization inserted in its articles of faith an acknowledgment of the government of the United States, and it was the first ecclesiastical body to formally recognize the federal constitution, and Washington as the first President, pronouncing the republic no longer an assemblage of independent states, but a sovereign nation. With purely political matters the fathers felt they had nothing to do, except to sustain the government and the laws. In a general thanksgiving, they "give glory to God for the

admirable revolution, and for African liberty," expressing their gratitude "that so many thousands of these poor people" were free. So marked was their purpose to sustain the government, that Washington at one time felt it incumbent on him to present his thanks to several preachers for their influence in favor of a compliance with the laws.

On all political matters, however, involving moral principles, the early Methodist preachers did not hesitate to utter boldly their deep convictions. This was emphatically the case respecting slavery, which in 1796 they declared "a deep-rooted vassalage that still reigneth in many parts of these free, independent United States." The Christmas Conference had taken a high position on the question, pronouncing it "contrary to the golden law of God," and requiring emancipation wherever it could be legally effected. The few succeeding months were fraught with great destinies, for the question to be decided was whether the Gospel or the sword should solve the problem of slavery. "Now was their sublime hour, and the critical hour of the nation with respect to this question. But they failed, and history must not evade the fact." Fatal failure! The rules were suspended; the vantage ground thus lost could never be recovered, though earnestly and repeatedly struggled for, as these volumes faithfully show. But the apostasy at length gathered such force that it compelled still further retrogression, vaulted into the episcopal chair, rent the Church in twain, and deluged the land with blood. Coeval with the nation, its system admirably harmonizing with that of the country, the only religious body that possessed a capacity of maintaining with it an equal front in its rapid settlement and growth, providentially prepared for the moral culture of the providentially prepared nation, God seems to have given to Methodism the commission to destroy the great crime of America. Had it made no compromise with it in 1785, its moral power would not have been weakened by the schism of 1844. And both truly and confessingly does Dr. Stevens say, "Had Methodism courageously fought out the contest which it had now begun, it would at last have triumphed, and have saved the history of the civilized world from the darkest record in its pages since the horrors of the French Revolution." He has not a word of apology for this or subsequent yielding to the

demands of slavery; he nobly dares to tell the truth. Nevertheless, the Church was always antislavery, uttering in the Discipline a perpetual testimony against it, and declaring it an evil to be extirpated. And when in its madness it attempted to destroy the nation, none more freely gave their lives for the cause of freedom than the sons of the Methodist Episcopal Church: they lie on every battle-field of the South, as if in expiation of the great wrong of 1785.

The philosophy of the history which has given to the Methodist Episcopal Church a membership in 1867 of one million one hundred and forty-four thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, and a nearly equal number to the other Methodist bodies of the country, is not deeply hidden in obscurity. "I have failed to interpret aright the whole preceding record," says Dr. Stevens, "if it does not present on almost every page intelligible reasons of its extraordinary events." There is no one fact that can solve the "problem." The doctrine of our author is this: there have been two chief causes of this wonderful success: first, the primary, that it was a necessity, a providential provision for the times; second, the proximate, its spiritual life, the "power from on high," which must be the chief force in all future success. "There were also many others doubtless; its catholicity; the subordination, not to say insignificance, to which it reduced all exclusive or arrogant ecclesiastical pretensions; the importance which it gave to good and charitable works while insisting on a profound personal, if not a mystic piety; the unprecedented co-operation of the laity with the clergy in at least religious labors, which it established; the activity of women in its social devotions; these, and still more." Only one other is mentioned, the character of its leaders as great workers in the field, exemplars to the ministry and the Church.

Like a grand drama, the story closes with the disappearance from the scene of Whatcoat, Coke, Asbury, and Lee, the chief leaders of the mighty host which they had gathered around their standard. We trust that Dr. Stevens may hereafter continue it in additional volumes, and record with the same fullness of detail the events of later years. No mere epitome will suffice. He will tell of times of painful controversy and division, but of faith, victory, and growth as well. It must devolve on

some future historian, when he shall have gone to join Lee and Bangs, to narrate how a million of Methodists in their Centenary jubilee, with grateful, loving hearts, brought to the altar of the Church seven millions of money, that the broad foundations for a second century's career might be laid in strength. May he never record a forgetfulness of those causes which have operated so mightily hitherto, or that Methodism failed because of its loss of the "power from on high!"

Art. VII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Pan-Anglican Synod.—Among the ecclesiastical meetings of the year 1867, the Pan-Anglican Synod, which met in London in September, in accordance with the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, certainly holds a prominent place. It was the first attempt to bind together the heretofore isolated branches of the Anglican Communion into one organization, and to fuse the Church of England, the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, and the colonial and missionary dioceses of the same faith, into one Anglican Church. Together these branches of the Anglican Church represent a very considerable portion of the Christian world, as a cursory glance over its present extent at once shows. At present there are the following groups, all more or less independent of each other:

1. The Established Church of England. It has two archbishops, Canterbury and York, and twenty-six bishops, of whom twenty are connected with the Convocation of Canterbury, and six with the Convocation of York. Supposing the statements which give one half of the English population to the Church of England to be nearly correct, the population under the control of the Church would be about 10,000,000.

2. The Church of Ireland has two archbishops, of Dublin and Armagh, and ten bishops, equally divided among the two provinces of Armagh and Dublin. The population connected with this Church was, according to the census of 1861, 687,661 souls.

3. The Scotch Episcopal Church has seven bishops, and a small membership. As the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland is the State Church there, the Episcopal Church is an independent body. It has hitherto had but little connection with the Church of England, but last year the Archbishop of Canterbury laid the foundation-stone of a new church in the Scottish diocese of Moray, and to the great delight of all High Churchmen, expressed himself emphatically on the harmony of the two Churches.

4. Outside of the United Kingdom, the Church of England had, in 1866, fifty bishops, the great majority of them in the British colonies, but a few (Jerusalem, Sandwich Islands, Melanesia, Central Africa) outside of the British dominion. Most of these dioceses are united in provinces, under metropolitan heads, and have already assumed a semi-independent position. Such ecclesiastical provinces are found in Canada, India, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

5. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States had, in 1866, forty-four bishops. The senior bishop presides in the House of Bishops at the meeting of the triennial General Convention, and under the title of presiding bishop, has a certain pre-eminence. The general tendency in the Church is to multiply the number of bishoprics, and unite a number of them in one ecclesiastical province. The number of communicants in 1866 was 161,224.

All these groups were largely repre-

sented at the Synod. The only bishop to whom no invitation had been sent was Dr. Colenso. Bishops of every religious party were in attendance, though some of the Low Church bishops of England had stayed away, and the High Church school, which had been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the Synod, was largely in the ascendancy.

The sessions were not open to the public, but the archbishop was commissioned to furnish an official report of the proceedings. The more important portions of them were communicated to the public immediately after the adjournment of the Synod, in a semi-official manner. They are covered by a series of resolutions, the most important of which are the following:

1. That it appears to us expedient, for the purpose of maintaining brotherly intercommunication, that all cases of establishment of new sees and appointment of new bishops be notified to all archbishops and metropolitans, and all presiding bishops of the Anglican Communion.

4. That, in the opinion of this conference, unity of faith and discipline will be best maintained among the several branches of the Anglican Community by due and canonical subordination of the synods of the several branches to the higher authority of a synod or synods above them.

5. That a committee of seven members (with power to add to their number, and to obtain the assistance of men learned in ecclesiastics and canon law) be appointed to inquire into and report upon the relations and functions of such synods, and that such report be forwarded to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, with a request that, if possible, it may be communicated to any adjourned meeting of this conference.

6. That, in the judgment of the bishops now assembled, the whole Anglican Communion is deeply injured by the present condition of the Church in Natal; and that a committee be now appointed at this general meeting to report on the best mode by which the Church may be delivered from the continuance of this scandal, and the true faith maintained. That such report be forwarded to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, with the request that he will be pleased to transmit the same to all the bishops of the Anglican Communion, and to ask for their judgment thereupon.

7. That we who are here present do acquiesce in the resolution of the Convocation of Canterbury, passed on June 26, 1866, relating to the diocese of Natal, to wit:

If it be decided that a new bishop should be consecrated—as to the proper steps to be taken by the members of the Church in the province of Natal for obtaining a new bishop, it is the opinion of this house, first, that a formal instrument, declaratory of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of South Africa, should be prepared, which every bishop, priest, and deacon should be required to subscribe; secondly, that a godly and well-learned man should be chosen by the clergy, with the assent of the lay communicants of the Church; and thirdly, that he should be presented for consecration, either to the Archbishop of Canterbury—if the aforesaid instrument should declare the doctrine and discipline of Christ as received by the United Church of England and Ireland—or to the bishops of the Church of South Africa, according as hereafter may be judged to be most advisable and convenient.

9. That the committee appointed by resolution 5, with the addition of the names of the Bishops of London, St. David's, and Oxford, and all the colonial bishops, be instructed to consider the constitution of a voluntary spiritual tribunal, to which questions of doctrine may be carried by appeal from the tribunals for the exercise of discipline in each province of the colonial Church, and that their report be forwarded to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, who is requested to communicate it to an adjourned meeting of this conference.

The resolution in relation to Bishop Colenso was adopted almost unanimously, there being but three hands raised against it.

A pastoral address was adopted, and signed individually by the bishops, addressed "to the faithful in Christ Jesus, the priests and deacons, and the lay members" of the Church, exhorting them to keep whole and undefiled the faith, to strive heartily against the frauds and subtleties wherewith it has been and is assailed; to hold fast as the sure word of God all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and, by diligent study of these oracles of God, praying in the Holy Ghost, to seek to know more of the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, whom they reveal, and of the will of God, which they declare; to guard "against the growing superstitions and additions with which, in these latter days, the truth of God hath been

overlaid," particularly the sovereignty of the pope and the exaltation of the Virgin Mary; to grow in grace and show a godly walk and example; to "hold fast the creeds, and the pure worship and order which of God's grace has been inherited from the primitive Church; to beware of causing divisions contrary to the doctrine ye have received," and to pray and seek for unity among themselves and among all the faithful in Christ Jesus.

The Synod made no expression on the subject of Ritualism, and the proposed schemes of intercommunion with the Eastern and the Scandinavian Churches. The pastoral address has been translated by Archdeacon Worldsworth into Greek and Latin.

THE RITUALISTIC CONTROVERSY—THE ROYAL COMMISSION — DECLARATION OF THE CHURCH PARTY ON "THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE."—The excitement produced in the Church of England by the ritualistic and Romanizing practices of the ultra High Church party continues unabated. In May a sensation was created by a triennial charge of the Bishop of Salisbury, the most outspoken of the High Church bishops. A meeting of prominent laymen, held a few weeks before at Dorset, to protest against the encouragement given by the bishop to the Romanizing tendencies in his diocese, seems to have convinced the bishop that the time had come for a full exposition of his views. Accordingly, at the triennial visitation at Bridgeport he entered into the question at much length, and undertook to vindicate the following doctrines of the High Church party: 1. That certain men have had intrusted to them by God, as fellow-workers with him, supernatural powers and prerogatives; 2. That God has been pleased to give to them, his ministers, the power of so altering the elements of bread and wine as to make them the channels of conveying to the soul for its subsistence the refreshing body and blood of Christ; 3. That as Christ, the ascended Lord, is ever pleading, so the clergy, his ministers, plead on earth that which he pleads in heaven; and, 4. That God, who alone can forgive sins, has delegated to them, his representatives, the power and authority of expressing to those failing to receive it the pardon of their sins. He proceeded to say that there was a time to speak, and a time to keep silence; and he believed the time for being outspoken had arrived in his diocese, and he had, without any mental reservation, God knew, acted on that conviction. The announcement, of course, startled the assembled clergy and laity. One of the clergy rose from his seat and publicly protested against the bishop's doctrine, and left the church. He was followed by a great many of the churchwardens, who afterward forwarded to the bishop a written protest against his views as inconsistent with Protestantism. At Dorchester, where the bishop next proceeded in his visitation, the scandal was not so great, but the dissent was equally strong, and another protest was forwarded to him from a portion of the clergy and laity in that neighborhood.

An attempt made by the Earl of Shaftesbury to call forth a special legislation by parliament for arresting the progress of ritualistic practices failed. A bill brought in by him for the regulation of clerical vestments was postponed in favor of a royal commission, which was solicited by the House of Lords, on motion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and appointed by the government. The text of the commission recites that it has been represented "that differences of practice have arisen from varying interpretations put upon the rubrics, orders, and directions for regulating the course and conduct of public worship, the administration of the sacraments, and the other services contained in the book of Common Prayer, according to the use of the united Church of England and Ireland, and more especially with reference to the ornaments used in the churches and chapels of the said united Church, and the vestments worn by the ministers thereof at the time of their ministrations;" and that "it is expedient that a full and impartial inquiry should be made into the matters aforesaid with the view of explaining or amending the said rubrics, orders, and directions, so as to secure general uniformity of practice in such matters as may be deemed essential." It then appoints as commissioners the Archbishops of Canterbury and Armagh; the Bishops of London, St. David's, Oxford, Gloucester; Earls Stanhope, Harrowby, and Beauchamp; Lords Portman and Ebury; Mr. Walpole, Mr. Cardwell, Sir Joseph Napier, Sir W. Page Wood, Sir Robert Phillemore, Dr. Travers Twiss, Mr. J. D. Coleridge, Q. C., Mr. John Abel Smith,

Mr. A. J. B. Hope, Mr. J. G. Hubbard, Dean Stanley, Dean Goodwin, Dean Jeremie, Dr. R. Payne Smith, the Rev. Henry Venn, B. D., the Rev. W. G. Humphrey, B. D., the Rev. Robert Gregory, and the Rev. T. W. Perry. According to the *Record*, the organ of the Low Church party, eleven members of the commission are stanch champions of extreme Ritualism, and five are sympathizing High Churchmen, constituting together a majority of the commission. The evangelical party had almost been overlooked, until Mr. Walpole, by whom the commission has been arranged, reproached with this injustice, added the name of the Rev. Henry Venn to that of Sir Joseph Napier, the Archbishop of Armagh, the Earl of Harrowby, and Lord Ebury. The Earl of Shaftesbury, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Durham declined to serve on the commission. The first proceedings of the commission gave, however, greater satisfaction than had been anticipated. The commission, a few weeks after beginning its deliberations, decided that the use of the sacrificial or "mass vestments" is inconsistent with the doctrines and usages of the Church, and that no exceptional legislation can be allowed either in parochial churches or private chapels without compromising the truth. The first resolution, in regard to parochial churches, was carried by a majority more decided than would have been expected. The second resolution, as to the proprietary and private chapels, was carried by a narrow majority of two.

One of the most important manifestoes recently issued by the High Church party is an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by twenty-one distinguished Ritualists, including Dr. Pusey and Archdeacon Denison, and setting forth their views of the elements used in the holy eucharist. The address was forwarded in June to the archbishop by Archdeacon Denison, and the archbishop, in acknowledging its receipt, promised to lay it before the bishops at the next meeting of convocation. The following are the leading points of the address:

1. We repudiate the opinion of a "corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood;" that is to say, of the presence of his body and blood as they "are in heaven;" and the conception of the mode of his presence which implies a physical change of the natural substances of the bread and wine, commonly called "transubstantiation." We believe that in the holy eucharist, by virtue of the consecration, through the power of the Holy Ghost, the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, "the inward part, or thing signified," are present, really and truly, but spiritually and ineffably, under "the outward visible part or sign," or "form of bread and wine." 2. We repudiate the notion of any fresh sacrifice, or any view of the eucharist sacrificial offering as of something apart from the one all-sufficient sacrifice and oblation on the cross, which alone "is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world," both original and actual, and which alone is "meritorious." We believe that as in heaven Christ, our great high priest, ever offers himself before the eternal Father, pleading by his presence his sacrifice of himself once offered on the cross, so on earth, in the holy eucharist, that same body, once for all sacrificed for us, and that same blood, once for all shed for us, sacramentally present, are offered and pleaded before the Father by the priest, as our Lord ordained to be done in remembrance of himself when he instituted the blessed sacrament of his body and blood. 3. We repudiate all "adoration" of "the sacramental bread and wine," which would be "idolatry;" regarding them with the reverence due to them because of their sacramental relation to the body and blood of our Lord. We repudiate also all adoration of "a corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood;" that is to say, the presence of his body and blood as they "are in heaven." We believe that Christ himself, really and truly, but spiritually and ineffably present in the sacrament, is therein to be adored. Furthermore, in so far as any of the undersigned, repudiating and believing as herein before stated, have used, in whatever degree, a ritual beyond what had become common in our churches, we desire to state that we have done so, not as wishing to introduce a system of worship foreign to the Church of England, but as believing that in so doing we act in harmony with the principles and the law of the Church of England, and as using that liberty which has in such matters been allowed to her clergy and her people, having at heart the promotion of the glory of God in the due and reverent celebration of the holy eucharist as the central act of divine worship. In making the above statement we desire expressly to guard ourselves against being supposed to put it forth as any new exposition of the faith, nor do we seek to elicit from your grace, or from our right reverend fathers in God, the bishops of your province, any declaration in regard to the subjects upon which we have here stated our belief.

We wish only thus publicly to make known this our profession of faith for the quieting of the minds of others, and for the satisfaction of our own consciences.

HOLLAND.

FIFTH GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.—The Evangelical Alliance was established some twenty-two years ago at Liverpool. The chief objects which its founders had in view was to give some external expression to the union of the evangelical denominations and to establish their common creed. The preliminary conference at Liverpool, after a long discussion of the points common to "evangelical denominations," made membership of the alliance dependent upon nine tenets, among which were the inspiration of the Scriptures, the Trinity, the utter depravity of human nature, the divinity of Jesus Christ and the atonement, justification by faith alone, and the divine institution of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. The growth of the Alliance has been on the whole slow. It found some active friends among the clergy and laity of nearly every country of Europe, but their number was small, and in several countries the leading members of the Alliance refuse to accept the nine tenets. Of the several national branches which were established, only that of Great Britain showed a healthful vitality. Four times large assemblies of friends and members of the Alliance from all parts of the world were held, namely: in 1846, at London; in 1855, at Paris; in 1857, at Berlin; and in 1860, at Geneva. Each of these meetings was a success, and helped to circulate a better knowledge of the organization of the Alliance, and of its objects, among larger classes of the Protestant world. The fifth general conference was to have met at Amsterdam, in 1866, but on account of the prevalence of the cholera at the appointed time, it was postponed till 1867, when it met on August 18. The meeting was largely attended, and seems to have attracted greater attention than any of its predecessors. There were delegates from France, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Great Britain, the United States, the British American Provinces, Italy, Spain, Sweden, and Eastern countries. Baron Van Wassenaar Catwijk presided. Among the more prominent delegates were Dr. Krummacher, Prof. Herzog, Dr. Tholuck, and Prof. Lange, of Germany; Pasteur Bersier, Dr. de Pressensé, and Prof. St. Hilaire, of France; Dr. Guthrie, of Scotland; John Pye Smith, Archdeacon Philpot, and S. Gurney, M. P., of England; Merle d'Aubigné, of Switzerland; the Rev. Dr. Prime, of the United States, and many others. Among the subjects discussed were the religious condition of the Church of England, the Scottish Churches, the connection of missions with civilization, Christianity, and literature and art and science; the methods of operating missions; the religious condition of Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, and Italy; Evangelical Nonconformity; Christianity and the nationalities; and various subjects of theology and philosophy. Interesting reports were received of the progress of religious liberty in Turkey, and of the thraldom of opinion in Spain. The observance of the Sabbath received especial consideration, resulting in the adoption of a resolution calling upon the members of the Alliance to use, in their several places of abode and spheres of influence, earnest endeavors to secure from states, municipalities, and masters of establishments—from every one—the weekly day of rest from labor, in order that all may freely and fully participate in the temporal and spiritual benefits of the Lord's day. An invitation was presented and urged by the representatives of the American branch to hold the next General Conference at New York, which was referred to the different branches of the Alliance for consideration.

A letter of affection and sympathy was addressed to Christians scattered abroad, particularly to those who are laboring against the hostile influences of heathenism or of superstition, and whose rights of public worship are restrained or abridged. An address of protest against war was adopted. Statistics were given of Young Men's Christian Associations, showing that there are in the Christian world upward of eight hundred such associations, numbering upward of 55,000 members.

The assembly adjourned on Tuesday, the 27th of August.

Another Life of Jesus is announced from Professor Keim, in Zurich. (*Geschichte Jesu von Nazara.* Zurich, 1867.) The author is a prominent representative of the new liberal (Rationalistic) school of German theology. It promises

to give a free investigation and detailed narrative of the history of Jesus in its concatenation with the whole life of his nation. The work is to consist of two large volumes.

Of the new edition of the Complete Works of John Calvin by Professors Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss, of Strasburg, the sixth volume has recently been published. (*Joa Calvini Opera quæ Supersunt Omnia.* Brunswick, 1867.) This is the thirty-fourth volume of the large collection of the complete works of the reformers of the sixteenth century, which appears under the name *Corpus Reformatorum.*

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

A popular lecture, containing a "History of the Right of Religious Freedom," (*Geschichte des Rechts der Relig. Bekenntnissfreiheit.* Leipzig, 1867,] has been published by Professor C. Bluntschli, a prominent jurist of Germany, who, as president of the "Protestant Diet," and of the General Synod of the State Church of Baden, in August, 1867, has of late taken an active part in the religious movements of Germany.

A History of the People of Israel and of the Origin of Christianity [*Geschichte des Volkes Israel und der Entstehung des Christenthums.* Leipzig, 1867, 2 vols.] has been published by Prof. G. Weber and Prof. H. Holtzmann, of Heidelberg. The first volume, containing the history of the Jews to the Persian era, originally formed part of the first volume of a large work on universal history, which was commenced by Prof. Weber in 1857, and which is to be completed in twelve volumes. It has now been revised and enlarged by Prof. Holtzmann, who is also the sole author of the second volume. Prof. Holtzmann is a prolific writer of the theological school of which Dr. Schenkel is regarded as the chief.

Among the theological periodicals of Germany the *Theologischer Jahresbericht,* ("Annual Theological Report,") edited by Wilhelm Hauck, has already attained during its short existence of two years a front rank. It is a quarterly journal whose object it is to give a full account of the contents of every theological work published in Germany. A volume of this periodical puts its reader in possession of all the important results of theological science in Germany in the course of one year. In this respect the *Jahresbericht* is a very valuable addition to the periodical literature of Protestantism, filling a place which to an equal degree has never been filled either in Germany or in any other country. The fourth number of the year 1867, which we have just received, completes the review of the German theological publications of the year 1866, and gives in an appendix a brief review of the theological literature published in France during the year 1866. The next volume, for the year 1868, will not only review the whole literature of Germany, but also that of other Protestant countries. For France, the United States, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries, special contributors have been engaged to furnish the several reports. This periodical should find a place in the library of every theological school of our country.

A new work exhibiting the harmony of the first three Gospels has been published by Herman Levin. (*Die drei ersten Evangelien, synoptish zusammengestellt.* Wiesbaden. 1866.) The text is that of Codex Siniaticus, in the smaller edition of Professor Tischendorf. (Leipzig. 1865.)

A popular work on the authenticity of the fourth Gospel, by one of the prominent theologians of French Switzerland, F. Godet, has been translated into German by A. O. Wirz. (*Zur Prüfung der wichtigsten kritischen Streitfragen,* etc. Zürich. 1866.)

Among recent Roman Catholic works on the Old Testament are the following: Prof. Reinke, of Münster, (who is regarded by Rom. Cath. scholars as the most learned of their exegetical writers now living) vol. 7 of his "*Contributions to an Exposition of the O. T.*" (*Beiträge zur Erklärung des A. T.* Münster, 1866) containing a history of the changes of the Hebrew O. T.; monographs by Dr.

L. Reinkens, (nephew of the preceding one) on the ancient versions of the Prophet Nahum. (*Zur Kritik der älteren Versionen des Propheten Nahum*, Münster, 1867;) by Prof. Scholz, of Breslau, on the Marriages of the Sons of God with the Daughters of Men. (*Die Ehen der Söhne Gottes*, etc. Ratisbon, 1866;) by Dr. Rohling, on the Jehovah Angel of the O. T. (*Ueber den Jehovah Engel des A. T.*, Münster, 1867, denying the identity of the "Mal'ak Jehovah," and the Logos;) and by the same author on "Moses' Farewell," (*Moses' Abschied*,) Deuteronom. xxxii, 1–43. Jena, 1867. For the latter work the (Rom. Cath.) author has been made a *Doctor Philosophiæ* by the (Protestant) University of Jena.

New German works on the immortality of the soul have been published by Dr. Braubach, (*Denkreise in das unbekannte Jenseits*, Leipzig, 1866;) Dr. Heinsius, (*Vom Wiedersehen nach dem Tode*, Berlin, 1866,) and Wilmarshig (*Das Jenseits*, 4 vols., Leipzic, 1865–'66.) The latter work advocates the opinion that the soul after its death migrates to another planetary body and there continues its individual life.

A committee of Roman theologians under the presidency of Cardinal Gaude are preparing an appendix to the "*Bullarium Magnum Romanum*. Vol. I. containing letters heretofore inedited of the popes from Leo I to Pelagius II., has just been published. (*Bull. Rom. Appendix. Nunc primum edita.* Vol. I. Taurini, 1867.) It gives one hundred and twenty epistles of Leo I., seventy-nine of Hormisdas, twenty of Simplicius, fourteen of Felix III., twelve of Gelasius, fourteen of Vigilius, eight of Agapitus.

Other recent publications by Roman scholars are Sanguinetti, S. J., *The Sede Romana*, (Rome, 1867,) and a history of the Vatican Basilica by Mignanti. (*Istoria della santa patriarcale Basilica Vaticana.* Two vols. Rome, 1867.)

Martin Chemnitz, one of the most celebrated theologians of Germany in the sixteenth century, is a subject of a new monograph by H. Hachfeld. (*Martin Chemnitz.* Leipzic, 1867.) The work claims to be based upon the use of many little known manuscripts, and pays particular attention to the relation of Chemnitz to the Council of Trent. Another monograph on Chemnitz appeared about a year ago by Lenz.

Professor Jacobson, of Koenigsberg, one of the most learned writers of Germany on ecclesiastical law, has published a new large work on the "Evangelical Church Law" of the Prussian State and its provinces. (*Das Evangelische Kirchenrecht.* Halle, 1867.) The recent annexation to Prussia of several States in which the unaltered Lutheran, and not, as in Prussia, the United Evangelical Church, was the State Church, has complicated anew the relation between Church and State.

Among the publications of Perthes of Gotha we notice new complete editions of the Works of Neander, (13 vols.,) Tholuck, (9 vols..) Ullmann, (5 vols.,) a monograph by Dr. G. Schmidt on Justus Menius, the reformer of Thuringia, (to be completed in two volumes;) an essay on the Dogmatics of the Nineteenth Century, by A. Mücke, (*Dogmatik des 19. Jahrhunderts;*) a work by K. F. Kohler on the *French Refugees and their Colonies.* (*Die Refugies.* Gotha, 1867.)

Several new popular works in defense of the Christian religion are announced. Among them are the second volume of Düsterdick's *Apologetic Contributions.* (*Apologetische Beiträge.* Goettingen, 1867;) and the second volume of Professor Luthardt's (of Leipzic) *Apologetic Lectures.* (*Apologetische Vorträge.*)

An important contribution to biblical Christology is given in the work of L. Th. Schultz on "the Son of Man and the Logos." (*Vom Menschensohn.* Gotha, 1867.)

Of the commentary of Professor Ewald, of Goettingen, on the prophets of the Old Testament, a second edition has been commenced. (*Die Propheten des A. B.* Vol. I. Goettingen, 1867.)

FRANCE.

M. Littré, the great French scholar and follower of Auguste Comte, has established the first periodical devoted to the interests of Positivism. It is called *La Revue Positive*, and the first number appeared in August. Littré is by far the most prominent representative among the living followers of Comte, and his literary reputation secures for the new periodical a general

attention among scientific men. Littré rejects some portions of the system of Comte, in particular the "positive religion," applied to society by means of some new kind of theocracy. As to the other parts of the system of Comte, he professes great confidence as to its complete triumph in the future, and reasserts the division of history into three ages—theocratic, metaphysical, and positivist—and the hierarchy of sciences, as established by Comte, advancing from pure mathematics through physics, chemistry, biology, and sociology.

ITALY.

One of the first books in Italian literature from the critical standpoint of the Tubingen school is the work of Professor Bartolomeo Malfatti, of Milan, entitled: *Un Capitolo di Storia del Christianismo primitivo secondo gli studj della scuola di Tubinga.* [*A Chapter of the History of Primitive Christianity according to the studies of the school of Tubingen.* Milan, 1866.]

HOLLAND.

A new work on the most ancient testimonies concerning the books of the New Testament, has been published by Prof. Scholten, of Leyden, well known as one of the prominent men of the "Liberal" school. [*De oudste Getuigenissen aangande de Schriften des N. Test.* Leyden, 1866.]

Art. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Presbyterian and Theological Review, July, 1867. (New York.)—1. Vision Theory of the Resurrection of Christ. 2. Christianity and Civil Liberty. 3. The Nature of Beauty. 4. The Vows of Scripture. 5. The Relation of Missions to Christianity. 6. Ancient and Modern Liberty.

October, 1867.—1. Vision Theory of the Resurrection of Christ. 2. Christian Forgiveness. 3. Report to the Evangelical Alliance. 4. The Progressive Apprehension of Divine Truth. 5. Church Creeds. 6. Presbyterian Reunion.

Baptist Quarterly, October, 1867. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Resurrection of the Dead. 2. Intuitional Religion. 3. The Scriptural Anthropology. 4. Manuscripts of the New Testament. 5. The Dance of Modern Society. 6. Micaiah's Vision.

Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, October, 1867. (Philadelphia.)—1. Sanctification. 2. The Queen's English *vs.* The Dean's English. 3. The Recent Discussions concerning Liberal Education. 4. Preaching to Sinners. 5. The British Churches under Cromwell. 6. Dr. George Duffield on the Doctrines of New-school Presbyterians.

Bibliotheca Sacra, October, 1867. (Andover, Mass.)—1. Revelation and Inspiration. 2. The Second Advent and the Creeds of Christendom. 3. Natural Theology: Theory of Heat. 4. Authorship and Canonicity of the Epistle to the Hebrews. 5. The Natural Theology of Science. 6. The Chronology of Bunsen. 7. Fresh Notes on Egyptology.

Congregational Review, October, 1867. (Boston.)—1. The Preachers Demanded in our Day and How to Secure Them. 2. Jewish Baptism in the Times of our Lord, as related to Household Baptism. 3. The Cycles of History. 4. The Meetinghouse and the Ministry. 5. John Howe's Blessedness of the Righteous. 6. The Douay or Catholic Bible. 7. Short Sermons.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1867. (Gettysburg.)—1. Life and Times of John Huss. 2. History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church. 3. Sober-Mindedness. 4. Covenant of Salt. 5. Conversion. 6. The Delivery of the Augsburg Confession. 7. The Divinity of Christ. 8. Article Second of the Augsburg Confession. 9. The Preaching before the Reformation. 10. The Advent of Christ.

FREEWILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, October, 1867. (Dover, N. H.)—1. Preaching Tours in India. 2. Christian Hearing and Doing. 3. Parliamentary Reform in England. 4. Nimrod and Babel. 5. The Hebrew Lawgiver. 6. William Burr.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, October, 1867. (Boston.)—1. George III. and Lord North. 2. The United States Naval Observatory. 3. The Bank of England Restriction. 4. Arthur Hugh Clough. 5. The Civil Service of the United States. 6. Our National Schools of Science. 7. Key and Oppert on Indo-European Philology. 8. The Reformation of Prison Discipline. 9. The Winthrop Papers.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, July, 1867. (Baltimore.)—1. Ireland and her Miseries. 2. The Atlantic Cable. 3. John Stuart Mill and Dr. Lieber on Liberty. 4. The Maid. 5. The North and the South. 6. Picaresco Romances. 7. Xanthippe and Socrates. 8. Causes of Sectional Discontent. 9. Davis and Lee.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, October, 1867. (Boston.)—1. Religious Skepticism in America. 2. The Bible and the Future Life. 3. The Crusades. 4. Salvation. 5. Liberty and the Church. 6. Universalism in Scotland. 7. Protestantism *versus* Romanism. 8. The Place of the Departed.

NEW ENGLANDER, October, 1867. (New Haven.)—1. The Darwinian Theory of the Origin of Species. 2. Confessions of a High Churchman; a Review of "Bryan Maurice, or the Seeker." 3. Observations on the Modern Greeks. 4. New Phases of the School Question in Connecticut. 5. President Woolsey's Address at the Funeral of President Day, commemorative of his Life and Services. 6. Judge Farrar on the Constitution; a Review of "Manual of the Constitution of the United States." 7. Ex-President Van Buren on Political Parties in the United States.

The author of the first article, Professor Rice, graduated, if we are correct in our dates, two years ago at Middletown, passed through a scientific course at Yale, and, before becoming Master of Arts, was made professor elect at Middletown, at the last commencement, and departed for Europe to complete his preparation for his chair. He is a ministerial licentiate of the Methodist Episcopal Church. His brilliant beginning justifies his friends in auspicating a noble future, especially in the great work of harmonizing the records of science and religion.

The article is a calm weighing of the claim of the Darwinian theory to a place in recognized science, with a negative decision. That theory offers plausible explanations of many phenomena. But there are others it cannot so well explain, and there are two to which it stands in so positive a contradiction as to exclude it, at least for the present, from recognition as legitimate science, namely, "the limitation of homologies and the sterility of hybrids." The article is a masterly survey of the question.

There is one paragraph, however, rebuking the treatment of this scientific subject by religious writers which, we trust, the writer

will reconsider. He has, we think, therein inadvertently re-echoed the style of a certain class of scientific writers whom he has encountered in his reading, without duly looking off his books and seeing facts as they are. We give the paragraph as it stands, and premise that the remarks we make upon it express but the thoughts which have occurred to us in reading similar strains in previous authors.

> It is much to be regretted that the discussion of this question has often assumed a character rather theological than scientific. The pulpit and the religious press have generally been far more ready to denounce the Darwinian theory as materialistic and atheistic than to consider the scientific evidences on which it rests. Although no one who has at heart the highest welfare of humanity can speak otherwise than with respect of any honest effort to support the cause of Christianity, we must protest against the course which theological writers on Darwinism have usually taken. Science must be free to investigate any subject in nature, and to form any theory which the facts may warrant. It is the spirit of the inquisition which seeks to terrify the student of science by the cry of heresy. The age has passed when such attempts could be successful. Alas, that such attempts should still be made! The course of these theologians is as prejudicial to the interests of religion as it is contrary to the spirit of science. It is no service to a good cause to teach men that the truth of Christianity is dependent on the decision of a still doubtful question in science. The whole history of philosophy—the shameful retreat of the Church from point to point, after each vain endeavor to check the progress of science—the noble minds who, after each scientific discovery, have been led to reject the faith which its recognized expounders had founded on scientific error—driven into infidelity not by the supposed infidel tendencies of science, but by the folly of Christian teachers—ought long ago to have taught the lesson which the Church seems still so slow to learn.

Now this paragraph is, we submit, eminently untrue in regard to fact, and erroneous in regard to principle. Untrue touching facts, for the challenge may be fairly given to name any leading theological journal which deals with Mr. Darwin in the style here described. We are somewhat acquainted with our leading religious journals, and we should like to have the respectable journal specified which is conducted, not by religious scholars, but by bigots, who are so ignorant or so regardless of the proper rights of scientific research as is here affirmed. On the contrary, we think that most of the sneer and denunciation at the present day comes from the scientific side of the house. There is a class of scientists who insist on being the heroic victims of religious intolerance. They are bent on attaining a cheap martyrdom without damage to their skins. And with these no candor or silence on the part of the religious world would silence the gratuitous outcry against "the spirit of the inquisition."

It is erroneous in principle, for surely Professor Rice does not in heart believe the obvious import of his own words, that the theological bearings of a scientific theory must never be discussed by theologians. Does he for one moment, upon "sober second

thought," maintain that when a half-proved hypothesis menaces the established interpretation of a Scripture text, or the real essence of the text itself, or the very being of a God, the lips of all theologians must be hermetically sealed, and a dead submission rule the pulpit and the press? Then he means that they should prove false to their trust. It is the duty of the theologian to subject the menacing theories of the scientific class to strict scrutiny, to hold them untrue until fairly demonstrated; and when demonstrated, he is to accept them and settle as he can their bearings upon theology. If demonstration contradict theology, then, that much, theology ceases to exist.

Few religious journals have kept their readers more fully posted upon the advances of those sciences which are supposed to collide with theology than our Quarterly. We have, as was our right and duty, spoken freely both of things and men. We have disguised no alarming facts; we have allowed science to have its say; and yet we have had no hesitation to castigate the pruriency of some scientific men for broaching infidelity under scientific colors, as well as their arrogance in assuming that no theologian must speak in presence of Sir Oracle. So far as Darwin's theory is concerned we have denied it to be atheistical, and have even been at pains to show that the persistent Darwinian need not reject Moses. Our contemporaries, so far as we have observed, have been just as little intolerant as ourselves.

We also beg leave to query whether there is any "shameful retreat of the Church from point to point, after each vain attempt to check the progress of science." The retreat of the Church has been just the retreat of science herself. Each advance of science has been the falsification of previous science. Science has thereby been convicted of old error and falsity, and has been compelled to confess and make a "shameful retreat" from its previous false teachings. Science has, moreover, deceived theology into false interpretations of the text. The text, written for all ages, is obliged to be true to all ages. The antiquated interpretation gathered around the text was just the interpretation which contemporary science compelled. The text is brief, ancient, susceptible often of differing interpretations; and when science makes a "shameful retreat" from her old positions she compels a new interpretation. It is then the old interpretation that was to blame and not the text, and for the old interpretation the blamable party is old science. And when new science compels theology to follow her "shameful retreat," she ought to do it very modestly. The Bible is true just as nature is true; but science

is *perpetually* obliged to change her interpretations of nature, and theology is *sometimes* obliged to change her interpretations of the Bible.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, October, 1867. (London.)—1. James Frederick Ferrier. 2. Emanuel Swedenborg. 3. Presbyterian Union in the Colonies. 4. John Keble. 5. Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum. 6. Justification by Works. 7. England and Christendom. 8. Schwane's History of Patristic Doctrine.

British Quarterly Review, October, 1867. (London.)—1. Smith's History of the World. 2. Personal Recollections of Thomas Hood. 3. The British Association. 4. Recent Explorations in Palestine. 5. St. Patrick. 6. The Expiatory Theory of the Atonement. 7. Trades' Unions.

Christian Remembrancer, October, 1867. (London.) 1. Lord Seaton and his Regiment. 2. The Second Exhibition of National Portraits. 3. Emanuel Swedenborg. 4. Prince Albert. 5. The present Aspect of Affairs in Church and State.. 6. English Religious Houses and their Neighbors. 7. The Great Vatican Manuscript of the Holy Bible. 8. The Popol Vuh. 9. Report of the "Ritual" Commission.

Edinburgh Review, October, 1867. (New York: Reprint.)—1. The Napoleon Correspondence. 2. Codification. 3. The Christians of Madagascar. 4. Trades' Unions. 5. Miss Edgeworth: her Life and Writings. 6. Amendment of the Anglican Rubric. 7. The late Thomas Drummond. 8. The Session and its Sequel.

London Quarterly Review, October, 1867. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Royal Authorship. 2. The French Retreat from Moscow. 3. Trades' Unions. 4. Sir Henry Bulwer's Historical Characters. 5. The Talmud. 6. Science in Schools. 7. Portraits of Christ. 8. The Abyssinian Expedition. 9. The Conservative Surrender.

North British Review, June, 1867. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Origin of Species. 2. A Dutch Political Novel. 3. Modern Views of the Atonement. 4. Faetiæ. 5. Archbishop Sharp. 6. Characteristics of American Literature: Poetry. 7. M. Prevost-Paradol. 8. Report on Scotch Education.

September, 1867.—1. Moral Theories and Christian Ethics. 2. English Vers de Société. 3. Concilia Scotiæ. 4. Carsten Hauch and his latest Poem. 5. M. Gustave Doré. 6. The Great Pyramid. 7. Early Years of the Prince Consort. 8. The Achievements and the Moral of 1867.

Westminster Review, October, 1867. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Polygamy and Monogamy in Turkey. 2. The Apostles' Creed. 3. M. Louis Blanc's Letters on England. 4. Lloyd's Sweden and its Game Birds. 5. Dualism in Austria. 6. La Bruyère: his Life and Works. 7. Democracy. 8. Russia.

Journal of Sacred Literature, October, 1867. (London.)—Early English Treatises. 2. Observata Quædam in Nonnulla Novi Testamenti loca. 3. On the Beautiful Gate of the Temple. 4. Scriptural Notices of Volcanoes and Earthquakes. 5. Recent Books by Thierry, Michaud, and De Broglie. 6. Notes on the Taxing, Luke ii, 2. 7. Vicarious Sufferings. 8. Johannes Huss Redivivus 9. John the Presbyter. 10. The Giants and the Sons of God. 11. A Criticism upon Genesis vi, 1–5. 12. The Book of Job. 13. On Evil, and on Eternal Punishment as the highest Form of Evil. 14. Forensic Imputation. 15. On the Invention of the Alphabet.

The July number of this journal has the following liberal notice of Dr. Hurst's History of Rationalism:

"This is a good and useful book, reprinted from the third American edition, and, as we understand it, revised and enlarged. The introduction supplies us with a

general account of Rationalism as a phase of unbelief. We have not space to give a full analysis of the contents, but we will try to convey some notion of the outline which has been filled up. As a history, it commences with a chapter on the controversial period succeeding the Reformation, and it goes on in the following order: The religious condition of the Protestant Church at the peace of Westphalia; Pietism and its mission; revival of philosophical speculation in the seventeenth century; Descartes and Spinoza, and their influence on theology; the popular philosophy of Wolff, and skeptical tendencies from abroad; Semler and the destructive school, 1750–1810; contributions of literature and philosophy; the reign of the Weimar circle—revolution in education and hymnology; doctrines of Rationalism in the day of its strength; renovation inaugurated by Schleiermacher; relations of Rationalism and Supernaturalism—1810–1835; reaction produced by Strauss's *Life of Jesus*—1835–1848; the evangelical school, its opinions and present prospects; practical movements indicating new life; Holland, from the Synod of Dort to the present time; France in the nineteenth century; Switzerland; England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the United States during the same period; indirect service of skepticism, and actual prospects. The whole concludes with a copious list of publications connected with various controversies and schools.

It will be seen that Dr. Hurst takes a wider range than Hagenbach in his work *On the Rise, Progress, and Decline of German Rationalism*, as the English abridgment is called; at the same time the two books have much in common. The tendencies of Dr. Hurst are orthodox enough, and yet his notices of the principal Rationalists are, as a whole, fair and just. He has exhibited in a manageable form a mass of very useful matter, and much of the information he supplies is absolutely necessary for those who wish to have an intelligent view of the theories and discussions of the present. There is no doubt they will find themselves mistaken who come to it expecting the style, method, and sentiments of Lecky, whose Rationalism is really not the Rationalism of Dr. Hurst. But inasmuch as Dr. Hurst sufficiently explains what his idea of Rationalism is, and follows the precedent of others, nobody must complain that he has not, like Mr. Lecky, used the term rather in view of its etymology than of custom. There are very few among us who may not learn something from this work; and even if we do not in every case indorse the accomplished author's conclusions, we are ready to acknowledge the general accuracy of his facts, so far as we can judge of them. Looked at as a chronicle of the changes of theological currents, and of the conflicts of theologians, it is deeply interesting and instructive. Perhaps the strife of these opposing tendencies is necessary to preserve the equilibrium; but whether or no, it is quite apparent that excesses in one direction are almost invariably avenged by a reaction in favor of the opposite extreme.

German Reviews.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews.) 1867. Fourth Number. 1. BEYSCHLAG. (Prof. at Halle.) The Historical Problem of the Epistle to the Romans. 2. WIESELER, The Readers of the Epistles to the Hebrews and the Temple of Leontopolis. 3. EBRARD, On the Site of Capernaum. 4. GRAF, Remarks on John xiii. 1–4. *Reviews*: 1. Riggenbach, *Zeugnisse fur d. Evangel. Johannis*, (Testimonies for the Gospel of John, with an Essay on the Tabernacle, Basel, 1866,) by WEISS; 2. E. de Bunsen, Hidden Wisdom of Christ and the Key of Knowledge, (London, 1865,) by G. RÖSCH: 3. Krummel, *Geschichte der Böhm. Reformation*, etc. (*History of the Reformation of Bohemia*, in the Fifteenth Century; Gotha, 1866,) by RICHTER; 4. Hahn, *Lehre von d. Sacramenten in ihrer geschichtl. Entwicklung*, (Doctrine of the Sacraments in their Historical Development, Breslau, 1864,) by BECK. 5. Hasse, *Kirchengeschichte*, (Church History, three vols. Leipzig, 1864,) and *Hasse, eine Lebensskizze*. (Biographical Sketch of Dr. Hasse. Bonn, 1865,) by BUXMANN. 6. Grundemann, *Missions-Atlas*. (*Missionary Atlas.*) First Number, Gotha, 1867.

The first article contains a new investigation on the Christian congregation in Rome at the time of the apostles, and the occasion

for and the object of the Epistle to the Romans, with reference to the different views propounded on this subject by Tholuck, De Wette, and Baur, and to a new work on this subject by Mangold. (*Der Römerbrief und die Anfänge der Röm. Gemeinde.* Marburg, 1866.) According to Beyschlag, the object of the Epistle to the Romans was to elevate the Roman Christians to the full height and freedom of evangelical knowledge, which as yet was wanting to them.

According to the opinion of Dr. Wieseler, as expressed in his work on the Epistle to the Hebrews, (*Eine Untersuchung über den Hebraerbrief*, 1861,) this epistle was written by Barnabas to the Christians in Alexandria, in the neighborhood of which city was the Jewish temple at Leontopolis. The same view has since been expressed by Dr. Ritschl, (in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1867,) who, however, differs from Dr. Wieseler in some minor points concerning the readers of the epistle. These points of difference and the Jewish temple of Leontopolis are the subject of the above article by Professor Wieseler, who in conclusion refers briefly to the views of Dr. Lünemann, (*Commentar zum Hebraerbrief*, third edition, 1867,) and Dr. Holtzmann, (*Wissenschaftl. Zeitschrift*, 1867,) of whom the former regards the Christians of Jerusalem, and the other those of Rome, as the recipients of the epistle.

Dr. Ebrard reviews ancient and modern opinions on the site of Capernaum, and finds it with Van De Velde (*Reisen in Syrien und Palestina*, Leipzig, 1856,) on the hill called by the Arabs Tell Hum, ("the hill of Nahum") and not, with Robinson, on the site of the present Khan Minieh.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews.) First Number, 1868. *Essays:* 1. KOSTLIN, Calvin's Institutions. (First Article.) 2. STEITZ, Papias of Hierapolis. 3. HOLLENBERG, Bonaventura as Dogmatic Writer. *Reviews:* 1. MOLLER, Baur's Vorlesungen über Christliche Dogmengeschichte. 2. RIEHM, Ritschl's Biography of Dr. Hupfeld and the new edition of Hupfeld's Commentary on the Psalms. 3. EBRARD, Hauck's *Theologischer Jahresbericht.*

All the three articles in this number are on interesting subjects, and from theological writers whose competency to write on just these subjects has long been established by other works. Dr. Kostlin is one of the best writers on the theology of the Reformers of the sixteenth century, and in particular known by his work on the theology of Luther. Dr. Steitz is the author of a number of valuable and learned articles on ancient Church history, and thus well qualified to review the numerous German writings which have recently treated on Papias of Hierapolis. Dr. Hollenberg, since the publication of his *Studien zu Bonaventura*, (Berlin,

1862,) is recognized as the best Protestant writer on Bonaventura, (one of the greatest representatives of theological science in the Church of Rome during the middle ages,) and gives in the above article an interesting sketch of the chief writings of the Roman theologian.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) 1867. Second Number.—1. FR. MEYER, Religion and the Science of Religion. 2. J. R. HANNE, The Pharisees and Sadducees as Political Parties, (First Article.) 3. HILGENFELD, Dr. Riggenbach and the Gospel according to John. 4. ZELLER, Classical Parallels to Passages of the New Testament. 5. SPIEGEL, The Church Constitutions of the Rural Churches of the Diocese Osnabruck. 6. HILGENFELD, Volkmar and Pseudo-Moses. 7. VAN VLOTEN, Lucas and Silas.

The author of the second article, J. R. Hanne, in Greifswald, as the title of the article indicates, attempts to prove that Pharisees and Sadducees were not religious sects, differing from ancient Judaism, but parties of a political rather than an ecclesiastical character, the Sadducees being the party of the priestly aristocracy, and the Pharisees the party of the patriots and the people, whose chiefs and leaders were the post-exilic prophets. The article is to be continued in several subsequent numbers. This first installment of the article is chiefly occupied with the origin of the two parties, which is found in the time immediately following the return of the Jews from the exile. The author maintains that the priests, who assumed the chief control of the reviving Jewish commonwealth, were friendly to intercourse with foreigners, and, in particular, to marriages with foreigners, and that against this abandonment of the ancient religion arose a powerful native party, zealous for the restoration and preservation of ancient Judaism in its unadulterated purity under the leadership of the prophets.

The third article is a new discussion of the origin of the fourth Gospel, with special reference to a work by Professor Riggenbach, of Basel, (*Die Zeugnisse für das Evangelium Johannis*, Basel, 1866,) which reviews all the ancient testimonies for this Gospel, and comes to the conclusion that it was always regarded in the Church as being of apostolic origin, and that about the middle of the second century it was recognized throughout the Church. Professor Hilgenfeld, who is now one of the chief opponents of the authenticity of the Gospel, urges against the book of Riggenbach, 1. The silence of the earliest representative of the Church of Asia Minor, Papias of Hierapolis. The testimony of Papias concerning the Gospels, as it is considered of special importance, has recently been the subject of several essays. Th. Zahn (in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1866, IV, p. 619 sq., and 1867, III, p. 539 sq.) adduces

passages of Papias which, in his opinion referred to the Gospel according to John; but the correctness of his interpretation of the passages in question has been disputed (as Hilgenfeld thinks, victoriously) by Overbeck. (*Zeitschrift für Wissensch. Theol.*, 1867, I, p. 35 sq.) 2. The silence of the ancient Church of Asia Minor in general. In conclusion, Hilgenfeld reasserts the opinion that the fourth Gospel became known in the Church about A. D. 140, that the influence of Gnosticism upon it can be shown, and that it promoted in the Church a more liberal conception of Christianity in opposition to the Judaizing views of the primitive apostles.

In the sixth article Hilgenfeld quarrels with another representative of the "Liberal" school, Dr. Volkmar, about the time of compilation of a newly discovered apocryphal book, entitled, Ἀναλήψεις Μωϋσέως, [The Ascension of Moses.] Volkmar, who has recently published a German translation of this work, [*Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt*, Leipzig, 1867,] thinks that it was written about 137 A. D.; while Hilgenfeld pleads for a much earlier origin, about 44 A. D.

In the seventh article the hint is thrown out whether Lucas and Silas may not be two names of the same person. It is argued that both names have the same signification, [Lucas or Lucanus from *lucus*, and Silas or Silvanus from *silva*;] and that wherever, in the Acts or the Epistles, one of them is mentioned, the name of the other does not occur. The identity of the two names, it is thought, would explain the circumstance that Lucas is generally considered the author of the diary of the Pauline voyage, which begins in Acts xvi; while the Acts, as well as the Epistle to the Corinthians, mention only two companions of Paul, Timotheus and Silas.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology.) 1868. First Number.—1. DR. P. STARK, Johannes Kepler. His Relation to the Suabian Home, 1596–1619. 2. DR. SIEVERS, *Athanasii vita Acephala*. A Contribution to the History of Athanasius.

The second article is an important contribution to the history of Athanasius and the history of the Church during his time, and if its argumentation is correct, some current dates and statements of this period will have to be modified. The *Athanasii vita Acephala*, which the heading of the article mentions as its subject, is a fragment of a biography of Athanasius, first published by Maffei in his *Osservazione Letterarie*, (Verona, 1738, tom. iii.) From the contents of the work it appears that it must have been written after 385 and before 412, at all events soon after the death

of Athanasius, for whose history it is a very rich source of information. The accuracy of its statements has been disputed by some historians, especially as regards the time of the celebrated Council of Sardica, which, according to the *Historia Acephala*, took place in 343 or 344, while most writers of Church history (Niedner, Guericke, Neander, Hase, Kurtz) all adhered to the year 347, which is given by Socrates and Sozomen. Dr. Sievers endeavors to establish that in this, as in other important points, the statements of the *Historia Acephala* is confirmed by the authority of the "Festal Letters" of Athanasius, which in 1848 were discovered by Cureton, and in 1852 published in a German translation by Larsov. The text of the fragment of the *Historia Acephala* follows the essay.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, April, 1867.—1. PRESSENSE, A Discussion in the Second Century of the Christian Era on the Relations between Man and Animals. 2. The Prussian War. 3. LICHTENBERGER, Essay on Goethe, (First Article.) 4. Necrology of Pastor Juillerat.

May.—1. PRESSENSE, Religious Freedom in France. 2. LICHTENBERGER, Essay on Goethe. 3. G. FISCH, The Puritans of New England. 4. ROSSEEUW ST. HILAIRE, The Oberlin Anniversary.

June.—1. Review of "Chansons du Soir," by Juste Olivier. 2. GAUSSORGUES Positivism and Christianity. 3. G. GARRISSON, Co-operation.

July.—1. PELET DE LA LOZERE, William of Orange and Louis Philipe. 2. Co-operative Societies.

August.—1. SABATIER, The Philosophy of Liberty. 2. A. DE CIRCOART, An Episode in the German War of 1866. 4. GARRISON, Co-operative Societies.

September.—1. A. DE QUATREFAGES, Superior Characters of the Human Race. 2. FROSSARD, Béranger. 3. PEDEZERT, The Progress of Infidelity and the Prospect of Faith.

The name of Pressensé, Fisch, Rosseeuw St. Hilaire, and Pelet de la Lozère are so well-known in the Protestant world that they are in themselves a guarantee for the worth of the last numbers of the *Revue Chretienne*, which contains articles from their pens. The articles on Goethe, on Positivism, and on Co-operation are likewise interesting essays on subjects of general interest. We must not omit to mention that the bibliographical department of the Revue, and its monthly retrospects of current events, continue among the best that can be found in this line in French literature.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Human Element in the Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures. By T. F. Curtis, D. D., late Professor of Theology in the University at Lewisburgh, Pa. 12mo., pp. 386. New York: Appleton & Co. 1867.

If the sincerity and purity of Dr. Curtis needed any other voucher than the spirit that breathes through his pages it is furnished by the fact that he resigned his professorship for the sake of consistently pursuing and maintaining his peculiar views. However near he may approximate the position of a Theodore Parker or a Froude, thanks to his evangelical education and deeper religious experience, he maintains a different spirit, and entertains not only a far more conservative, but a far more devout and truly Christian feeling. He prefers to be classified rather with the semi-rationalistic, yet profoundly evangelical Neander, and certainly we should be very far from refusing, as their record stands, a cordial Christian fellowship with either. Yet Neander's neologisms were but the adhering remnants of an old apostasy from which he was fleeing, and against which he was battling. His back was toward the apostate camp, and his breast to the holy Church. Dr. Curtis's back, on the other hand, is toward evangelicism, and his face toward Rationalism. His feet are upon an inclined plane, and, though *he* may maintain a firm foothold, his retinue of followers are likely to smoothly glide adown the frictionless surface to the "flat Bedford level" below.

Dr. Curtis enumerates three theories of inspiration, of which he maintains the third. There may be an inspiration, first, which secures the perfect truth and infallibility of every phrase and word; or, second, which secures the infallibility of every expression of religious doctrine and spirit; or, third, which, without *negatively* excluding error of either fact, doctrine, or spirit, does *positively* and most effectually evince its own divinity by its unparalleled power of quickening, illuminating, and regenerating the soul that accepts its influence. Dr. Curtis does clearly and eloquently show that the Bible, taken as a whole, is spiritually and morally immeasurably superior to any other grand standard of ancient times or of any other times, which does not owe its superior value to the Bible itself. Homer was the "bible of the Greeks;" the Vedas were the bible of the Aryan races; but compare for one moment the lofty monotheism and the transcendent holiness of Moses and the prophets with these competitors, and one moment

reveals that they are no competitors at all. The Jewish Bible, Old and New Testaments, is the sole *holy* Bible. Now for the man who takes this third view, and truly manifests the fruits of the Spirit, we have neither excommunication nor sarcasm; but while he may maintain upon this platform a safe stand for himself, we hold him a very unsafe guide for the public mind in this or any other age.

Dr. Curtis evinces this danger by the devastating work he performs with the Bible. His stated issue is against its inspiration, his shattering blows are against its truth and reliability. The Bible ceases to be a standard of truth and doctrine, and becomes a mere stimulant to our moral faculty. The divine vase is broken and goes to pieces, and we are left to gather the fragments and sip what vitality we can from their accidental concavities. Dr. Curtis himself evidently sees by glimpses that the distinctly Christian religion vanishes from his view, and ever and anon falls back upon a "universal religion," which appears like the twin brother, if not the identity of Theodore Parker's "absolute religion."

Dr. Curtis's instances of error in Scripture are the ordinary and long debated ones, such as the cosmogony and chronology of Genesis, the deluge, etc. He must be aware that it is in the full face of these difficulties that many most eminent scholars maintain the high theory of infallible inspiration, so that he produces a new discussion without a new argument. We think it becomes a wise Christian thinker to be less impatient than Dr. Curtis, and to wait until science has fully made up a consistent and final verdict, before he pronounces Genesis false. He might be so modest as to admit that upon so ancient a document, which embraces the history of centuries in a few brief lines, it is possible that science will finally require only a new interpretation, or rather, the revival of an old interpretation, maintained by many of the greatest lights of the Church before any collision between science and Genesis was detected. We have our own views on the subject, and yet we hold these views but provisionally. Meantime, while we do not positively *affirm* that there is no scientific or historical error in the genuine text of the Bible, we do not, on the other hand, admit that any proposition or statement in the genuine text, taken in its genuine sense, is categorically false. We throw the burden of proof of such falsity on the asserter, and stand ready to consider the case. We shall then avail ourselves of every legitimate mode of solution. We shall adopt any fair supposition. If no certain solution come we take a probable one. If

no probable one come we simply consider whether it is possible there may be a solution which a knowledge of the entire case would afford. Not until all these means are exhausted do we admit an untrue proposition. It is not clear to our mind that such a case is to be found. Dr. Curtis certainly has not, to our mind, produced one; and if there be one, either he or we are very much at fault; he for not producing it, or we for not appreciating it.

As we said in our last Quarterly, the important question appears to be not so much the inspiration of the Bible as its *authority*. Christ, the great Head both of the New Testament Church and the Old, did uniformly speak of the Old Testament as the standard of religious authority, whose dictum was final. The true meaning of an Old Testament text was held by him, within its proper scope, to be decisive on a question of theology. Dr. Curtis has said nothing that in the least degree invalidates that great fact. Now whether the primitive documents, of which scholars decide that Genesis or any other book was made up, were originally inspired at all or not is so important. On the authority of Christ we hold them *authoritative*. It may be, for aught we know, that parts of Kings or Chronicles, or all, were written with only the official inspiration of the sacerdotal historiographer. The narrative, for instance, of David and Abishag may be written with none but the ordinary inspiration which belonged to a holy chosen official of the chosen Church of God. Still as truth in a book of truth, that narrative comes down sanctioned to us by the lips of incarnate truth.

As there are men who are constitutionally supra-naturalistic, so there are families, races, and periods pre-eminently so. When, as in Etruria, and at one time in Asia Minor, that supra-naturalism is disunited from a high moral spirit, it goes into magic and demonism; or, as at the present day in our own land, into pseudo-spiritualism. But the Abrahamic family, blending a supra-naturalistic temperament with a faithful piety, were humanly constituted to become a chosen people of Jehovah. They were the proper subjects and media of divine revelation, prophecy, and miracle. Constructed into an organism they became Jehovah's Church. To them suitably were committed the oracles of God. Of Jehovah's monotheistic nature, and the fact of his future incarnation, they became, by divine selection, the official depositories and expositors to the world. Hence was formed in various degrees an inspired Church, with a body of records assuming the various forms of history, prophecy, apothegm, and hymnology.

And when He came who was the divine flower of humanity, he hesitated not to sanction the questionless authority of those records. So much for the Old Testament.

We believe the New Testament canon to be (as shown in our notice of Bernard's Progress of Christian Doctrine) a UNIT. It is an absurdity to our view that Christ should come, preach, and die, and leave for the world no authentic official record for what he came, preached, and died. We hold very cheap, therefore, all Dr. Curtis's dubious discussions of the New Testament books. Christ did not labor and suffer for nothing. He chose and inspired his official witnesses, he organized his Church; these witnesses and that Church prepared the *great* STATEMENT for the world. And either Christ did his work very poorly, or that *statement* contains an infallible exposition of Christ's religion. Every New Testament writer is a witness chosen by Christ; and if every line and word which such witnesses have left us is not reliable, then Christ pitifully failed in his attempt to give us his real system of holy truth. He lived and died in vain. But Christ, also, for this same purpose, inspired his early apostolic Church. The New Testament *unit* comes down to us accepted by the primitive body of Christians as the *canon* of Christ's religion. We claim the right to believe, then, that it is *Christ's own canon*, and as such, whether in every part originally inspired or not, is in every part and particle binding on our Christian faith.

It might, however, be worth while, and would in no way aid Dr. Curtis's argument, to investigate how nearly the great body of our Christian evangelical laity do practically and unscientifically stand upon Dr. Curtis's theoretical platform. Our laymen know little of Christian "*evidences*." From the newspapers they learn that Darwin and Lyell come into serious collision with Genesis. Few thoughtful laymen, we suppose, but do occasionally, in reading certain passages of the Old Testament, entertain, momentarily at least, a misgiving or a query; yet for some reason or other such a layman's permanent position is thereby practically very little disturbed. If passages of Genesis or Chronicles do momentarily appear inexplicable, there is somehow in the Bible a great *positive power* which, without going into the question of absolute infallibility of every part, he feels and obeys. Those great, stupendous, self-evidencing truths, such as the existence of an all ruling God, under whose sway sin must meet with retribution, hold him fast. The impressive personality of the incarnate Son of God, in the wonder of his life, and still more his death, somehow possesses his soul. At every communion the power of the atonement comes

home upon his heart and touches his personal experience. Over all these truths and processes the blessed Spirit, with its heavenly power, presides. And thus, while scientific infidelity is waging its war, and North American Reviews are predicting its triumph, our revivals still spread vitality over the Church, our Church blooms like the garden of God, the centennial offering pours in its spontaneous millions, and the massive Christian structures are taking their age-enduring foundations. Truly, seldom have ruin and decay looked so much like prosperity and immortal bloom.

A System of Biblical Psychology. By FRANZ DELITZSCH, D. D., Professor of Theology. Translated from the German. Second edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged, by the Rev. ROBERT ERNEST WALLIS, Ph. D., Senior Priest, Vicar of Wells Cathedral, and Incumbent of Christ Church, Coxley, Somerset. 8vo., pp. 585. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1867.

This very able production of the eminent German commentator, Delitzsch, is rather an anthropology than a psychology. It embraces not a science of thought, or of the human faculties, but furnishes an analysis of the entire composite nature of man as related to his eternal history, as exhibited in Scripture, interpreted by the acutest exegesis, in the light of the best philosophy, and of the results of modern science. The Bible is, indeed, no direct systematic teacher of anthropological science as such, yet its references to and assumptions regarding the nature of man ought, if rightly understood, to be found true. "I proceeded," says Delitzsch, "from the auspicious assumption that whatever of a psychologic kind Scripture presents will be neither self-contradictory nor so confused, childish, and unsatisfactory as to have any need to be ashamed in view of the latest psychologic research. This favorable assumption has, moreover, perfectly approved itself to me without my being afraid of having considered the psychological statements of Scripture in any other than their own light." The fact of this consistency and unity of view pervading the sacred volume through its vast range, as its successive parts have been written through successive ages, is proof alike of the truth of the view, and of the unity of this wonderful book of ages.

Delitzsch found the Scripture representations to come into a beautiful harmony as soon as he ascertained what he considers the true theory of the threefold constitution of man as body, soul, and spirit—a triplicity to which the awful vocable *trichotomy* has been latterly appropriated. He holds that, besides *body*, man has distinctively a *spirit* and a *soul*; but the spirit and the soul are not two independent and separable entities. Rather, spirit is the pure

central essence, and soul is the radiation from it, the lower margin or fringe. Just so God is the essence, and his *doxa* or glory is an effluence. By this marginal fringe *spirit* intertwines with body and vitalizes it, so that the spirit, primarily, and the soul, secondarily, furnish to the body even its animal life. The brute life of the lower orders of the living creation is not thus, like man's life, *from above.* Brute life is simply a concentration and individualization of "the spirit of nature," and comes from the *animus mundi.* Development, therefore, could never ascend from the brute to the human. At its apex the hightest possible brute ascent must be met by a corresponding descent of the divine to constitute the human.

The final object of creation, as geology shows, was *man.* And for the great seven of creation Delitzsch finds a corresponding seven in the nature of God, as well as in the spirit, in the soul, and in the body of man. The death and disorder shown by geology to have pervaded the earth before the human period he traces to sin; but to the sin not of man, but of the fallen angels. Had primeval man, instead of a fall, attained to glorification, the earth would have been glorified with him as its center, and will be glorified in his final glorification.

The discussion of man's nature, as biblically exhibited, brings up a number of Scripture problems, which Delitzsch treats with a bountiful collation of Scripture texts, and to some degree confronts their results with the conclusions of science. What ground in truth is there for that declaration, so often repeated in the Old Testament, that the blood is the life or soul, a declaration which is made the basis of prohibition, command, and ritual? How shall we reconcile with modern science the fact, verified by Delitzsch with an exhaustive catalogue of texts, that, with the exception of two or three instances in Daniel, not only the feelings but the intellections and reasonings of the human mind, and, we may say, the human mind itself apparently, is placed not in the *head*, or the brain, but in the *heart?* What shall we do with the fact that Scripture locates the feeling in the bowels, and, what is more remarkable, in the (*reins*) kidneys? Then comes up the topic of dreams, both ordinary and predictive. The aspects in which disease is described in Scripture as the result of sin are to be explained, as well as its production, by demoniac agencies. More deeply still our author sounds for us the Scripture depths of superstition and magic; and as a contrast to these awful profundities, yet scarce less wonderful, is the matter of sacred ecstacy. Of this our author finds three forms: *first*, the spiritual exaltation, arising

from high devotional excitement; *second*, the prophetic elevation, produced by divine communication of a revelation which has regard to salvation; and, *third*, the charismatic ecstacy, in which was possessed the gift of tongues. Two points are here notable. First, Delitzsch strikingly illustrates the fact that different modes of supernatural manifestation are prevalent in different periods of time. Second, he does not hesitate to recognize an element of the supernatural in the developments of the present age, mingled with much that is deeply natural, and much that is deception. He does not hesitate to draw arguments from facts in clairvoyance and somnambulism.

In death the spirit, withdrawing, withdraws the soul from the body, yet with a most natural reluctance, for the soul is thereby in a true sense *naked*. Though the holy soul is happy *as soul*, yet, as separated soul, under power of death, its happiness awaits a future completion. Schilling is quoted as suggestively saying, "Death is a necessary event in the development of life; the complete *separation of the internal body from its copy*, woven out of the elements, and even in this world constantly changing and transforming itself." This "internal body" is the "immaterial corporeity" of the soul. This soul corporeity is, so to speak, the "essences and extract of the body," and, though immaterial, is still phenomenal to the spiritual perception. This soul corporeity takes its shape from and coincides with the moral character by the man attained. Our material body but precariously expresses the quality of the soul that inhabits it; but when soul goes forth *naked* it goes forth *character*. Positively denying the doctrines of purgatory, of final restoration, and of annihilation of the damned, Delitzsch declines to place any temporal limit to the period of possible conversion even at death. So long as probationary *time* lasts for the world, even the disembodied spirit may repent. The day of judgment only closes *for all* the day of grace. Separated from the body the soul for a period retains a powerful affinity for its own particular body, and even to the day of resurrection a secret relation is retained between the soul and every particle of the organism it at death abandoned. God's final resurrection power and act effect the fulfillment of that affinity in the reinvestment of the spirit with its ancient corporeity.

Without indorsing all the theology, philosophy, or exegesis of Delitzsch, we have read his work with profound interest and much instruction. A cautious study of it may be recommended to sacred scholars, to preachers, and especially to commentators. The translation, however, much needs to be translated. Unassimilated

lumps of Hebrew and Greek scattered on every page render it a closed book to lay readers. The diction is half way between German and English. What a pity that the translator could not restate his author's thoughts in such pure transparent English as we find in the pages of a Nast or a Schaff.

The Theology of the Greek Poets. By W. S. TYLER, Williston Professor of Greek in Amherst College. 12mo., pp. 365. Boston: Draper & Halliday. 1867.

Professor Tyler's volume is conglomerate in character, consisting mostly of articles originally published in the Quarterlies. Its first two articles do not come under the title of the book, and the remainder leave the treatment of the topic indicated by the title very incomplete. For this incompleteness the professor's reason is other engagements. The excellence of his book, and the rarity of similar productions from the immense body of our college professors, suggest the hope, or at least the wish, that our colleges may one day be able and ready to allow a professor competent to the task the leisure and encouragement necessary to adding something valuable to the literature of the age.

The first article is a chapter in the great department of Christian evidence from Analogy, of which Butler's immortal work is the great exemplar. The second handles the Homeric question, and furnishes a very valuable summary of the argument regarding the authorship of the Iliad and Odyssey. The reality of Homer's personality and real claim to the great works in question may be considered as having fairly passed the test of modern criticism. Healthful skepticism is the proper quality of a healthful mind. But, spite of the Buckle school of philosophy, skepticism is but a *negative* virtue, and, when carried to a morbid extent, is a great moral disease, often terminating in moral and spiritual death.

The remaining articles take their proper place under the title of the book, and discuss in a style of wonderful freshness and eloquence the theology of the Greek poets. Professor Tyler's reputation as a writer does not equal his real merit. Few pens in the country can throw off paragraphs and pages of more surpassing fullness of beauty and power than abound in this volume. If, instead of sustaining the cause of ancient evangelical truth with a fervid yet liberal spirit, he would join the brilliant cohort of Rationalism; if he would, as he easily could, tip his style with a little more pointed flippancy, and launch into a broad humanitarian indifferentism, he could enter the pages of the *Atlantic Monthly* and take the honors. He would then be accepted as really belonging to

the literature of the country. He would be orthodox with the *Tribune*, the *Nation*, and the *Round Table*, and even the columns of some Methodist official or unofficial might send in an echo or two to reverberate the chorus of his triumph.

The professor's Calvinism, however, is not of the very hardest shell. He loves to trace the elements of religious sentiment, whether belonging to the intuitive nature, or derived from primitive tradition, or propagated by existing institutions, or inspired by the omnipresent Spirit, even in pagan lands and ages, and to recognize them as tokens of hope in the dispensation where they are found, and as providential preparations for the coming truth. We are ashamed to say that within the last month we have read more than once in a periodical of the Methodist Episcopal Church articles taking the ground of the absolute unexceptional damnation of all beyond the reach of Christian indoctrination, since all, without exception, live in sin and know no way to escape the penalty. Such a dogma is not only unscriptural, but un-Wesleyan, un-Methodistical, and atrocious. It passes a *decretum horribile* as *horribile* as Calvin ever invented, based upon geographical accident. We published not very long ago an article in our Quarterly on the "Equation of Probational Advantages," (subsequently incorporated as a chapter of our volume on the Will,) in which the question of the salvability of those who never heard of Christ was fully discussed. The considerations adduced in that article are wholly unnoticed by these writers, and are evidently wholly unknown. In other words, they are unacquainted with the first elements of the question. They are as ignorant as they are dogmatical and, Methodistically speaking, heretical. As a specimen of what Professor Tyler can say of the religious element in classic paganism take the following extract:

> The ideas [of the poet Æschylus] are founded deep in the religious nature of man. They set forth the theology of Æschylus and the greater part of his contemporaries. And it must be confessed that that theology is surprisingly healthy, and sound, and truthful, in its essential elements. The great doctrines of hereditary depravity, retribution, and atonement, are there in their elements as palpably as they are in the sacred Scriptures. Would that much of modern poetry was equally true to the soul of man, to the law of love, and to the Gospel of Christ!
>
> The offices and work here ascribed to Apollo, taken in connection with what has been said of the same god under a former head, must strike every Christian reader, whatever may be his explanation of them, as remarkable resemblances, not to say foreshadowings, of the Christian doctrine of reconciliation. This resemblance or analogy becomes yet more striking when we bring into view the relations in which this reconciling work stands to Ζεὺς Σωτηρ, Jupiter the Savior; Ζευς τρίτος, Jupiter the third, who, in connection with Apollo and Athena, consummates the reconciliation. Not only is Apollo a Σωτήρ, who, having himself been an exile from heaven among men, will pity the poor and needy; not only does Athena sympathize with the dependent at her tribunal, and, uniting the office of advocate with

that of judge, persuade the avenging deities to be appeased; but Zeus is the beginning and end of the whole process. Apollo appears as the advocate of Orestes only at his bidding. Athena inclines to the side of the accused as the offspring of the brain of Zeus, and of like mind with him. Orestes, after his acquittal, says that he obtained it

> "By means of Pallas and of Loxias
> And the third savior who doth sway all things."

And when the Furies are fully appeased by the persuasion of Athena, she ascribes it to the power of

> "Zeus, the master of assemblies:
> Jove, that rules the forum, nobly
> In the high debate hath conquered,
> In the strife of blessing now,
> You with me shall vie forever."

In short, throughout the Oresteia, Æschylus exhibits dimly and mysteriously in the background, but with all the more poetical effect on that very account, the ideas of Zeus Soter the third, as the power that pervades the universe, and conducts the course of things, gently, indeed, but eventually, to the best possible issue.

Classic Baptism: An Inquiry into the Meaning of the Word ΒΑΠΤΙΖΩ, as determined by the Usage of Classical Greek Writers. By JAMES W. DALE, Pastor of the Media Presbyterian Church, Delaware County, Pa. 8vo., pp. 354. Boston: Draper & Halliday. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1867.

For three centuries the controversy has been waged respecting the import of the word *βαπτιζω*, and the proper mode of Christian baptism. Chiefly because of its bearing upon the latter, does the former possess any interest or importance. Leaving the scriptural use of the word to subsequent publications, Mr. Dale, in the present volume, attempts an examination into its use in the classical Greek of a thousand years. He is met at the outset by certain "Baptist postulates," affirming that (1) *βαπτιζω* has one invariable, clear, precise, definite meaning; (2) *βαπτιζω* and *βαπτω* have precisely the same meaning, dyeing excepted; (3) *βαπτιζω* expresses a definite, modal act, *to dip;* and (4) its figurative merely pictures its literal use. An examination of representative Baptist authors follows, occupying some seventy pages, to see how far they sustain these postulates; and, strange to say, it appears that while they all agree that the word expresses a definite act, they can find in the English language no one word or phrase which accurately pictures that act, or which they with any tolerable unanimity accept as conveying its exact import. Some of them dislike "dip" and "plunge," although the confession of faith employs them. Others prefer "immerse," a word, as Mr. Dale says, of a "penumbral character," a Latin compound which certainly does not signify to *plunge;* while Dr. Conant adopts no less than seven defining terms, (with, after all, an underlying "ground idea,") differing one from another, to express this one clear, definite act.

The direct investigation brings before us passages from thirty-two authors who employ *βαπτω*, and thirty-eight who use *βαπτιζω*, which words are never confounded by Greek writers. He shows that *βαπτω*, *tingo*, and *dip*, belong to the same class, corresponding in all radical features, and that they often, in the progress of usage, dip, without dipping, as when they *stain*, or *tincture*. *βαπτιζω*, *mergo* and *merse*, constitute a second class, expressing no definite act, but rather a change of condition, and accepting any form of act by which the change may be accomplished. The appeal to usage fully proves his conclusion, and shows the utter folly of the pretense that *βαπτιζω* always, or even ordinarily, signifies to immerse. Mr. Dale also shows a wide difference in the true import of the words employed by Baptist writers. Dip, plunge, immerse, overwhelm, are by no means synonyms. They may reach the same result by change of condition in the object, but as acts they widely differ.

The investigation is very thorough and exhaustive, embracing every passage of the classics known to our author, and conclusively proving that the word itself expresses no mode whatever. On the question whether *βαπτω* is primarily a verb of motion, the reader will do well to consult an able article by Dr. Strong in our Quarterly Review for July, 1860, page 404.

Classic baptism, then, is performed by any act which thoroughly changes the character, state, or condition of the person or thing baptized, irrespective of physical envelopment. Christian baptism, in like manner, changes the condition of the person baptized, only happily our Saviour has pictured out the form of the act by which he chooses that the condition shall be changed. He has given it definite shape. By his own use of the word *βαπτιζω*, and pointing to the descending Spirit, the baptizing element put in motion and falling upon the stationary candidate, he has interpreted himself and left for his followers a pattern. D. A. W.

Meditations on the Actual State of Christianity, and on the Attacks which are now being made upon it. By M. Guizot. 12mo., pp. 390. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1867.

Guizot's second series of *Meditations* has appeared promptly, and in very neat form. It is not, however, the Meditations on certain historical aspects of Christianity which, according to M. Guizot's programme was to have formed the second volume of the series. For good reasons (given in his preface) the author has changed his plan, and presents in this volume his views upon "the actual state of Christianity, and the attacks now making upon it." Under this

latter category are included Spiritualism, Rationalism, Positivism, Pantheism, Materialism, and Skepticism. All these topics are handled with the strength of a master, and with the dexterity which only long literary experience can give. The salient points in each are seized and discussed, all minor considerations being put aside. By this selection, M. Guizot has condensed into this small volume an estimate of each of the chief systems of unbelief, sufficient for ordinary readers, and also a just appreciation of its real power, and of the amount of its capacity for harm, especially from its relation to the state of the human mind in the present stage of civilization.

The work is, therefore, adapted to a large circle of readers. It is, in fact, addressed, not so much to students of metaphysics, as to all "upright and independent minds;" an appeal made to them to subject science to the test of the human conscience, and to regard with distrust systems which, in the name of pretended scientific truth, would destroy the harmony established by the law of God between the intellectual order and the moral order, between the thought and the life of man."

Prefixed to these studies of the various infidel systems is a Meditation on "the Awakening of Christianity in France in the Nineteenth Century," in which his personal acquaintance with the epoch described, and with all the prominent actors in it, gives special vivacity to his pages, and value to his description. His habitual conservatism, however, shows itself in the hesitating way in which he speaks of the question of Church and State, a question on which the active Protestants of France have fully made up their minds, and with regard to which M. Guizot is half a century behind them.

Prayers of the Ages. Compiled by CAROLINE S. WHITMARSH. 12mo., pp. 335. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868.

The prayers of this beautiful volume are derived from various sources, Pagan and Mohammedan, Protestant and Catholic, ancient and modern. It is, then, in a noble sense, a *catholic* book, embracing in its scope not only the *broad*, but the universal Church, visible in all lands and ages to the eye of God alone. Dr. Whichcote, of Cambridge, suggested that the unity of a Church should be decided not by their belief in the same creed, but by their ability to unite in the same prayers.

The prayers of heathen and pagan are in the present volume given in a separate part. They are taken from Plato, Epictetus, and Marcus Antoninus, from the Hindoo Vedas, and from Mo-

hammed and Saadi. Then follow eleven parts, dividing the prayers into various topics and occasions. The selections are from the great and good of all sections of the Christian Church: from Augustine, Kempis, and Catharine Adorna, and Madame Guyon; and from the great saints of the middle ages, Anselm, Bernard, and Bonaventura. There are a few from leading divines of the English Church, several from Dr. Channing, from James Martineau, and four from Theodore Parker.

The lady compiler, in a beautiful preface, gives the reason why the grand old Hebrew prayers are omitted, and states the sources and the motives of her publication. "A religious rather than a literary genius has been my test in making the selections. I have sought for records of the 'conversation in heaven,' the 'heavenly places' of the soul, which the saints enjoyed while on earth, the ladders of light whereby they have drawn earth closer to heaven." The work is a choice contribution both to the literature of prayer, and, with some drawbacks, to the number of practical devotional manuals.

Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity in the Nineteenth Century. Delivered in the Mercer-street Church, New York, January 21 to February 21, 1867, on the "Ely Foundation" of the Union Theological Seminary. By ALBERT BARNES, author of "Notes on the New Testament," "Notes on the Psalms," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 451. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

The present volume consists of ten lectures, limited mainly to the discussion of the miracles of Christ, and the authenticity of Christianity, with little reference to the Old Testament. The current of the argument is, that the evidences for Christianity still stand, even in this nineteenth century, in their full luster. The evidences for the Christian miracles are undiminished by the lapse of time and by the growth of science. Prophecy stands fulfilled, and is being fulfilled at the present time. The peerless character of Jesus no ages can abolish. The adaptation of Christianity to the human race will endure as long as both Christianity and the race endure.

These topics Mr. Barnes unfolds with a rich and copious style, with many original suggestions, and many passages of surpassing eloquence. In his power of accumulating rich illustrations on his successive points Mr. Barnes sometimes reminds us of Chalmers. There is much of that same massiveness, that exhibiting his topic in a variety of lights, that rapidity of style, yet slow movement of the argument, and that feeling of exhaustive dealing when the argument is finished. There is also sometimes a similar feeling that the matter is a little overdone, and that the copiousness, however effective in a public discourse, is rather too exuberant

for closet perusal. But as a whole, it is a most timely contribution to the thoughts of the hour upon the great subject of the truth of Christianity.

Prayers from Plymouth Pulpit. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. Phonographically reported. 12mo., pp. 332. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867.

Extemporaneous and spontaneous Christian prayer has, until very lately, appeared too sacred for the reporter's pen. Written or printed prayer has either been the carefully prepared form for deliberate and solemn private use, or the permanent record for the general Church. For the first time in literature, we believe, have the public devotions of any man been caught by the phonographer and booked by a publisher. We hesitate to record our approval.

Mr. Beecher's prayers are, of course, like his sermons, characteristically original and eloquent. They possess his style, and they possess a pervading style of their own. There is a soft, poetic glow running through them not unpleasing, nor uninspiring of sympathy, yet slightly tinged with a sort of sentimentalism addressed to the Deity; so distinctively so, that, after the first impression is over, we should be far more likely to be moved to united prayer by the heartier and ruder supplications of much coarser men. There is a caution which we would address in an earnest undertone to our young ministers who may read the book: *beware of modeling!* That youthful pulpit orators should "preach Beecher" is undesirable, but it is utterly unendurable that they should, even unconsciously, "pray Beecher."

Ezekiel and Daniel: with Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Practical, designed for both Pastors and People. By Rev. HENRY COWLES, D. D. 12mo., pp. 472. New York: Appleton & Co. 1867.

The present volume is second of a series by Professor Cowles on the Prophets, following that on the Minor Prophets noticed in a former number of our Quarterly. It is marked by the same valuable qualities—conciseness, clearness, vigor, and piety. The notes are interspersed upon the page between the Scripture passages on which they comment, in smaller type. The books are preceded with an extended but concise introduction. Two full dissertations close the volume; the first disputing the theory that the prophetic "day" ever means "year;" the second showing the falsity of the grounds upon which the late William Miller based his theory of the immediately approaching second advent.

The volume, as an aid in understanding some of the obscurest

parts of the Old Testament, will prove valuable to ministers, lay readers, and families. It is, however, unfortunately, deficient in maps, diagrams, and pictorials, which would have been both attractive and illustrative.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, compared with the Old Testament. By the Author of "The Song of Solomon compared with other parts of Scripture." Fifth edition. 12mo. pp. 306. New York: Robert Carter & Bro. 1867.

This little volume is the production of a lady unnamed, whose decease left the work unfinished at the close of the tenth chapter. It is a beautiful fragment. It is characterized not by deep learning, but by a deep piety, a degree of originality and a marked purity and grace of style. We are sorry, however, to find such an unnecessary vulgarism as "don't" embosomed in one of the elegant sentences of the preface. Such abominations as don't, can't, sha'n't, wont, haint, and aint are a disgrace to colloquial or newspaper language; but in a work aspiring to purity of language they are positively insufferable.

American Edition of Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Revised and Edited by Prof. HACKETT, D.D., with the co-operation of EZRA ABBOT, A.M., A.A.S., Assistant-Librarian of Harvard University. Part IV., pp. 448. Part V., from pp. 448 to 560. Part VI., from pp. 560 to 672. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867.

Hurd & Houghton are prosecuting this standard work with characteristic energy and in their usual finished style. The present three numbers bring it down to the article *Egypt*. Leading articles are on Canon, Chronology, Circumcision, Crucifixion, Book of Daniel, David, Demoniacs, and Eden. In all the qualities constituting a complete biblical dictionary this work stands unsurpassed in the English language.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Language and the Study of Language. Twelve Lectures on the Principles of Linguistic Science. By WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, Professor of Sanscrit and Instructor in Modern Languages in Yale College. 12mo., pp. 474. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867.

The present volume is one of a valuable series upon Linguistic Science issued by Scribner & Co., including the works of Marsh, Müller, Craik, De Vere, B. W. Dwight, and others. It is one of the most valuable of the series. It is particularly valuable as a commencing book, introducing the young student to the subject, unfolding the prospects before him, and finally giving him a com-

prehensive yet compendious view of the whole field. Prof. Whitney commences with our language as daily uttered, analyzes the forces that form and modify it, traces the philosophy of phonetic changes in its growth, compounding, and decay. These steps are strikingly and entertainingly illustrated by a variety of instances both in the English and other languages. He next takes a view, somewhat full, of the Indo-European family of languages, unfolding in its historic wonders facts and principles in which the English-speaking peoples are profoundly interested. Thence he takes a broad but rapid survey of the whole map of human languages, and thence finds his way prepared for an investigation of those profound and momentous problems concerning the origin of language, the birthplace and birthday of our humanity, and the very nature of man as a speaking, thinking being. A cognate dissertation on the origin of written language completes the volume.

Professor Whitney draws his materials, in a spirit of independent thinking, from the greatest masters of the science in Germany and England, amply showing himself a master. His style is full and rapid, yet clear, and sometimes eloquent. We append some of his most momentous conclusions:

Is the East the cradle of our race?

"Linguistic science, as such, does not presume to decide whether the Indo-European home was in Europe or in Asia; the utmost that she does is to set up certain faint and general probabilities, which, combined with the natural conditions of soil and climate, the traditions of other races, and the direction of the grand movements of population in later times, point to the East rather than the West as the starting-point of migration."—Page 204.

Antiquity of race as shown by language:

"To set a date lower than 3000 years before Christ for the dispersion of the Indo-European family would doubtless be altogether inadmissible; and the event is most likely to have taken place earlier. Late discoveries are showing us that the antiquity of the human race upon the earth must be much greater than has been generally supposed."—Page 205.

Transfer of Christianity from Shem to Japhet:

"If Christianity was of Semitic birth, Greeks and Romans gave it universality. Rejected by the race which should have especially cherished it, it was taken up and propagated by the Indo-Europeans, and added a new unity, a religious one, to the forces by which Rome bound together the interests and fates of mankind."—Page 231.

The date of man's earthly origin:

"It has been supposed that the first introduction of man into the midst of the prepared creation was distant but six or seven thousand years from our day, and we have hoped to be able to read the record of so brief a career, even back to its beginning; but science is accumulating at present so rapidly, and from so many

quarters, proofs that the time must be greatly lengthened out, and even perhaps many times multiplied, that this new modification of a prevailing view seems likely soon to win as general an acceptance as the other has already done."—Page 382.

Verdict of Linguistic science on the unity of the race:

"Linguistic science is not now, and cannot hope ever to be, in condition to give an authoritative opinion respecting the unity or variety of our species."—Page 383.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Short Studies on Great Subjects. By JOHN ANTHONY FROUDE, A. M., Late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. 12mo., pp. 534. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868.

We have in the present volume a collection of the miscellanies of this eminent historian. They are mostly historical in their character, or, if we may coin the term, historico-theological; meaning thereby that they professedly furnish the theological side of the historical events. Mr. Froude's views may be conjectured from the fact that a large share of the pieces were originally articles in the Westminster Review or Frazer's Magazine. He is a Rationalist of the clearest ring. We may call him *Christian* only by courtesy; as it is clear that it is only in courtesy to the name that he condescends to appropriate it. On all subjects, even the most delicate, he speaks his mind with a bland and gentlemanly unflinchingness. As he believes that errors, false doctrines, and fanaticisms have their uses and benefits in their day, so it is in a tone of complaisant respect for each and all of them that he frankly contradicts and nonchalantly demolishes them all. Those errors in his view comprehend Christian theology in the entire, including the belief in miracles and in the reliable authenticity of the Gospels. "The Gospel" he believes to be a divine bestowment; but his gospel consists in the dictates of man's moral nature; and the written Gospel is just so far true and authoritative as it coincides therewith. Yet from his standpoint he judges the events and characters of history with the greatest apparent intentional fairness.

Catholicism, Mr. Froude assures us, was for fifteen centuries a "beautiful creed;" and the Church performed her divine mission with a sublime fidelity and power; but the creed was nevertheless false; the Church in the sixteenth century became immersed in bottomless corruption; the possibility of self-restoration was absolutely out of the question; and of that reformation from without by which alone Christendom could be saved Luther was beyond all controversy the true transcendent hero. Of the great

battle of the Reformation, Scotland was the Thermopylæ, and John Knox the victorious Leonidas, who, arousing the stern fanaticism of the Scotch commons, really and truly saved the vacillating Elizabeth, rescued the English Reformation from defeat, and thereby preserved Protestantism to Europe, and, consequently, to our present living America. But by nothing but that inspiring fanaticism could the great work have been wrought. The aristocratic and cultured classes were incapable of such sublime earnestness of faith, and they drifted upon the current of a sordid expediency. And at the present day a disheartening PERHAPS underlies all the faith of Christendom. Science has refuted the cosmogony of Genesis, and left us the awful question: If there be mistake in one part of the Old Testament what reliance upon any other part? And then Mr. Froude subjects the authenticity of the four Gospels to a so-called "*criticism*," (a very uncritical performance it is,) which finishes the destruction of all written revelation. We are flung back upon the natural man, enlightened by science and ennobled by civilization, upon which Mr. Froude takes his confident stand, maintaining that all opinions are little worth so long as a faith in God and retribution is retained.

Upon all this we remark: 1. Rationalists of the Froude school occupy a very precarious foothold on the inclined plane half way from Christianity to Comte and Atheism. At that half-way house they stop by ceasing the logic through which they arrived there. With the same unflinching logic used by Froude to destroy John Knox, M. Comte can destroy Froude. Nothing but a *historical supernatural*, such as Christianity alone credibly presents, can save us from this bottomless abyss. 2. Over-science hardens the heart, and by drying away the emotions, natural and spiritual, destroys the soul; just as over-civilization enervates and destroys both soul and body. Left to these the race must perish. There is no refuge for us. The loss of faith is the loss of hope. The gospel of Mr. Froude is the gospel of despair. 3. That same unnerving *perhaps* which Froude discerns underlying modern Christianity underlies all things. Our revolving planet sails through space and through ages amid unknown breakers, and will survive another year—*perhaps*. Our senses and our reasoning faculties are at all reliable for the attainment of truth—*perhaps*. The whole course of human things, government, trade, science, may be successfully prosecuted—*perhaps*. Men tread and live upon a ground of contingencies; and no human certainty is absolute. The same *perhaps* which paralyzes our onward movement in religion should put an arrest on all earthly enter-

prise. In commerce, in agriculture, and in politics, as well as in religion, the just shall live *by faith*. In all alike the maxim not only is, *believe in order that you may succeed*, but even *believe that you may understand*. 4. That holy faith by which we enter into the inner sanctuary of Christian experience is verified by a self-evidencing power of its own. There is a demonstration in science and there is a demonstration in religion; and in both the fact of a felt certainty is the proof of a real certainty. And all the things assumed to attain this certainty are also certain. The present God, the atoning Christ, the communing Spirit, are all certainties; just because the holy Church has, through centuries, experimentally verified their certainty. No other *perhaps* underlies them than underlies all human thought and action; no ages, no science can undermine or destroy them. In spite, therefore, of the Froudes and Comtes, we are sure that Christianity is indestructible and bound to triumph in the earth.

An Essay on Man. By ALEXANDER POPE. With Illustrations and Notes. 8vo., pp. 53. New York: S. R. Wells. 1867.

Pope's Essay on Man is what in our day would be called a theodicy, an attempt to show that in spite of the dismaying phenomena of nature and history *the great* WHOLE is ruled by a perfectly wise and just God. However wrong men and things may be toward each other, relative to God "whatever is, is right." The whole theory and argument stand opposed to Atheism, to Pantheism, to the unknown absolutism of Herbert Spencer, and to the Positivism or rather Negativism of Comte. The fundamental principle of the argument is: If we saw the WHOLE we should know that with God the whole as a whole is right, at any rate is the best possible.

A reperusal of the work satisfies us that the genius of Pope was even superior to the rank assigned him by the verdict of the world. The wonderful ease and facility of the great body of his versification, especially in his Homer, have induced people to consider its very perfectness to be scarce more than a mechanical excellence; forgetting that it was his genius that first brought English verse to this wonderful perfection. And to what a perfection he brought English verse this very poem pre-eminently demonstrates. For, in fact, all literature, ancient and modern, may be safely challenged for a production where an argument so intricate and profound is clothed in language so alternately concise and expansive, so clear and demonstrative, and all under the

trammel of rhyme. It will be hard to find any human production in which superior mastery over language in applying it to express difficult thought is displayed. The composition is thickly sprinkled with gems of perfect brilliancy; so thickly, indeed, that it seems largely made up of passages which have become public property by universal quotation. Its ethics and theology appear to us in the main just and sound.

The present edition is beautifully executed in red and gilt. The notes of Mr. Wells are in accord with phrenology, but, so far as we can see, are at no discord with a sound theology or a true Christian spirit.

A Compendious History of American Methodism. Abridged from the Author's "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church." By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 608. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1867.

Our Quarterly was the first to announce that our Church was about to acquire a historian to whom the outside world would be compelled to listen. Dr. Stevens has amply fulfilled our programme. He had as unique a topic as the modern Church in any Christian country could present, and the result has been a history of a brilliancy and power so unique as to challenge triumphant comparison with any denominational history extant. For this we thank him, and the pre-eminent gratitude and honor of the Church are his unrivaled due for a service which none but him could have so performed.

The present condensation was a necessary, and is a most suitable afterpart. It is so brief and purchasable as to deserve to find its way into every Methodist family that reads the English language, in this or any other country. Besides this, it should force its way into the libraries and studies of every liberal Christian thinker of every Church, and of no Church, who feels unprepared for the larger work, but cherishes an interest in religious history. At the same time it is so extended as to leave the author ample canvas for the pictorial power of which he is so perfect a master, both in graphic sketches of scenes and portraiture of character.

There is a completeness in the work. It begins with the first dawn of Methodism in America, and ends with climactic propriety with the great Centenary. The latest controversy in the Church, now so happily closed, is touched with a light, impartial hand, and left for fuller treatment to a still more impartial future. All sections and phases of the Church can therefore unanimously accept and sustain it.

American Methodism. By Rev. M. L. Scudder, D. D., with an Introduction by Rev. Joseph Cummings, D. D., President of Wesleyan University. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 592. Hartford, Conn.: S. S. Scranton & Co. 1867.

Dr. Scudder's valuable volume, though embracing a historical element, is not, and, as the title shows, does not profess to be, a history. It contains a summary view of Methodism in the various aspects in which it can be contemplated with interest or profit. It takes its issue from a publisher outside the Church, and while it of course does not object to a Church-wide reception, it appeals especially to the broad general public. Within or without the Church, we think it comes into no unfair competitions. Our great Centenary movement has produced an external moral impression upon the public mind scarce less important than its pecuniary contributions or its inward spiritual revival. It has startled public attention and awakened inquiry. Few men in the Church, as the present volume shows, could be selected more fitly than Dr. Scudder to render a true and satisfactory answer. His reputation as a writer is, indeed, less extended than as a preacher, for the simple reason that he writes so much less. The present volume is, however, marked not so much by the florid style which might be expected from a popular speaker, as for its comprehensive, penetrative, practical view. Though rejoicing in the character of the Church of his life's choice, he does not paint her in ideal hues. A true graphic portraiture has been his high aim, and very successful achievement.

The Old Roman World: the Grandeur and Failure of its Civilization. By John Lord, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 605. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867.

The long centuries in which the military power of Rome exercised its empire, and the long added centuries in which a spiritual power exercised a still mightier and more extended despotism, render the imperial city the most important historical point upon our globe. The majestic progress of the great train of events included in the former of these two periods is traced by Dr. Lord, not in minute details, but in general descriptions of the successive phases of the history. Dr. Lord surveys the character of the consecutive ages with penetrative glances. The train of moral causes and effects is traced in the spirit of a true Christian philosophy. The style flows, in perfect consistency with the subject, in a grand, powerful, majestic, transparent current. The last three chapters, in which he answers the questions: Why did not Paganism arrest the ruin? and, Why did not Christianity arrest the ruin? and describes the legacy of the early Church

to future generations, are particularly original, vigorous, and truthful. The work is entitled to take a high place among our popular standards of Roman history.

Another volume is to follow, unfolding "the labors of the Christian fathers in founding the new civilization which still reigns among the nations."

Case and his Contemporaries; or, the Canadian Itinerants' Memorial, constituting a Biographical History of Methodism in Canada, from its Introduction into the Province, till the Death of the Rev. Wm. Case in 1855. By JOHN CARROLL. Vol. I. 12mo., pp. 327. Toronto: Samuel Rose. 1867.

Mr. Carroll has performed a valuable service in thus far collecting and arranging the existing materials into a history of Canadian Methodism. As such a history must in a great degree be an aggregate of the histories of individual personages, he has not, inappropriately, given it the character and form of a "biographical history." Around the Rev. William Case, as the principal figure, he has grouped a large body of the founders and leaders of Canadian Methodism. This plan has enabled him with propriety to range below the rigid dignity of history, and give us minute details and pointed anecdotes. The present volume ends with the year 1815, and is to be followed by a second, which will extend to 1855. These pages will be perused with great zest by those who are interested in tracing the wonderful origin and progress of this "movement."

Educational.

Manual of Physical Exercises. Comprising Gymnastics, Rowing, Skating, Fencing, Cricket, Calisthenics, Sailing, Swimming, Sparring, Base-ball, together with Rules for Training, and Sanitary Suggestions. By WILLIAM WOOD, Instructor in Physical Education. With one hundred and twenty-five illustrations. 12mo., pp. 316. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1867.

Mr. Wood has no doubt of his own high moral aim in the composition of his *Manual.* His first rule for the preservation of health is: "Maintain habitual cheerfulness of mind, which can arise only from peace of conscience, constant reliance on the goodness of God, and the exercise of kindly feelings toward men." Nevertheless there is a considerable amount of his book which appears to us not eminently conducive to morality. To say nothing of base ball as at present conducted, we doubt whether society is the better for the art of boxing. Nor do we say that the world is the gainer by the present frenzy in behalf of violent athletic exercises, the spirit of "muscular Christianity," with little that is Christian about it. Experience, we believe, is demonstrating

that the excess to which over severe athletics is carried is detrimental alike to good health and good morals.

It is wise, no doubt, to connect gymnastics with our public educational institutions. The student and the intellectualist eminently need the means of healthful exercise. There needs to be some "amusement" in it; that is, some pleasant excitement, rendering it attractive, and quickening the blood in its performance. But it may be doubted whether the man who aims at being eminently *athletic* does not really endanger rather than secure health —whether he does not rather shorten than prolong his efficient life.

Nor does the gymnasium need the complex machineries so frequently erected. The bat, the dumb-bell, the pole, and the brisk walk, perhaps, are amply sufficient for the training of every muscle. Nor should any student be unaware of the fact that if he has two chairs in his room, and sufficient skill to so flourish them as to bring the greatest possible variety of muscles successively into play a few times a day, he has a very competent gymnasium in his reach, provided he add ample movement in the open air.

A Latin Reader. To which is prefexed an Epitome of Latin Grammar, together with Notes, and copious references to the Grammars of Harkness, Andrews, Stoddard, and Bullions; also, a Vocabulary, and Exercises in Latin Prose Composition. By WILLIAM SILBER, A. M., College of the City of New York. Author of "Progressive Lessons in Greek." 12mo., pp. 226. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1867.

Professer Silber is an accomplished classical scholar and a successful practical teacher. He has adopted the most modern methods in his elementary books, and the young scholar will find himself led by the simplest and yet thorough route. The attention of academic teachers is called to both his introductory books; and private students, commencing a course with little aid from a teacher, will scarce find a better hornbook.

Belles-Lettres, Classical, and Philological.

Modern Inquiries: Classical, Professional, and Miscellaneous. By JACOB BIGELOW, M.D., late President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and late a Professor in Harvard University. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1867.

"Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri," the motto on the title-page, well expresses the spirit of this interesting work of Dr. Bigelow, in which every essay shows the original, self-poised, and wise thinker. The topics of these essays are diverse, such as "On Classical and Utilitarian Studies," "Count Rumford," "Death of Pliny the Elder," "Self-limited Diseases," "The Paradise of

Doctors, a Fable," "Early History of Medicine," "Aphorisms of the War." The style is clear as daylight, and draws you on by a gentle, attractive force; it is easy and elegant. He is very decided in his objection to the extended course of study in the classic languages, imposed indiscriminately on candidates for college honors.

I would not underrate the value or interest of classical studies. They give pleasure, refinement to taste, depth of thought, and power and copiousness to expression. Any one who in this busy world has not much else to do, may well turn over, by night and by day, the *Exemplaria Græca*. But if in a practical age and country he is expected to get a useful education, a competent living, and an enlarged power of serving others, or even of saving them from being burdened with his support, he can hardly afford to surrender four or five years of the most susceptible part of life to acquire a minute familiarity with tongues which are daily becoming more obsolete, and each of which is obtained at the sacrifice of some more important science or some desirable language.

Any one who wishes to have his suspicions confirmed on this point will do well to read the two first essays in this work. Inasmuch as one religion finds its original records in Hebrew and Greek, and our mother tongue one of its chief sources in Latin, an introduction to these languages can never cease to be essential to a polite education; but it may well be doubted whether the mental discipline and esthetic culture derived from so long a course of classic study as is now required for a baccalaureate, may not as well be secured by a division with sciences and languages, which in other respects are more useful. We should like to have such a compromise optional to the pupil after the first year of his college course.

T.

The Solitudes of Nature and of Man; or, The Loneliness of Human Life. By WILLIAM ROUNCEVILLE ALGER. 12mo., pp. 412. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1867.

Out of an unpromisingly sentimental subject Mr. Alger has made a very readable book. Under the topic of Solitudes of Nature he ranges over the scenes where the deepest loneliness prevails, as the desert, the prairie, the pole, and the mountain. Under the topic of Solitudes of Man he traces the various phases of feeling and character congenial with loneliness, as individuality, grief, genius, etc. The latter half of the work expatiates on the character of illustrious personages characterized by tendencies to lonely life. Conspicuous among these are Gotama, Buddha, Shelley, Channing, Thoreau, Comte, and Jesus. This last character, Jesus, he distinguishes very widely from "the theological Christ, who is a theoretical personage, speculative abstraction, a spectral dogma, a creation of scholastic controver-

sies." As to Jesus, "in the narratives which furnish the only direct information we have about him, there are chasms, inconsistencies, incredibilities." Yet no one has so much contributed as he, Mr. Alger, patronizingly assures us, "to aggrandize the idea of man in the mind of the human race." There are various other compliments paid by Mr. Alger to Jesus; and if that illustrious individual truly possessed that trait of amiable personal vanity ascribed to him by Rénan, he would have been exquisitely gratified both by the pointed commendations of Mr. Alger and by the high source from whence they come. We doubt whether even Boston can furnish a more genuine intellectual coxcomb than Mr. Alger.

The Sexton's Tale and other Poems. By THEODORE TILTON. 16mo., pp. 173. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1867.

Mr. Tilton has gathered his fugitive rhymes from their wanderings through the newspapers into a beautiful volume. He has not the time, if he has the quality, to be a poet. His verses are but the poetic form of those thoughts which animate his life, and inspire his editorials and his lectures. Religion of the most liberal type and of the broadest Church, freedom regardless of color or of clime, humanitarianism indignant at all wrong and burning for human good, are topics which underlie his compositions of every form. There is a wiry terseness in his lines, always ringing, and frequently brilliant. Without a genuine poetic *genius*, Mr. Tilton has ample *talent* for writing very effective poetical pieces.

We do not know that we have any quarrel with Mr. Tilton for withdrawing the Independent from its denominational connection; but some of his utterances in the process but too clearly indicated that he not only holds to a Christian humanitarianism, but that he holds, momentarily at least, humanitarianism to be of itself a sufficient Christianity. Later indications induce us to hope that such is not the position of the paper, and perhaps not permanently his. But if he truly has it in his heart (as a late manifesto from Mr. Bowen seems to pledge) to maintain the true position, that is, to retain the Independent as an evangelically Christian and radically humanitarian periodical, then it would be a great benefaction to the age if the Independent could become a daily paper. We need a Christian morning daily in New York, which sustaining Christian truth in its purity and power, and prosecuting the cause of humanity without flinch or waver, will not desecrate our families with theaters, boat-races, pugilisms, or sneering infidelities. Who shall supply it?

Confucius and the Chinese Classics; or, Readings in Chinese Literature. Edited and Compiled by Rev. A. W. Loomis. 12mo., pp. 426. San Francisco: A. Roman & Co. 1867.

The opening and expanding commerce between China and America has awakened an interest in, and acquired the means of a greatly increased and increasing knowledge of, that remarkable race; and the proximity of our Pacific coast, and the consequent income of a large immigration into California, has enabled San Francisco to furnish a remarkably clear and condensed statement of Chinese history and literature. A leading book firm of San Francisco found inducements for procuring the best attainable sources, and Mr. Loomis has used them for the production of the present volume.

The body of the book consists of characteristic extracts from the Bible of the Chinese, namely, the Four Books of Classics. These are preceded by a brief History of China and Life of Confucius, and followed by miscellaneous selections from Chinese literature, the entire volume closing with an editorial review. The whole work furnishes a very concise view of the best phases of the Chinese mind.

Pamphlets.

The Methodist Book Concern. By James Porter, D. D. From the April number of the Methodist Quarterly Review, 1867. 12mo., pp. 20.

Among the many services rendered to the Church by Dr. Porter the production of this article, which no other man could so well prepare, is not the least important. While the loyal Church at large earnestly appreciates her great publishing system, and other denominations contemplate it as one of those peculiar originalities in our great organization which they would gladly possess in their own, there is a class among ourselves of persistent systematic detractors, whose case well needs this thorough exposition. And there is a large body of our Church who esteem this particular institution as most likely to be endangered by the introduction of lay representation into the Church. Their argument is, that laymen most conspicuous in inaugurating the movement are equally conspicuous for establishing, founding, and sustaining illegitimate private enterprises at issue with its interests. It is said: We loyal men, in various parts of the Church, are struggling to maintain this, one of the most vital and noble institutes of the Church. We, as a point of Churchly honor, abstain from starting local enterprises in our own section. If a so-called "independent"

paper—"independent," that is, of the Church to which it appeals for support, but *dependent* upon the patronage of private brethren—can be established in New York or Philadelphia, at Auburn or Buffalo, all the same reasons justify the establishing a rival in Cincinnati to the *Western*, with a second at Columbus, and a third at Cleveland, etc., etc. The *Northwestern* may have to encounter, besides a competitor at Chicago, a second at Detroit, another at Madison, etc. Thus, by simply carrying out the precedent, our whole system may be undermined and swamped by an undergrowth of private illegitimates. Meanwhile, we are told, that leading laymen "laugh" when they hear that concerns which possess six hundred thousand dollars' capital must appeal to the support of the people on the ground of conscience and honor.

We do not deny the plausibility and force of all this, and we deeply regret that some of our leading lay brethren do not feel sufficient confidence in the fairness of the Church to see that no special organ is needed for their cause. And the eminent ministers connected editorially with it still less need its existence, being, as they surely are, rather losers than gainers in the estimation of the Church by their connection with it. Its cessation to-morrow would, in our view, be not only a noble concession to the wishes, the traditional policy, and the peace of the Church, but would be a gain to all the parties concerned. But we trust that the adoption by the Church of lay representation would, with proper management, rather conserve than endanger even our great publishing interest. Responsibilities justly and reasonably render men wisely conservative. The very layman who "laughs," as an outsider, at our publishing system, will look serious when he has a responsible vote to give upon its existence or interests. And this lets us into a momentous principle. Let our laity into the inside of our institute—make them feel that the Church, in all its departments and ramifications, courts their investigation, interest, and support—and the whole modern history of republican governments is falsified if they do not prove doubly loyal and enthusiastic in their support of the best agencies of the Church in her great purpose of "spreading Scripture holiness." The same principle imperatively requires that every member of the Church should be a direct and immediate voter for his own representative. Why must we have not truly lay representation, but officiary representation? Why must the layman merely vote at second hand for those who may vote; choose those who shall choose; without knowing, perhaps, in the slightest degree what delegate his vote goes to select? Why shall we not, by placing

the power in the hands of the people, create ourselves a perfectly self-conscious Church? Otherwise the work is still undone, the Church is still disfranchised. We introduce into our system the worst feature of our presidential election—the feature almost everywhere abolished in our republican system—the electing electors instead of electing the officer.

Ask any layman in the Church, who expects to vote rather than be voted for, Which would you prefer, to choose your representative yourself, or select some man who should choose him for you? and the question would be hardly short of an insult. He would justly ask why he is not as competent to vote in his own person as to vote for a man to vote for him. And just so far as the election is broadly popular corruption becomes impossible. Ventilation and sunlight are wonderful purifiers. On the contrary, just so far as the election is narrowed to the few, there can be conclave, caucus, and manipulation. Pure as the Church is now from these corruptions, the very possibilities may corrupt her.

There is no difficulty, we believe, in finding a system of true popular Church election. Divide a given conference into as many electoral districts as there are to be representatives, then on a given day or evening in each pastoral charge (for probably a regular prayer-meeting evening may be amply sufficient for such a ballot) let the balloting be performed. On each ballot let there be *three names;* the first for delegate, the two others for alternates. If the aggregate district ballot shows a majority of the whole for any candidate he is elected; if not, then let the two highest names be considered as *nominated candidates*, and a second ballot of the entire district take place to decide between them. This is a simple, quiet process, and could be repeated as many times as the case required. Meantime this first district balloting would probably, in ordinary cases, preclude the need of any other nominating machinery whatever. Yet names might be informally suggested in our Church papers, or presented unauthoritatively by quarterly conferences, or put forth by any other spontaneous method of expressing popular sentiment.

As the present lay representation movement originated not so much in a deep Christlike sympathy with the people as in a partisan policy, so it seems still not a little discolored by its original sin. It is but partly regenerated. It appears to our masses to be in the interest of the few, it is vexed because it has to come before the popular vote, it plans so that the General Conference shall really at last be elected by select men. Hence the non-appearance of the masses at its gath-

erings. Its orators go not right to the people's heart and say, "Come, the humblest and lowliest of you, feel that the Church is yourselves; that you are living particles of her great, beating, indivisible heart; be yours her interests, her struggles, and her triumphs." Do we intend to retain our hold upon the masses? to still draw, by a holy magnetism, Jesus's poor into Jesus's Church? Then give that poor its place of honor after it has come in. Give to the humblest member of the Church of God his equal check upon its highest legislation. Keep not our highest governmental body as distant as possible, but bring it nigh as possible to the popular heart. Rather elect our bishops by the people than pretend to elect our General Conference by the *people*, and yet elect it by the *few*.

We have, however, no religious demagogueisms to utter against the "rich men," or the honorables of Church or State. We esteem the wealthy layman who expends his munificence not in dissipations and vices, but in religious enterprise, an enviable man. He has learned the thing for which wealth is most desirable, namely, as a means of raising a memento honorable to himself with God and man. Such men are "necessary to the Church," and would to God they were ten times more numerous than they are! We believe in being the Church of both the rich and the poor; nevertheless if the two be incompatible, we must be the Church of the lowly.

O that our lay representation brethren would but realize the nobleness of their mission to ENFRANCHISE THE CHURCH! Let them achieve that illustrious work at once, and in its full completeness. Then shall we have attained the grandest ecclesiastical system that has ever existed since the cessation of the apostolate. Based deep in the popular heart, and crowned with her episcopacy, she will be the consummation of freedom, strength, and majesty.

An Act to amend "An Act to Incorporate the Clifton Springs Water Company," to authorize such company to receive the conveyance of real and personal property upon certain trusts. 8vo., pp. 6. 1867.

Some seventeen years since, Dr. Henry Foster, an eminent layman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, assumed the superintendency of the hydropathic institution at Clifton, N. Y., and by rare talent and enterprise has brought it to a state of prosperity and usefulness unequaled probably by any similar institution in the country. By improvements and additions the real estate entirely owned by Dr. Foster now amounts to about two hundred thousand dollars.

The accessibility, natural pleasantness, and salubrity of the locality, the existence of sulphur springs, the eligible accommodations afforded by the magnificent buildings and extensive grounds, the great efficacy of the hydropathic treatment in chronic conditions, to be reached by no other system, conducted under the ever-present care of skillful physicians, have rendered Clifton not only a delighful brief resort for summer visitors, but a more prolonged resort for brains needing restoration from overwork, and for minds and bodies suffering under the power of permanent disease.

But one of the most striking features of the institution is, its deep-toned religious character. Dr. Foster entertains a full faith that there is a profound but real and practical connection between health of body and health of soul. Physical treatment for the one should blend with a tranquilizing, restorative, religious, influence for the other. A beautiful room is set apart for the sole purpose of a chapel, where, as a family, morning worship is uniformly celebrated, with evening prayer-meetings thrice a week, and the usual Sunday services morning and evening, and Bible class Sabbath afternoons. The services of Sabbath, in deference to the feebleness of invalids, are limited to seventy minutes; the social meetings to an hour. Conducted usually by Dr. Foster himself, these evening interviews seem still briefer from the interest usually prevailing. The entire institution is by these means pervaded by a cheerful religious influence, reminding us how happy the world would be if infidelity and vice would please to permit the full power of the Gospel of Christ to reign. A spacious gymnasium, without complex machinery, furnishes the means of physical exercise, and the institution usually dispenses with the "amusements" that excite cheerfulness into gayety and dissipation.

The most important part of the matter is still to be told. Dr. Foster proposes to transfer the entire property as it stands to a permanent board of trustees—to render it forever a charitable institution. To carry on its operations there will be needed for the support of a corps of physicians an endowment of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, of which Dr. Foster proposes personally to furnish fifty thousand; and to obtain the remaining hundred thousand by an appeal to the benevolent public. Then he calculates that of the entire body of patients, one half being beneficiaries, would usually be amply supported by the other half paying a full remuneration. The class of persons to be entitled to this charitable provision is *members* in good standing, and particularly

ministers, of any evangelical Church. By deductions, especially in behalf of ministers, made by Dr. Foster's liberality, the institution now really gives about an annual twelve thousand for such purposes. The act of the legislature of the state of New York at the head of this notice empowers Dr. Foster to convey the estate to a board of trustees for the purposes we have described. After so munificent a donation on the part of Dr. Foster we cannot doubt that the benevolent public will readily provide the additional one hundred thousand, and that this unique beneficiary establishment may prove a blessing to all coming generations.

Popular Amusements. An Appeal to Methodists in regard to the Evils of Card-playing, Billiards, Dancing, Theater-going, etc. By HIRAM MATTISON, D.D. 12mo., pp. 96. New York: Carlton & Porter.

Dr. Mattison's "appeal" against worldly amusements is a timely production. While skepticism is rallying her hostile forces, the luxury, the rapid increase of inordinate wealth, and the swelling volume of our population, are pouring in a tide of licentious influence threatening to sweep away the ancient landmarks of Christian morality, and deluge the Church as well as the world in the overwhelming tide of dissipation and excess. Though Methodism aspires to be the most cheerful phase of religion, laying down no rules for the sake of asceticism or of an ostentatious puritanism, yet it becomes her to take a stand when games of chance or skill are to be recognized as a positively Christian institution. Barbara Heck, in the very act of laying the foundation of American Methodism, *flung the playing-cards into the fire*, and we trust that none of her spiritual daughters, or sons either, will ever wish to pull them out.

There are some points, however, on which we could wish that Dr. Mattison and others would be more explicit. The practices condemned are *theaters*, *billiards*, *dancing*, and *cards*, with a very vague *etc.* We wish that this *etc.* were more completely unfolded. We wish that such formidable gambling as *boat-racing*, especially *boat-racing* sanctioned by our college and university authorities, and spread over the broad sides of the New York Tribune, were subjected to a very decisive and Church-wide denunciation. We think that members of base-ball clubs, especially at a time when that game has become so engrossing a dissipation, should either leave the club or the Church. Nor ought the clear protest of the Churches or of the religious press against horse-racing, now practiced on so gigantic and increasing a scale, ever for one moment to cease.

There are some difficult points that we should like to have seen Dr. Mattison discuss. On such a subject the members, and even ministers of our Church, need explicit instruction as to what practices are right and what wrong, and the principles upon which the decisions are made. During the past summer we have seen ministers in high standing and of pure religious reputation play hours at croquet, and at evening, without apparent loss of spirituality or of power in their words before the people, lead the social prayer-meeting. We have seen three doctors of divinity, *quorum minima pars fui*, and one promising candidate for that honor, playing nine-pins at the same alley. "What think you of Dr. Lore's last article against worldly amusements?" we asked of a minister intensely engaged at *croquet*, (delicately pronounced *grow gay.*) "A very excellent article," replied he, and launched his hammer at the ball. We have seen leading ministers of different denominations in a large parlor lead the assembly in "amusement" at charades, conundrums, and other like sports of mind, and with no misgivings in any mind preach and administer communion a Sabbath or two after. Was, or was not, all this right? If so, upon what principle? And must there not be some discrimination to satisfy and guide the public mind rather than vague pronunciations against "popular amusements?" If conferences and preachers' meetings pass resolutions against amusements, and then spend a good part of the summer in amusing themselves, should not the principle of the double action be clearly expounded? Otherwise they may in public estimation lose character for consistency, or justly cut themselves off from those recreations which they themselves esteem necessary and right.

Sermon for the Crisis. Delivered before the Missionary Society of the Detroit Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Saginaw City, September 6, 1867. By Rev. J. S. SMART. 16mo., pp. 28. Detroit: Published by J. M. Arnold & Co. 1867.

Mr. Smart handles his subject with a great mastery of the field and a very clear ring of style. His sermon is well worthy an extended circulation at the present "crisis."

The Gospel among the Animals; or, Christ with the Cattle. By SAMUEL OSGOOD, D.D. 12mo., pp. 20. New York: Samuel R. Wells. 1867.

A very original and very beautiful train of thought, showing how full of mercy even to animal natures are the Bible, Christ, and religion.

Miscellaneous.

Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest. By AGNES STRICKLAND, Author of "Lives of the Queens of Scotland." Abridged by the Author. Revised and Edited by CAROLINE G. PARKER. 12mo., pp. 675. New York: Harper & Bros. 1867.

Three English Statesmen. A course of Lectures on the Political History of England. By GOLDWIN SMITH. 12mo., pp. 298. New York: Harper and Bros. 1867.

The Early Years of His Royal Highness The Prince Consort. Compiled under the direction of Her Majesty The Queen. By Lieutenant-General The Hon. C. GREY. 12mo., pp. 371. New York: Harper & Bros. 1867.

Mrs. Putnam's Receipt Book and Young Housekeeper's Assistant. New and Enlarged Edition. 1 vol. 12mo., pp. 322. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1867.

Shamrock and Thistle; or, Young America in Ireland and Scotland. A Story of Travel and Adventure. By OLIVER OPTIC. 1 vol. 16mo., pp. 344. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868.

Breaking Away; or, the Fortunes of a Student. By OLIVER OPTIC. 1 vol. 16mo., pp. 300. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868.

Climbing the Rope; or, God Helps those who try to Help Themselves. By MAY MANNERING. 1 vol. 16mo., pp. 224. 1868.

Alexis the Runaway; or, Afloat in the World. By Mrs. ROSA ABBOTT PARKER. 1 vol. 16mo., pp. 316. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868.

New Hymn and Tune Book. An Offering of Praise for the Methodist Episcopal Church. Edited by PHILIP PHILLIPS, Author of the "Singing Pilgrim," "Musical Leaves," etc. 1 vol. small 8vo., pp. 442, with an Appendix of 64 pages. New York: Carlton & Porter, 200 Mulberry-street. 1867.

Life and Letters of Madame Swetchine. By COUNT DE FALLOUX, of the French Academy. Translated by H. W. Preston. 1 vol. 12mo., pp. 369. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1867.

Bible Teaching in Nature. By Rev. HUGH MACMILLAN, Author of "First Forms of Vegetation." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867.

Italian Journeys. By W. D. HOWELLS, Author of "Venetian Life." 1 vol. 12mo., pp. 320. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867.

Four Years among Spanish Americans. By F. HASSAUREK, late United States Minister Resident to the Republic of Ecuador. 1 vol. 12mo., pp. 401. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867.

The Lover's Dictionary; A Poetical Treasury of Lovers' Thoughts, Fancies, Addresses, and Dilemmas; Indexed with nearly ten thousand References as an Index of Compliments and Guide to the Study of the Tender Science. 1 vol. large 12mo., pp. 789. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1867.

Mace's Fairy Book. (Contes du Petit Chateau.) By JEAN MACE, Editor of the "Magazin d'Education;" Author of the "Story of a Mouthful of Bread," etc., etc. Translated by MARY L. BOOTH. With Engravings. 1 vol. 12mo., pp. 304. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1867.

Old Curiosity Shop and Reprinted Pieces. By CHARLES DICKENS. With original Illustrations by S. Etynge, Jr. 1 vol. Diamond edition, pp. 480. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1867.

Barnaby Rudge and Hard Times. By CHARLES DICKENS. With original Illustrations. By S. Etynge, Jr. Diamond edition. Pp. 523. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1867.

Also in the same style, and from the same house, the following works of Dickens:

Little Dorritt. Pp. 480.

Bleak House. Pp. 498.

The Adventures of Oliver Twist: also *Pictures from Italy,* and *American Notes for General Circulation.* Vol. I, pp. 486.

Life and Letters of Elizabeth, Last Duchess of Gordon. By Rev. A. Moody Stuart. 1 vol. 16mo., pp. 422. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1868.

Elementary Arithmetic for the State, in which Methods and Rules are Based upon Principles Established by Induction. By John H. French, LL.D. 1 vol. 16mo., pp. 220. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1867.

The Heavenly Life. Being Select Writings of Adelaide Seaper Newton. Edited by Rev. John Baillie, author of Her Memoirs. 1 vol. 16mo., pp. 362. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867.

Bible Hours. Being Leaves from the Note Book of the late Mary B. M. Duncan. 1 vol. 16mo., pp. 319. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1868.

The Visitor's Book of Texts; or, the Word Brought Nigh to the Sick and Sorrowful. By the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, author of "Memoir of R. M. M'Cheyne," etc. 1 vol. 16mo., pp. 230. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867.

The Gerty and May Books. Four volumes, 18mo., of 60 pp. each, in a box. They are "The Joy House and its Treasures," "The Pleasant Picnic," "Little Billy," "The Christmas Tree." New York: Carlton & Porter. 1867.

Sabbath Chimes; or, Meditations in Verse for the Sundays of a Year. By W. Morley Punshon, M. A. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1867.

A Popular Treatise on Colds and Affections of the Air Passages and Lungs. By Robert Hunter, M. D., author of "Practical Letters on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of Catarrh, Sore Throat, Bronchitis, Asthma, Consumption," etc., etc. Revised from the sixth London edition. 1 vol. 12mo., flexible covers, pp. 75. James Miller, 522 Broadway, New York. 1867.

Engineers' and Mechanics' Pocket-book, containing Weights and Measures, Rules of Arithmetic, Weights of Materials, Latitude and Longitude, Cables and Anchors, Specific Gravities, Squares, Cubes, and Roots, etc.; Mensuration of Surfaces and Solids, Trigonometry, Mechanics, Friction, Aerostatics, Hydraulics and Hydrostatics, Dynamics, Gravitation, Animal Strength, Windmills, Strength of Materials, Lime, Mortars, Cements, Wheels, Heat, Water, Gunning, Sewers, Combustion, Steam and the Steam-Engine, Construction of Vessels, Miscellaneous Illustrations, Dimensions of Steamers, Mills, etc., Orthography of Technical Words and Terms, etc., etc., etc. By Charles H. Haswell, Civil and Marine Engineer. 1 vol. 16mo., pp. 663. (tucks.) New York: Harper & Brothers. 1867.

The Calm Hour. By L. M. M., author of "The Fountain Sealed." 1 vol. 12mo., pp. 254. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.

Six Lectures. Delivered in Exeter Hall from November, 1866, to February, 1867, at the request of the committee of the "Young Men's Christian Association." 1 vol. 12mo., pp. 186. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1867.

The Scriptural Law of Divorce. By Alvah Hovey, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in the Newton Theological Institution. 1 vol. 16mo., pp. 82. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1866.

The Huguenots; their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland. By Samuel Smiles, author of "Self-Help," "Lives of the Engineers," etc. With an Appendix relating to the Huguenots in America. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 448. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels. By Andrews Norton. Abridged Edition. Vol. I. 12mo., pp. 581. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1867.

Poems of Faith, Hope, and Love. By Phœbe Cary. 12mo., pp. 249. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1868.

On both Sides of the Sea. A Story of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. A Sequel to "The Draytons and the Davenants." By the Author of the "Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family." Vol. I. 12mo., pp. 510. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1867.

Notices of the following books postponed to the next number:

Life of Wayland. Sheldon & Co.

Life of Quincy. Ticknor & Fields.

Murphy on Exodus. W. F. Draper. (On sale by N. Tibbals & Co., New York.)

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE DIVINE ELEMENT IN INSPIRATION.

[ARTICLE THIRD.]

The doctrine of Verbal Inspiration is yet further confirmed if we consider the great law of expression called Style. Not only is every word an original creation, spiritual as well as material, but there are laws under which words arrange themselves, like elemental life in the varied types of flower, fruit, beast, and man, which laws are themselves almost solely, certainly supremely, spiritual, and which compel these individual creations to assume as equally vital and divine combinations:

> "For in the word his life is and his breath,
> And in the word his death." *

Style is the fashion of the mind, and inseparable from it. Shakspeare's, Milton's, and Dante's—every great writer's style—is one with himself. It is himself in his happiest mood. It is the beautiful expression which lights up, with the soul itself, the less beautiful countenance. Take away that soul from those beaming eyes, and naught remains but fish-like films. Take away this outer expression from the soul, and it beats wildly in its dungeon of flesh, with no more power to make its condition known than had Jugurtha in his Mamertine cell, with only thick-ribbed walls around him.

So it is with Style. It is the soul of thought revealing itself

* Atalanta in Calydon.

in language. Whether the expression of the face be ugly or attractive depends on the spirit within. The homeliest cast of features often become inconceivably lovely if the nature is all beautiful within, and the handsomest countenance can be, and not unfrequently in fallen natures is, unutterably abhorrent, from the soul that leers through its every feature.

The quality of Style inheres feebly in some minds, and is apt to exist in the lowest degree in those which are critical rather than creative. The grammarian may cover pages with his sharp dissections of Shakspearan blunders, and never a sentence reveal his own power to frame a vital phrase. The construction may be grammatical, and yet the expression lifeless, as a row of bricks may be symmetrical yet not artistic. This order of minds is often engaged in the study of this theme. They "get up" commentaries, and reviews, and examinations; "gotten up," not *growing up* from the rich soil of their own being. Now and then a poet, that is, a maker, plants his soul in these dry places, and instantly the desert blossoms as a rose. Bengel, Quesnel, Henry, Whedon, Calvin, Augustine, Lange, stand almost alone among the unnumbered mass of commentators for their gift of expression; and every one of them has a style for his thought as inevitable and inseparable as soul and spirit.

But while the critical faculty is apt to be exceedingly dry and dead, it may be instinct with a lower, yet not valueless life. Its own nature demands straightforward simplicity and clearness of statement. If these be instinct with fresh and powerful conceptions of the theme, and its relations to cognate or remote questions; if the language used set forth their original and related nature in forcible terms, then this faculty compels attention and admiration. It brings forth fruit after its kind—rich fruit and rare—that all delight to taste, and that is to be desired to make one wise, though not particularly pleasant to the higher vision of imagination and melody. Such plain, strong critics as Clarke, Owen, Bentham, Mill, Spencer, Edwards, Humboldt, Agassiz—most scientific minds—command position by the power of the argument, affluence of their learning, or penetration of their thoughts; but they are less effective for popular or permanent effect than those of their own school who can unite with these gifts

of scholarship and sagacity the yet higher one of poetry or style. Hugh Miller surpasses his rivals not so much in scholarship as in expression. St. Beuve leads the critical school not in knowledge but in utterance. Pascal and Bacon rule the scientific world by the marvelous vitality of their words more than by the profounder insight of their thought. Augustine and Calvin subdue one half of Christendom to their peculiar and abhorrent dogmas by the rare beauty of their speech. Plato wins the palm from Aristotle, not alone from his having a better philosophy, but a greater genius for expression. Emerson makes slaves to his paganism, captured through the subtle beauty of his style. Addison swayed his age with this wand of Prospero. Shakspeare thus sways all ages.

Style has as many varieties in its unity as any other vital essence. It rises from the simplest form of speech to the most perfect poetry. In the child-speech and in the commonest employment of language there is a lurking life, as in the zoöphite and the most amorphous rock. The words of daily and cheapest use are full often of rare beauty. We may drop them carelessly from our lips, as we pass the current coin, forgetful of the beauty of its die and original aspect: yet the numismatist will find traces of highest art in that smooth and dingy penny, and the most ragged remnant of our currency, to a student of engraving, is full of the finest workmanship. At times these despised words put on a wonderful power and beauty. They change, like a plot of ground under an East Indian juggler, instantly from black barrenness to rarest blossoming.

They have a latent poetry in themselves which etymologists discover, and which show often the fullness with which they were filled at their creation. They were born, like Adam and Eve, in a perfection from which, like mankind, they have fallen. Thus beautiful is "adieu"—"to God"—a most devout benediction, and yet employed by the most undevout and frivolous of people. "Good-by"—"God be with you"—is the most fervent of prayers. So vital is almost all the language of daily speech.

Thus we see that in every word there is an instinct which makes it adaptable to these highest uses. It has a capacity for rhythm and rhyme. It has a soul of its own, which at certain

moments becomes visible to every eye. How full of poetry is "father," "mother," "husband," "wife," "home." So little a word as "my" becomes all-embracing when by it the skeptic Thomas lifts his soul from the depths of unbelief and once more clasps his Lord and his God. It is full of an unutterable intensity of life when it is added by the late-despairing Mary to her reverent recognition of her lost Redeemer. The Greek drops a single letter from her Hebrew, and despoils her language of its sweetest fullness. "Jesus said unto her, Mary." She, turning, and seeing his soul in his face, which he had previously intentionally hid from her, says unto him "Rabboni"—"My Master."*

But this lowest strata of word-life, compared with its highest forms, is like the fossil module compared with the perfect man. It is only that we may show how potently this life pervades its humblest creatures that we refer to it. We find in the commonest words rare revelations of the power of this principle. As we ascend to more complicated language the same law still obtains. It compels every genus of thought to conform to its own law of being. The style of a controversialist, critic, narrator, scientist, orator, historian, essayist, novelist, and poet have all as marked differences under one common nature as have the different beasts of the field or classes of men. Nay, more, it ramifies itself into still wider and rarer forms, so that each of them may be largely subdivided. Take the last and highest and hence most varied form. How different the style of the dramatic and epic poet, the satirist and hymnist, the humorist and tragicist, the sonneteer and the lyrist. Wordsworth could not be Byron, nor Byron Wordsworth. Scott, as a balladist, was unsurpassed; as a lyrist, he is feeble as a ghost by the side of Campbell. Tennyson essays most effectively the idyl, or brief and pregnant story—he would fail utterly in the drama. Shakspeare, the most-sided of all, has rare lines in his "Lucrece" and "Venus," but had he written in no other form he would have been counted far behind his first English father, Chaucer. He lacks the perfect flow of that rare master of the poetic novel.

In this higher life a new law comes in. The word is not now a law unto itself. It becomes married to the law of the spirit that employs it for the expression of its own states, and hence

* See Müller, First Series, p. 379, *et passim.*

is born what is more properly known as style, the peculiar nature of the author.

Here is the point of difficulty between supervisionalists and ipsissimists. Let us therefore walk carefully. The former contend that this Style, or the law under which every great genius flows into written form, is overridden and practically annihilated by the doctrine that God is the author, verbally, of his own book. They also assert that these distinctions exist in as marked a degree in the Bible among its human authors as in any compilation made from the standard writers of any land, between those thus collected together. Since these differences exist, and since they arise from their human author, there is no such thing actually, as there cannot be abstractly, as Plenary Verbal Inspiration.

Considering this argument, we shall show that this style of a writer, which is essential to his individual being as a writer, *demands* that God's Book shall be as equally his own as theirs is theirs; that the Bible is not a congregation of separate writers discoursing on a common theme, like the "Essays and Reviews," but one book, where a single though universal genius flows in all directions, according to recognized laws, into narrative, argument, song, and proverb; each perfect and each from one source; and that these human writers are not, judging from their very declarations as well as their own style elsewhere, in these utterances simply revealing the workings of their own nature, but are conceiving and bringing forth another nature, separate and higher than their own, though connected with it vitally and not mechanically, as is wrongly charged upon the verbalists: even as the Son of God was born of, but infinitely above, the Virgin Mary, because of her conceptual marriage with the Holy Ghost.

(1.) All original authors have a style of their own. It is as marked as their hand-writing, as limited as the banks of a stream or the shores of an ocean. No one can imitate Milton or Homer, Demosthenes or Dante, nor can they copy each other. From this fact, which all concede, we deduce again, in passing, our central thought—the inseparable unity of the thought and word. When Shakspeare conceives of Hamlet's soliloquy, it arises not an ideal ghost, but a form, having a verbal completeness in bone, flesh, and blood. So springs forth Milton's Hymn of Praise, so Dante's Ugolino, or Homer's

Plea of Andromache. These writers feel and confess this necessity. Thackeray declares he did not know in his best moods how he came to speak as he did, and would cry out after he had written such a sentence, "Splendid!" as if he were looking at another's art. Yet the whole structure was purely Thackerayan, his own, and he knew it was and could be no other's. Deep thinkers often detect and draw forth a hidden life in words. Carlyle, Shakspeare, Milton, Tennyson, abound in this original power. Dante said, "he had oft made words say in his rhymes what they were not wont to express for other poets." But all his words were Dantean in their new life and new combination.

Now this confessed and almost axiomatic law is not departed from in the word of God. It has a style of its own. From the first verse to the last there is a striking likeness. Whatever the especial topic, whoever the ostensible speaker, there is a unity pervading the style that is as marvelous as the unity that consolidates the thought. Are sin, sacrifice, and salvation found in the opening chapters? So are they in the closing, written not less than two, if less than four thousand years after. Creation is in both, and regeneration; the same Saviour promised, apparent, regnant. So is the style the same. What identity of expression is there in the first verses of Genesis and John? They could have dropped from the same pen at the same instant of time.

Its varieties of literature have a like unaccountable uniformity. The story of Joseph, perhaps the most perfect narrative in the Bible, is precisely after the style of the story of Ruth; and both do not differ a hair's breadth from that of her last-described daughter, the Virgin mother. Luke's and Matthew's portrait of her is of the same school and by the same pencil that drew her beautiful parents, Ruth, Rachel, and Rebecca. This law holds in all lesser sketches. The hand of Raphael is seen as clearly in La Fornarina as in the Transfiguration; in the Infant God as in its worshiping mother. So the Bible style is seen as perfectly in its least as in its longest narratives. The stories of the queen of Sheba, or of the Judges, are in precisely the same calm, close, clear fashion as those which expand into the life of Abraham, Moses, Samuel, David, or those which crown the whole, the fourfold biography of their Lord

and ours. These are as completely one as are the galleries of portraits and historical paintings which come from a single easel—Lawrence or Reynolds, Van Dyck or Holborn, Murillo or Angelo.

This same law prevails in all its departments of literature. The odes of David and Asaph and Moses are more inseparable than those of Watts and Wesley. It is not easy to distinguish Solomon's proverbs from that of Agur, which stands among them. The same general air pervades the prophecies. They have diversities, but they have also a remarkable resemblance. We can pass from one to the other of the minor prophets without knowing it from the style. Job has been attributed by more than one critic to Moses and to Solomon. Passages in Isaiah and Micah are almost identical; so much so, that it is said they cannot be verbally inspired. As if God could not repeat the very phrases, if he chose, as he does always the same idea. Isaiah has been attributed to Solomon, and Ecclesiastes to Job. Moses had as large a share, in the judgment of some critics, in the composition of the Bible as in its history. This curious fact exists in the New Testament also. A remarkable oneness possesses that volume in its style. The Gospels are framed after one law. Discourse and narrative, anecdote and dogma, strangely blend together, as they do not in any other biography. So that many charge Matthew with interpolating John in his text, and Mark is very often and very wrongfully declared to be but a synopsis of Matthew. Plutarch's Lives are not so uniform, nor Scott's Tales of a Grandfather. These four lives of Christ, with all their differences, and these we have conceded, have thus a life of their own, separate and supreme.*

So is it with the other books. Paul, Peter, and John, the chief writers of the latter half of the New Testament, have a wonderful symmetry of expression. It would be hard to say who wrote the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians. "The greatest of these is Love," sounds strangely like the first Letter

* A cognate topic to this is admirably handled in Bernard's Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament. He shows not so much unity of style as unity and development of idea. It is correlate and confirmatory of our position, and proves the single authorship of the Word. It is a happy contrast to Curtis's "Human Element," and Liber Librorum, and shows how patient study reveals a hidden and vital harmony where shallow scholarship only sees a vanishing discord.

of John, and more than one sentence of Peter's. "Love is the fulfilling of the Law," and, "If we love one another, God dwelleth in us," are the same style as well as thought. This general likeness is over whole chapters. The discussions and exhortations of James and Peter and Jude and John are always of one tone, often of almost one phraseology.

Thus the Bible is a unit. It is *a* Bible as well as *the* Bible—one book no less than the *only* one. This symmetry and unity of the most persistent and pervasive sort bespeak one Author, not a superintendent but Writer; himself the sole Conceiver and substantially the sole Utterer of every separate work and every individual word. It is a collection of books, and yet a single book; the fruit of many pens, yet written by One alone. God is by the necessity of language and by its own evidence and assertion as verbally its author as Shakspeare is of his dramas, or Homer of the Iliad.*

(2.) But this fact is not deducible from its composition alone. The writers of the Bible always declare its authorship divine; both in so many words and in the unconscious testimony which their own style exhibits when not engaged in this service; in contrast with that which they then employ.

They confess this in many places in so many words. In the Psalms David often speaks as if he were God himself: "I have

* This position is confirmed by a fine chapter in *Liber Librorum*, with the faulty title, "Many Authors, but One Book." That shows the unity of ideas in the Bible. This carries its conception further, and claims a deeper unity in style, thought, and language. "Scripture," it says, "as we all know, is a collection of tracts, the work of above thirty authors, who utter what they have to say, not contemporaneously, but in succession, and along a vast line of time, say sixteen hundred years. Yet, in spite of this, we all feel it to be ONE BOOK." Elsewhere he calls it "*the marvelous unity*," and says, "its preparation, under divine direction, is in some sense or other, and in a very high sense too, a great fact." "The voice of one [part] is the voice of the other. The historic, the didactic, the predictive, and the miraculous, all in turn reappear, and, as a rule, under the same conditions." A greater marvel, if possible, than this "marvelous unity," it is, that he should go so far and go no further; nay, should return on his own steps and deny the truth and symmetry of some of these interblended parts. If he can reject one portion as inharmonious, another can another, and the whole dissolves and disappears. If one state could sustain its independence, every body saw that the Union was a rope of sand. Much more is it true in this infinitely closer and more vital unity. Search for the unseen symmetry, rather than discard the seeming incoherence. If Bach's fugues are harsh to untaught ears, train the ear, not reduce the mighty harmony. If it is "One book with many authors," it is much more one book with one Author, one in topics, in idea, in spirit, in word.

set my King upon my holy hill of Zion. I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee." "Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth." "Hear, O my people, and I will speak; I am God, even thy God," etc. Though he more frequently, as he should, breathes forth the desires of man, he shows in these expressions that his language, whether to or from God, is all and always of God. Moses again and again declares that these are the *words* of the Lord your God. Whole chapters, almost whole books, he thus reports. Job sets forth God as the proclaimer of his own will and ways. The prophets' "Thus saith the Lord" sounds forth from the depths of Godhood, beneath which they sink in terror and nothingness as Isaiah fell in dust and dumbness before the revelation of the temple. Paul two or three times breaks in upon his vehement discourse, the passionate outpourings of that Spirit whose groanings cannot be uttered, with a permissive and transitory word of his own: "I speak as a man." The whole, otherwise, is by those words acknowledged by himself to be the speech of God. John utters declarations that no human writer has dared to use as to the sinless height the saved soul ascends, words that the boldest pseudo-Christian with all his effrontery fears to say. "He *cannot* sin because he is born of God." "Ye have an unction from the Holy One and know *all* things." Emerson nor Parker, Buddha nor Behmen never tread that height. They creep over sharp precipices infinitely far below. These men thus confess that they speak not of themselves. The motto of them all is, "I heard behind me a great voice as of a trumpet, saying, Write."

They have often made this a special declaration. "Holy men of old spake as they were borne along of the Holy Ghost," says one of their number, when he is giving a reason why we should heed their words as a light that shineth in a dark place. "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners SPAKE in time past unto the fathers by the prophets." "These are the true sayings (λόγοι, words) of God." "The *words* that I speak unto you," even Christ declares, "I," as man, "speak not of myself." "Whatsoever I command thee," is the command to Jeremiah, "thou shalt speak." In fine, *not a*

hint is found in the Bible of a merely supervisional or guiding inspiration; while every writer confesses frequently that he is but the utterer of the words of God.*

(3.) The presence of the divine element is seen still clearer when we compare the language of these writers in their uninspired condition with it when they are "borne along of the Holy Ghost." We are pressed to-day with the argument that there is so much of their own nature in their style, they must be its chief, if not sole authors.

Dr. Curtis surrenders almost the whole work to them under this pressure. Coleridge, the author of Liber Librorum, and many less bold, tread the same path. This theory springs from a natural root, but grows to an unnatural height. It is precisely akin to that theory of Christ so popular with heretics today, which, finding him full of humanity, declares his only Deity consists in infusion or supervision. If we examine the Bible accurately we shall see that the distinction between these writers when speaking as men and as God is the most wonderful phenomenon they exhibit. Thus Moses is petulant himself and a man of broken speech. Compare his style in his uninspired expressions at Meribah with his dying speeches in Deuteronomy, or his solemn ode on man, the ninetieth of the Psalms.

Hear David in his own and uninspired language in the historical books, and David speaking for all mankind, for God himself, in his hymns of prayer or praise. Read Solomon in

* "It is of the *writing*, not of the men who wrote, that inspiration is directly affirmed. The words expressing the sense are written, but not the sense separate from the words. The inspiration must be the inspiration of words, since the words, and the words alone, are written. The language of the Bible undeniably suggests an immense presumption in favor of the inspiration of the words. The reiterated use of such phrases as 'Thus saith the Lord,' 'the word of the Lord,' or, in the plural, 'the words of the Lord,' as the term is employed with great frequency in the New Testament, when the plural word *cannot possibly* refer to anything but to the *separate words* making up one communication—can bear *no other meaning* than that of verbal inspiration, if the language has *a meaning at all*. Whatever reason we have for believing the Bible to contain a true revelation from God, we have equally for believing in the inspiration of the words which convey it, through which alone it is known to us."—*God's Word Written.*

Very striking is the language Christ quotes from Moses: "Every *word* that proceedeth *out of the mouth of God.*" (ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ.) Hardly less so his own declaration, John viii, 47, in which he uses the very same words, "He that is of God heareth *God's words.*" (τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ θεοῦ.)

the Apocrypha and in the Canon. Compare Paul speaking as a man by his own confession, and Paul conducting an argument that annihilates Judaic fatalism, rising on the sublimest wings of faith and vision in the eighth of Romans, sifting the sophistries of Greek and Jew, and unfolding the awful splendors of the future in that sublimest of his works, the opening chapters of the second letter to the Corinthians. How weak and human is the one, how lofty beyond all created elevation the other!

Peter in the Gospels talks like a rash, rude man, unlettered, without breadth, save in faith and fervor. In his Epistles he is another person, broad, deep, tender, strong, using his stiff Greek as deftly as an artist his clay, and filling out rounding sentences with such a fullness and quality of life as compel the greatest writers to worship him as their superior.

John is the most discussed of any writer, and is said to put the most of himself into his books. Yet, that John, the son of Zebedee, the net-mender of Galilee, had powers inherent and native which the Divine Presence could inform so as to make him speak forth such miracles of subtle and lofty thought as cheapen to paltriest dust the most wise and mystic sayings of the greatest of human poets, is a far greater marvel than to simply say, God the Holy Ghost spoke through this humble Galilean, and could as easily have uttered the same language through Mary of Magdala, the Virgin, Nathaniel, or any other of the disciples. John's native speech has no such flavor. It is boastful, self-righteous, stormy. He is called Boanerges. He aspires to the highest seat at the right hand of Christ. He strives as to who should be greatest, even up to the week before the crucifixion. He and Peter have a race to the sepulcher. He appears in the Acts courageous, prompt, defiant; not in the least speculative, meditative, or recluse. The long locks and fair features which conventional art has given him are unknown in the Scriptures. "A bearded man, armed to the teeth, is he." That portrait is the reflex of his writings, not of his biography.

Yet this son of thunder, who calls down fire from heaven on the heads of his rivals, is the most miraculous seer and sayer the world has ever known. How loaded with involuted phraseology and with rude description is the scholarly Sweden-

borg compared with this back-country laborer of a semi-savage age. Emerson's subtilty is infinite shallowness by the side of this man whose glance quietly takes in all the fullness of God. Pascal, Wordsworth, Sir Thomas Browne, Shakspeare, are tiny children in thought and language in his presence. No such imagery ever illuminated Dante's imagination in all his prolix drama, as floats before the eye of the revelator in his brief and rapid panorama. Shakspeare wears the crown of the world. Yet it changes to lusterless paste before the divinely shining brow of the dramatist of Patmos.

He is as remarkable in his style as in his ideas. The latter transcend all human knowledge save that which comes by faith. The former is equally above all human skill. Genius consists in saying the most in the least. Perfect style is seemingly no style. The highest art is no art. The nearer a writer approaches this goal the greater his fame. *Simplex munditiis* is the motto of Style. Thus severely simple is Homer, and therefore he leads his leading race in their choicest gift. Equally severe in art were their architects and sculptors. Dante's verse is of severest simplicity. Virgil and Horace surpass all Romans in limpidity and force. Wordsworth has had no rival in this century in this combination of clearness and strength. Pascal, Montaigne, and Rousseau are the only Frenchmen whose pen never puts on airs, and hence all the world runs after them.

In this highest law of style John excels all mankind. The last of the Gospels, of the Epistles, and of the Bible itself, is thus calmly and wonderfully crowned. No style in its pages attains this perfection. They intimate it and brokenly employ it, but not steadily. It looks as if God would reveal to man the model of every other style in his other books, and reserve this for his last and divinest gift. Solomon may blossom like a garden; Isaiah glow like the sun at its coming; Daniel move with the pomp of armies "to the Dorian mood of flutes and soft recorders." Jeremiah wail like a nightingale; Ezekiel burn with a blinding blaze; Moses discourse like a judge; Paul's pages may be illumined with the piled up magnificence of a setting sun; but John appears among them all with the pure white light of central day, making all their divine grandeur shadowy to his perfect radiance. His style is nearest

Christ's. His words seemed to have been filled the most with the Holy Ghost. His associate writers far transcend all human capacity; he transcends the human conception. The world will always see in his Gospel, Letters, and Apocalypse the humanly unattainable oneness of idea and speech. Here the whole Deity is known. No one can outsee, none can outspeak, the beloved disciple.

We have thus sought to trace the groundwork of the doctrine of the Church in the laws of the human mind. We have seen that the chief expounders of these laws, ancient and modern, are of one opinion as to the inherent unity of speech and thought; that the root-word is a creation, not a formation; a creation like man, for whom and by whom it comes forth from non-existence, at once a full-formed body and a full-formed soul;* that the laws of style confirm this law of words, and require the utterer of finished thoughts to employ in their expression a finished form; that every real genius in letters as in art has his style; that the Bible has its style, uniform from Genesis to Revelation; that all its variety of style in its different human writers does not destroy this all-embracing unity; that these writers declare they are but the oracles of God; and their own style, wherever it can be found separate from these communications, shows that they do not naturally employ the fashion of speech which they, when inspired, exhibit; and that this union of their souls and the Holy Spirit is not mechanical or clock-like, but vital, harmonious, and perfectly natural, though miraculous, as was the unity of the Son of man and Son of God in Jesus Christ.

The laws of Christian faith confirm these demands of philology, letters, and the Scriptures. The heart no less than the head crieth out in his word for God, even the living God. This fact a mere calculating critic might despise; but the devout student will acknowledge its validity. Faith is the divinely appointed solvent of many difficulties. Dr. Bushnell concedes, in the opening sentences of his chief treatise on the Vicarious Sacrifice, that it is the faith of the Church which has kept it steadfast among all the waves of opinion, and even when it could not satisfy all the queries of a puffed-up reason.

* "In the science of language we must accept roots simply as ultimate facts." —*Lecture on Science of Language*, by MAX MÜLLER. Second Series, p. 91

The heart, where faith has its chosen seat, therefore rightly claims a voice in the debates and decisions of this question, on which our whole spiritual being hangs. Thrust the knife through a divinely written word and our life in Christ instantly dies. Make the human element predominant, or prominent even, and the divinity that it communicates to the believer disappears. A corpse, dreaded, detested, offensive, is all that is left. What, then, does the heart say on this question? What are the feelings of every Christian as he approaches the Bible? They are that God, not man, is its sole, exclusive author. We do not go to this living fountain to drink of man-hewed cisterns. Who, in his agony of conviction, as he turns to the penitential psalms, says, "I must see what David says on such occasions?" Nay, he cries out, "I would call upon God in words that he has put in my lips. His cry is my cry. The avenues of approach which he has himself cast up and trod, those I can employ to approach unto him." Whatever is our mood, if it be deep and powerful, it finds God in the Bible, its mouthpiece. Should one of its human authors presume to say, "I am your mediator," every earnest soul would instantly reply, "Who art thou, that makest thyself equal with God? Away with Isaiah, Paul, and John, if they thus assume the divine prerogatives. Not ye are we reading or conversing with in these holy words, but the Lord our God. He wrought in you as now in us. He made you the utterer of the feelings which agitate our breast. The Holy Spirit, convincing, comforting, exulting, flowed through you, as he is now through us. These are the words in which he embodies his own warnings and comforts." In such an hour of divine communion Luke and Paul, Moses and David, are no more than Wyclif and Tindal, the Seventy of Alexandria, or the Seventy of King James. God is all and in all. This is the testimony of every heart. It sees God *only* in his word. Its poems and prophecies, its arguments and edicts, its narratives and appeals, its revelations of the original and the future earth, its language and letters, are the immediate and constant outstreaming of Godhood. They see everywhere the Divine Presence, not general and episcopal, but direct, potent, omnipotent. It is God, not Moses, who writes on Sinai; God, who moves the pen of David; God, who touches the lips of Isaiah with their burn-

ing words; God, who mourns with Jeremiah over a sinful people, laden with iniquity and with the chastisement of his hand; God, who constructs the many-sided, single-souled Gospels; God, in the thrilling joys, the warning cries, of the Epistles. Everywhere he beholds His presence. He kneels, adores, and lives. In such an hour he is troubled with no difficulties. The scoff of skepticism, the patronage of semi-devotion, are alike unknown. The Bible is then the WORD of God; the word to him and for him, now and always, through time, perchance through eternity.

Thus the heart confirms the head, and settles the controversy. The whole man acknowledges the Bible is wholly of God.*

We occupied our first essay in considering the nature and result of other views of inspiration than the scriptural. We have dwelt in these on the positive argument in its favor, drawn from the laws of language, the declarations of the Bible, and the demands of faith. There are still considerations that merit and need attention—the assumed contrariness of different reports of the same transaction and the same discourse; the differences between versions; its declarations as to times and numbers which are difficult to reconcile; its asserted conflict with modern science; and chiefly the fact that much of the

* This argument for verbal inspiration is akin to the only one that is advanced in "Liber Librorum" for any inspiration. It agrees closely with its central idea. In its attempts to discriminate between the inspired and uninspired portions of the Bible, its sole reliance is the verifying faculty, "which it regards as being neither more nor less than *reason enlightened and sanctified by the Holy Ghost.*" This is substantially identical with the testimony of the heart as above interpreted. It is, as it says, "The unction of the Holy One," whence this illumination comes. Its mistake, great and incurable, is, that it has no standard of sanctified consciousness. It claims with Semler, that whatever is to him inspired is inspired; and with Coleridge, whatever finds any reader is inspired. We agree with this author as to the value of the testimony of sanctified consciousness, but do not agree that this is the sole or chief ground of inspiration; nor that whatever any individual's consciousness does not feel is not therefore inspired. The authority of inspiration is higher. It is in the necessity of revelation and the declaration of God. Yet this law protects it. The accumulated "sanctified consciousness" of all Christians will cover its every word. "The verifying faculty" of many a prisoner for Christ has proved the inspiration of one of the most contemned passages—the cloak of Paul. The same "verifying faculty" in Bengel found great inspiration in the genealogies of Christ. Let even this ground be clung to firmly, and the true doctrine of universal, verbal inspiration will be inevitably developed.

Bible seems, nay, is and must be a perfect expression of the feelings and thoughts of the man that is speaking; these are the chief points of objection to ipsissimal inspiration. We have no space for their examination, nor is it essential to our argument. What we aim at is, to confirm the true idea of inspiration. If this is rooted and grounded in us we can proceed more or less successfully to answer all the problems that gather around the mystery. If Christ is affirmed to be a mere man by the worldly school, and a divinely-supervised man by even Christian teachers, it is essential to prove his supreme and personal Deity. We may or may not be able to show how the two natures mingle in him without loss of conscious distinction; how he could be born of a virgin and yet be the Son of God. These mysteries and difficulties are one thing, the fact of his Godhead is another.

So we have aimed to prove the logical, philological, emotional, and scriptural necessity of verbal inspiration. We may or we may not succeed in showing how such inspiration can be made through the willing activity of human minds, as Mary willingly consented to become the mother of our Lord, yet did not thereby become herself the Lord, or in any sense divine. We may and may not show which is the exact copy of the original book, and how repeated phrases from the same speech may properly differ. These are matters for prolonged and profound study. Many books have been written upon them and will yet be. The other is the great central fact around which the study centers, in which it has its sole strength and being.

It is precisely as with any other study. The existence of the earth must be granted before we can proceed to discuss its nature. If the former were denied, all natural science must pause till it is re-established. The fact of verbal inspiration must precede all discussion as to the preservation of the Bible, the mutual relations of its several parts and words, and its relations to science and history.

Of these minor matters we have space but to suggest a very few thoughts. The preservation of the Bible is another subject than its inspiration. Have we the original? is one question. Was that original directly from God? is another. When we consider the watchcare of God over his word as seen in the

Jewish age, in the labors of the Masorites, in the foundation of schools for its preservation, in their remarkable rules concerning it, in the no less vehement zeal of Christians in all subsequent ages, we may well conclude that our volume is the original text given to Moses, David, and Paul. If a little debris shall have fallen from this mountain it need not surprise us, nor diminish our faith in the solidity of the peak which yet pierces the heavens. When we remember through what ages of desolation, iniquity, barbarism, and darkness the Bible has stood, we may well expect some scars upon its sides, some crumbling at its feet.

A few of its sheets probably went through the corruption of the antediluvian age and rode on the waves of the destroying deluge. One book went down into Egypt and was hidden for four hundred years in the clay-huts of ignorant, idolatrous, brutalized slaves. Five books survived a barbaric existence in the wilderness, and a more barbaric period under the judges, and were preserved alone by a savage race, who were often in captivity to their hardly more savage neighbors, hiding like wild beasts in the caverns of their hills. Increased to one half its present size, it was carried with a scattered remnant into captivity to a power that for thousands of years has been blotted from the face of the earth. It was hidden in low, black tents, along the Euphrates, in the care of uneducated and oftentimes ungodly men. Its appointed keepers were generally sunken in idolatry, and cared nothing for the treasure they held in their hands. It came up from the house of bondage, only to find a more stormy and perilous home in a warring, fanatic nation, which for hundreds of years was the seat of constant and indescribable fighting and plotting, such as the world has seldom seen. Read Milman or Josephus and see how seemingly impossible it was that the Old Testament should survive the era of Antiochus and the Maccabees.

Not less severe has been the struggle of the New Testament for existence. It has been far more severe. No Jewish sect arose and ruled that strove for centuries to destroy their sacred books. But the Bible after its completion was subjected to that trial. For more than a thousand years the sole ruling representative of the Church put forth its utmost strength to destroy the Holy Scriptures. It raged against the word of

God more than against all other real or fancied foes. It abolished it from every church and house. It forbade its perusal on pain of horrible death. It sprung at those who dared defy this decree and cast them into the fire. It hunted down Wyclif, Tyndale, Huss, Jerome, as they arose on the long night and held forth the word of life—a light shining in a dark, dark place. Through this crucible the Bible has come to us. Through the apostasy of its appointed preservers, through their unspeakable hate and ferocity, through savagery, idolatry, slavery, persecution, through the weary, black and barbarous centuries where man appears too often more like a beast of prey than a child of God, comes to our age and eyes the Book of God. What other work has outlived such fires of death? Its visage should be more marred than its kindred of purely human origin. Yet its countenance is unchanged. It still shines in its strength. The spots on its disk but intensify its brightness. It is now as always the face of God, enlightening all reverent gazers with his everlasting beams.

It may seem to conflict with science, though it is wonderful how science is ever confirming its declarations. The latest assault of skeptical learning on the original man but proves its position; for it declares man fell before the first child was born, and the infidel scholar says the first *people* were savages. In all these conflicts it has thus far maintained its integrity. It will in all time to come.

It may seemingly conflict with itself, but this does not destroy its authorship. Often the difference is only seeming, as where Dean Alford makes his strongest point against verbal inspiration—the different mottoes over the cross. They can all be read consistent with this theory, if we remember there were three inscriptions there. (He says there was but one.) Each of three evangelists may copy a different one, while the two who copy the same may give it, the one in full, the other only in part. If the difference is real, it may be attributed to the dictation, as well as it is by the orthodox opponents of this doctrine to the supervision, of the Holy Ghost. He could have given the versions as well as allowed two men to use two when there was actually but one. This is fully exhibited in the matter of quotations, and as fully and unanswerably defended by

the eloquent Gaussen, the ablest writer of our age on this subject. Most of these differences will be removed on thorough study, and those that we cannot understand may yield to the superior knowledge of a subsequent age.

But all these problems are unsolved in the weaker theory. If God kept its authors from essential errors, how can they explain these difficulties? By calling them non-essential? But calling them so does not make them so. The world without persists in declaring these errors as essential? These allies concede the first and not the last. No one accepts their testimony. They are *not* unessential. If Colenso be true, his figures destroy the authority of the Bible. They have destroyed its validity to him. So if Alford's concessions be granted, or Curtis's,* or others of this school, the whole work crumbles to naught. We stand or fall together. If the Ipsissimists cannot keep their ground none can. Their brethren who oppose them cannot live without them.

We intended to have shown that these objectors ran to this refuge for shelter when struck by any stray shot of the enemy; for the foe never waste much ammunition intentionally upon their dogma. No skeptic writes against Liber Librorum. Why should he? But the best of these, seeing whither this course leads them, are careful to interpose caveats. They demand such a veracity of the Bible as only verbality can give. Alford, Nast, and even Coleridge, protest against any mixture of real error in the text after they have declared it has much error.† They

*Dr. Curtis openly affirms all that Colenso does. He sees only fallibility and error, though he covers the dead body he has dissected with a pall of courteous and half-believing phrases. Every one affected with supervisional inspiration should read that work, and see whither they are tending. Compare it with Bernard and Garbett and Gaussen, and learn that scholarship and faith are still united and victorious.

† It will be my object to establish the infallible certainty, the indisputable authority, the perfect and entire truthfulness of all and every part of the Holy Scripture. (See, p. 33.)

By inspiration the human mind is enabled correctly to apprehend and then authentically and authoritatively, make known orally or in *writing* a revelation which God has given of himself.—*Nast's Prolog.*, p. 36.

Coleridge beautifully says, "In the Bible there is more that *finds* me than I have experienced in all other books put together. The *words* of the Bible find me at greater depths of my being; and whatever finds me brings with it irresistible evidence of its having proceeded from the Holy Ghost."—*Conf. of an Inquiring Spirit*, Letter II

seek to avoid the rock on which they founder by declaring its inviolable truthfulness "*in all matters pertaining to religion*,"* and its resemblance to Christ, who had the frailties of man as well as the fullness of God.† But did Christ ever err? Or is there anything in the Bible that does not pertain to religion? This concession and comparison surrender the whole defense. Better by far affirm the fact of oral and written inspiration, and proceed to its defense and elucidation.

It is a fit comparison, that of the twofold Christ and the twofold authorship of the Scriptures. These writers miraculously became dynamically, not mechanically, naturally, though supernaturally, occupied by the Holy Ghost. The Holy Spirit brooded over their spirit. Therefore the holy thing that was born of them was called the Word of God. We cannot, we may never fathom the mystery. We cannot, we may never, that of the incarnation, the atonement, the resurrection. But its harmony with them, its consistency with the work of redemption, its analogy to the nature of Christ himself, are confirmations of the Scriptures themselves and of the laws of language that make this truth invulnerable.‡

Thus stands forth the Word of God, like him from whom it was named, who was in the beginning with God and was God. It is the pillar and ground of the Church, of the world. Through the ages, the hostilities, the contempt, the criticism of man it lifts itself up fresh and strong as the eternal heavens. It is not only the first begotten, it is the only begotten of God. All other words and works must worship it. From its urn alone can they draw the light that is celestial. Let its every student prostrate himself before its unquestioned divinity. Here read the thought and language of God. Study his words in all their subtle and far-reaching meaning. Explore

* Whatever the inspired writers affirm to be true, if it has the remotest reference to religion, is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and they never declare anything to be scientifically true which is scientifically false.—NAST, p. 138.

† Elliot's Aids to Faith, p. 479.

‡ This debate is exactly identical with that now in progress concerning Christ. He was divine, say some complimentary critics, but yet had imperfections. Renan and Collier affirm, and Ecce Homo once or twice implies, that he had errors which he outgrew. Even so do these speak of the Bible. They must stand in this debate as in that. Christ, the Incarnate Word, was errorless, or he was not God. The Bible, the written word, is errorless, or it is not divine, authoritative, or of the least *vital*, saving value to the immortal soul.

their combinations in every form of expression, whether of proverb or parable, of statement or song. God will be found everywhere present, informing each page, each book, each writer with his controlling influence. Harmony will arise from seeming discord; the divine idea and speech will shine through every sentence; and all the far-distant, and, to a careless student, far-disjointed works, be pervaded by a harmony as marvelous as that which appears in its antitype and inferior, Nature. Every book is in its place, no less than every portion of every book, and perfect symmetry, power, and divinity possesses the perfect Word. More and more will this be seen in the coming glory of the Church and her Christ. No one will then doubt its verbal inspiration any more than they will the divine creation of every particle in nature, the divine renewal of every believer, the divine origin of the Church, and the supreme divinity of its Lord and Redeemer.

May all Christian scholarship accept the decision of modern philology, of the laws of language, of the sanctified instincts of the faithful, of the historic Church, of the Scriptures themselves, and with the angel of the Apocalypse ever declare that "these are the true *words* of GOD!"

ART. II.—LIMITS BETWEEN PHYSIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY.

The Senses and the Intellect. By ALEXANDER BAIN, M.A., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Aberdeen. Second Edition. Pp. 640. London: Longmans & Co. 1864.

The Emotions and the Will. By the same author. Pp. 616. Second Edition. 1865.

Cours de Philosophie Positive. Par AUGUST COMTE. Repetiteur d'analyse transcendante et de mecanique rationnelle à l'école polytechnique, et Examinateur des Candidats qui se destinent, à cette école. Deuxième Edition. Augmentée d'un préface par E. Littre, et d'un table alphabetique des matieres. Six Volumes. Paris: J. B. Baillere et Fils. 1864.

The Physiology and Pathology of the Mind. By HENRY MAUDSLEY, M.D., London. New York: Appleton & Co. 1867.

Essays, Philosophical and Theological. By JAMES MARTINEAU. Boston. 1866.

"THE necessity of making Physiology the basis of Psychology is gradually becoming recognized even among metaphysicians." "Though very imperfect as a science, Physiology is still suf-

ficiently advanced to prove that no Psychology can endure except it be based upon its investigations." These passages, which are taken, both of them, from comparatively recent and, in many respects, able works, express somewhat mildly what is at this day the deliberate conviction of a large number of respectable thinkers. That conviction is, that what they call the "Old Psychology," based on mental phenomena, such as intellections, emotions, and volitions as revealed in consciousness, is utterly invalid; nay, that consciousness itself is entirely untrustworthy, and that our only hope is to turn to the corporeal organism with which mind is connected, and construct a new Psychology based upon the phenomena furnished by the organs of sense, brain, and nerves. The proposition to base Psychology on Physiology—or, rather, to merge the former in the latter—is, to say the least, not novel. In Great Britain since the time of Hartley, and in France since the time of Condillac, has such a purpose been clearly manifested. But in the past few years numerous persons eminent in science, both in Europe and this country, have devoted themselves to reviving this almost forgotten theory under more promising auspices.

It may not be unprofitable to inquire, briefly, how the predisposition to adopt this theory arises in the minds of scientific thinkers, before entering directly on the subject in hand.

1. Certain speculative doctrines have contributed to this result. There are three great modes of construing the phenomenal world which have been marked with more or less distinctness through the entire history of philosophic thought from its beginning up to the present day, but unequally so at different periods. They may be briefly stated as follows: 1. All phenomena have been analyzed into mind, giving as a result *Idealism*. 2. All phenomena have been analyzed into matter, thus yielding the various forms of *Materialism*. 3. Finally, phenomena have been so analyzed as to be ranged about two distinct, though correlative, centers, *mind* and *matter*, giving as a result, *Dualism*, or *Natural Realism*.

Not only are these three great paths through the phenomenal world conspicuous on a general survey of speculative thought, but at the same time, numerous deviations from them, as from *Realism* toward *Idealism* on the one hand, or *Materialism* on the other, or from these two extremes toward the intermediate

grounds of *Realism*. It has been in tracing, analyzing, and distributing these deviations that the most formidable difficulties in the history of philosophy have arisen.

But all opinions and systems occupying intermediate grounds between these lines must give way to ultimate logical analysis, and yield their contents to be ranged in linear subordination to one or other of them.

Idealism swayed the world of thought, at least from Plato, to near the time of Bacon. A reaction occurred, and since about the day of the latter, the tendency has been toward the Materialistic * or opposite pole of thought. Since the time of Bacon, to go no further back, men as a whole have had their gaze fixed on the objective world, and they have been exhorted and directed to examine and study it as it actually appears to sensuous observation. As a consequence, in attaining to a knowledge of the natural or outer world, the past two or three centuries have eclipsed in practical concrete results what had been achieved in the entire previous history of the race.

But this reaction against *Idealism* has formed no exception to the general law in such cases, which shows that in reactions a true mean or conservative limit is almost uniformly passed. In this instance men, in turning to the *objects* of knowledge, or outer world, in great measure lost sight of the *subject* of knowledge—the *mind*.

2. Certain so-called scientific conceptions have contributed to this result. The only one to which we will call attention now, is that variously enunciated in such terms and phrases as "evolution," "progress," the conversion or "change of the homogeneous into the heterogeneous," the "one" into the "many," etc. It cannot be better defined, perhaps, than it has been by the thinker who has seized it with the firmest and most consistent grasp, namely, Mr. Spencer. It has been applied by Comte, Buckle, and Draper to history, by Darwin, Huxley, and others to zoology, and has been carried by Mr. Spencer to all departments of inquiry, and among others to Psychology.

This conception makes it necessary to begin with the lowest or most fundamental phenomena, or the simplest factors attain-

* The term *Materialistic* is here used in its philosophical and most general sense. The signification it often has in theological usage is not that intended here.

able. These factors are two in number, *matter* and *force;* the former being that *in* which all changes occur, the latter their *cause.*

These factors constitute the point of departure, of the "evolution," which on this basis proceeds. This is done by a series of "differentiations" in either, and between both of them. The result is, that each is resolved into several *sub-factors*, or *special forms* of matter and force. While these agree among themselves according to their class in important respects, yet they have *somehow* come to differ in some particulars. By reacting on each other according to their differences, they give rise to other and more complex forms of matter and force. Each advance that is made in the "evolution," the results are more and more complex continuously, and so on *ad infinitum.* The procedure is from the "homogeneous" to the "heterogeneous," from the "simple" to the "complex," from the "general" to the "special." From these co-ordinate factors, or "primitive germs," the whole system of the phenomenal world is "evolved."

The *substance*, as already remarked, in which all changes are wrought is *matter.* The *cause* of all change, of whatsoever kind, is *force.* The *typical idea* and essential germ of force is obtained at the outset of the evolution, and is nothing more nor less than *physical* force. It is not only the tendency, but the deliberate *aim* to analyze all phenomena, whatsoever their kind, into one or other or both these factors, as their necessary and sufficient basis. Proceeding on this assumption, that part of the natural world is first entered wherein we find matter and force in their simplest forms and manifestations—the *inorganic.* Guided through it by the conception of "evolution from the simple to the complex," the advance is made upward through physics to chemistry, and beyond, where we begin almost insensibly to meet more complex and special phenomena, or those of *life.* The latter are new, it is admitted; but it is believed they are capable of being resolved back into the two factors we began with. There has been simply a series of "differentiations," "combinations," and "unfoldings." The phenomena are more complex in their "relations of coexistence and sequence" —this is all.

Ascending under the guidance of our "law of evolution"

through the domain of living beings, from the lowest vegetable to the most exalted animal forms, we begin to meet with a new order of phenomena, usually called *mental.* These *seem* to be radically different from what we had met with before, but the difference is *only* a seeming. The "law of progress," or "evolution from the simple to the complex," proves equal to the emergency, and by the light thus afforded, a sharp analysis reveals the fact there is nothing here at all, or at most nothing worth mentioning, save *matter* and *force.* And so on to the end, until all phenomena, physical, intellectual, and moral, have been subordinated to the sway of this comprehensive law.

As this all-pervading conception has furnished the talismanic power, in obedience to which the *objects* of knowledge have fallen into progressive order, so has it determined the relations and order of our knowledges.

The classification hitherto made, in which, except in view of subordinate distinctions, the sciences have been ranged in at least two classes, "physical" and "mental," is abolished. Beginning, according to the terms of the law, with the simplest or most fundamental of the sciences, the advance is made, not on two parallel or co-ordinate lines simultaneously, as formerly, but on *one* line; from physics to chemistry, from chemistry to physiology, from physiology to psychology, and from psychology to "sociology," finding somewhere at the remote end of the line along which the evolution has occurred *morals* and *religion.* "Given certain elements, say matter and force," the language seems to be, "and aided by the law of evolution, we will from this simple beginning progressively unfold before you the entire cosmos, and among other things all that is characteristic in the mental and moral natures of men. We will account for the history of the race in the past, for its present state, and guided by this modern prophetic gift called 'prevision,' will map out its future."

Once permit this to become the dominant conception in the mind, while engaged in construing and interpreting the phenomena of the natural world, and it will be easy to predict what kind of an influence it will exert in shaping the constructive side of science. The conviction will, as it often has, fasten on the mind, that the elements and processes employed in the beginning are competent to solve every problem

presented, and account for every phenomenon met with as we ascend. Fascinated by the simplicity of this cumulative and majestic conception, the introduction of any *new* element to participate in the evolution is instinctively resisted. As the scientist proceeds rapidly to reduce to order and unity the phenomena of the *physical* world under this generalization, he is impelled to yield himself to its guidance as he enters successively the domains of *life* and *mind*. There are but two alternatives here. Either we must admit, as they seem to be required, *new* elements, or fabricate new combinations from the old to explain new phenomena, and to solve new problems.

The latter alternative has been accepted by many in comparatively recent times. It has led men to insist that psychology of necessity must rest on physiology, which is next below it in a descending order, that it may have any valid foundation. To be in harmony with the leading conception in this phase of thought, they are required to deny explicitly, or virtually, as they successively reach in their progress life and mind, the necessity of employing any other elements, aside from matter, than the physical forces traced up from below. It is this necessity which compels Prof. Bain, for example, in defining life to say: "What is called vitality (or life) is *not a peculiar force*, but a *collocation* of the *forces* of *inorganic matter* in such way as to keep up a *living organism*." The same may be said when we come to mind, which is said to be a "*derivative* from life." It is this necessity which compels that fervent and honest apostle of science, Prof. Huxley, to declare he can see no excuse for doubting there is no essential difference between "blind force and conscious intellect and will." But to go no further in this direction, we may remark that to the two tendencies in modern thought now noticed, in conjunction with others less conspicuous, must we ascribe this demand for a new basis for psychology, one which renders it in reality only an outgrowth of physiology, upon which it is absolutely dependent.

The thinker in recent times to whose influence this state of things is largely due, and who may be considered the type of his class, is August Comte. Some of the most active and fertile thinkers in this country and Europe have caught their inspiration from his "Positive Philosophy," and some have

been touched more deeply by it than they are willing to admit.

We have now inquired in some measure into the causes which have conspired to lay the task of bringing forth a new psychology on physiology; let us inquire in what manner it has been accomplished.

There are two points of view from which this examination may be conducted. The one is *external*, the other *internal*.

1. But first the *external*. In this case the first thing to be done is to define briefly, but accurately as we can, the *limits* commonly supposed to circumscribe what these terms respectively denote. Tried in any legitimate way, Physiology may be defined as the "science of life," Psychology as the "science of mind." The one is essentially a science of *external* or sensuous observation; the other one of *internal* observation, or of what passes in self-consciousness, though much that belongs to physiology may be observed extramentally in our own persons on the one hand, while, on the other, much that belongs to psychology may be found in the speech, actions, and other signs, manifested by our fellow-beings around us. But if we should decide the phenomena, in both cases, to be given alike in sensuous perception, there is still an important difference.

We interpret the facts of physiology just as we do those of chemistry or geology. They have to us mainly a *scientific* interest. But with psychology their *scientific* is subordinate to their sympathetic or *human* interest. In order to interpret the thought and emotion, symbolized in the speech, action, and writings of those about us, it must and can *only* be because *we* have or have had like thoughts and emotions with those who offer us these otherwise enigmatical signs. Were it not for this we might note accurately the "relations of coexistence and sequence" among such phenomena, but they would be emptied of that interior significance by which they now are so profoundly distinguished from mere *physical* phenomena.

Accordingly, the material for physiology is obtained by observations made alike on plants and animals, the physiologist seldom, or of necessity *never*, resorting to his own person. But in psychology the case is completely reversed, for here we *must* turn to ourselves, to what is revealed in our own consciousness, and we might go on and construct a tolerably complete

psychology from a study of what passes in our own minds. The one has as its field all animated or *living* nature, while the other has no concern about plants, but little about animals except the higher, and even there deals only with certain border phenomena, as sense, habit, instinct, and the like, but finds its most distinctive field only when we come to *man*. It will thus be seen that from an external contemplation of what these terms are commonly admitted to comprehend, a radical difference in import appears. If these definitions are admissible, it will be further seen that psychologists have often imported into their science matter for which they were indebted to physiology; and that, on the other hand, physiologists are in the habit of transcending the strict limits of their science, dragging within its scope facts foreign to its domain, but which are enumerated and employed as physiological data. In this way have physiologists reached results, to the attainment of which physiology is not competent. Men have been often ready to fancy they have found a legitimate passage from one science to the other when they have simply overleaped the limits of one or the other, and, regardless of important distinctions, are commingling the phenomena of *life* and *mind*.

That this has been done it is quite an easy task to show. There is no objection to mingling the data of any two sciences, however distinct, so long as it is done with a legitimate purpose, and does not afterward escape recognition. But the psychologist has no right to appropriate the phenomena of *life as such* without an acknowledgment, either tacit or explicit, of his indebtedness to physiology, nor, conversely, has the physiologist any right to appropriate mental phenomena in treating physiology without a recognition of their true character.

It is true these sciences are closely related; so is physiology equally close in its relations on the other side to chemistry. But for this reason, physiology can with no more propriety absorb the one science than the other.

It is moreover true, that any one who chooses may so extend the limits of Physiology as to include mental phenomena, in violation of the authority of etymology and usage, or may ignore the phenomena of mind, as has been done, in violation of the asseverations of consciousness. But in either case the

ground of controversy is changed, in one to that of the authority of generally accepted definitions, in the other to the question of the reality of the existence of mind.

So far as this *external* examination has gone, the two sciences, while closely related, seem to be radically distinct. If the remarks made be just, then it must follow that such phrases as "mental physiology," or "physiology of mind," for the latter of which we are indebted to Dr. Brown, are misleading and uncalled for. *Biology*, though a somewhat more comprehensive term in scientific usage than physiology, is, properly speaking, only a synonym for the latter. *Anthropology*, when we come to analyze it, is found to break up into component sciences, among which both physiology and psychology find a place.

2. Having completed so much of the external survey as suits our purpose, let us now turn attention to an examination and comparison of some of the leading objects within the pale of these sciences respectively, with the view of ascertaining in *this* way whether their relations are of such an intimate character as physiological psychologists would have us believe.

Passing by the numerous attempts made since the time of Hartley, we come at once down to the present time, and for the sake of a definite view will confine attention mainly to the fullest, and in some respects ablest, and as it seems to be conceded most successful attempt, which has perhaps ever been made. We now refer to the elaborate work in two volumes, entitled respectively, the "Senses and the Intellect," and the "Emotions and the Will," by Prof. Alexander Bain, of Aberdeen, Scotland, who is evidently not surpassed by any member of the school to which he belongs in his qualifications for executing such a task.

In chemistry we have various kinds of matter called *elements*. These, by combining with each other in various ways and proportions, in obedience to regulated chemical forces, yield us the almost innumerable compounds we are able to obtain. The compounds should present nothing on analysis except what the elements gave them. The illustration afforded by chemistry is indeed a favorite one with this school. They delight in placing before you certain *elements*, and by combining these in various ways and proportions, according

to the "laws of association," their psychological system is reared.

In like manner Prof. Bain begins with certain "elements," or "primitive germs," derived from physiology, and by a dexterous use of the above-mentioned laws, compounds therefrom, or professes to do so, the phenomena usually assigned to psychology. There are two points in such a case to which attention should be directed. They are, *first*, to scrutinize closely the elements begun with; and *second*, the various steps of the process of combining as the synthesis proceeds. The elements laid down in beginning may be too few, making it necessary to introduce *new* elements, as the exposition passes along, or the method of combining them may be illegitimate. With the class of psychologists to which Prof. Bain belongs, whatever may be the errors in *method* into which they have fallen, they have failed to agree on the number and nature of *the elements, or factors, to begin with.* What *are* the elements which physiology offers, out of which the facts of our mental and moral natures are to be compounded? They are simply "*sensibility*," or, at most, "sensation" and "*motion.*" We have surveyed the entire field of physiology, and can find nothing, aside from what these two terms embrace, that will be of any service in solving the problem before us. "Sensation" and "motion" are, in fact, the elements with which Prof. Bain starts out.

In the scheme of Hartley, *motion*, or "vibrations," were supposed to account for all the phenomena. To most of the disciples of the Lockeian school it is enough to give sensations. But Prof. Bain takes both these elements along, and here one of his peculiar merits lies. All he seems to require to begin with is a rudimentary organism, endowed with *capacities* to *feel* and to *move.* These capacities exist at first only potentially. But somehow they must be brought into activity, that the unfolding may begin.

The initial step, we are told, is a muscular movement, for "*movement precedes* sensation, and is at the outset independent of any stimulus from without." This movement begets a sensation; the organism becoming *aware* of this sensation, there is *consciousness.* Such is the order of phenomena in waking the organism into active, conscious existence. These

phenomena, quite familiar apart from each other, are given as transpiring in fetal, or infant life, a period about which memory does not give us the faintest intimations in personal experience; neither were these presumed facts observed directly by any one at the period in which they must have occurred, and in the required relations. How, then, were these vital points in his system ascertained, and their order determined? What authority have we for the validity of this account? It is true such *might* have been. If the account is *true* it must be *known* as such, then *how* is it known? The truth is, the only supports such statements have are *analogies*, which lend an air of probability to the account, and this is *all*.

The psychologist fearlessly appeals to consciousness as authority, and the physiologist to the evidence of the senses; but here the foundation on which the system rests is placed beyond the direct reach of either of these tests. Is a system calculated to inspire us with confidence which hides its genesis from *direct* sensuous observation and consciousness, and which in this way tries to shun the only tests of validity a system can offer, giving us probabilities where we have a right to demand at least a basis of certainty? But admitting the account as true, let us examine it more closely.

Then, first, as to the *initial* movement. Prof. Bain says, "We are laboring to establish . . . a tendency in the moving system to go into action, without *any* antecedent sensation from *without* or emotion from *within*, or without *any* stimulus extraneous to the moving apparatus itself." The movement is, in fact, "*spontaneous*."

This "spontaneity" of movement on the part of the *voluntary* muscles is one of the cardinal features in Prof. Bain's system.

He says, "the fact of spontaneous activity I look upon as the essential prelude to voluntary power; in other words, *volition* is a *compound* made up of this and something else." Elsewhere he says, "a spontaneous movement" and a "sensation *both* are necessary to give us a *volitional act*." What does the statement about the "spontaneity" of movements amount to? That they have no assignable cause. But why not assign a *cause* for this obvious *effect*? Because to do this would, in Prof. Bain's system, lead to one of two difficulties.

Either in assigning a *cause* for the supposed movement, he must anticipate his explanation of our *belief* in an *external world*, or virtually concede this in postulating an *object* to cause the movement, or he must refer it to a *volition*, in which case he concedes, contrary to his purpose at this early stage of the exposition, a *mind self-active*.

To avoid these admissions, the "hypothesis of spontaneity" was devised. To find an *external* world, or a *mind*, at this period, would be altogether premature.

But in avoiding Scylla, he falls into Charybdis. For if he wholly frees this movement from a *cause*, as he seemingly does in calling it "spontaneous," his doctrine is brought into conflict with one of the deepest axioms of all science, which declares "that every *effect* or *phenomenon* must have a *cause*." There is no way to escape this dilemma. The questions raised are such, that the philosophy which declines to answer them sets the seal of its own incompetency. This part of the exposition does not satisfy our sense of certainty, and fails to ground, or root itself, in any one of the fundamental postulates of intelligence. This attempt to lay the foundation of *voluntary power*, which is a distinguishing mark of mind, is not only unfortunate, but is a failure. This determination of the *order* of mental phenomena, at the dawn of individual existence, is, to say the least, purely hypothetical.

But we cannot proceed further until we have examined the second of the two elements furnished us out of which to weave the web of Psychology, namely, *sensibility* or *sensation*.

The latter term designates one of the most common battle-fields in philosophy, and what is certainly the enchanted ground between Physiology and Psychology. No term in the vocabulary of philosophy needs more urgently to be fenced about with strict limitations. This can only be done by approaching it from two sides, the physiological and psychological. It leaves us in a border land between the two sciences, and our previous predilections will have much to do in determining us as to where we are—when we enter it, whether on physiological or psychological ground. Until the limits of this term, as well as others, are fixed more rigidly than they have commonly been, there can be no accord. Sensation will be made to invade consciousness, and, con-

versely, consciousness will be made to invade the domain of sensation. To give a critical review of the history of this term, and of the various phases of signification it has suffered, even since the time of Locke, would require a separate article. The superlative importance it has among the terms used in psychology can be readily seen from the place it occupies in all systems, especially those of Condillac, Cabanis, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, and Prof. Bain, not to mention a host of others.

We are aware of the difficulty of giving a positive definition of sensation. We can show, however, what it is *not;* that it is not thought, imagination, memory, judgment, faith, love, etc., nor by any legitimate process can be made to develop into these.

But, first of all, we notice that the term as rightly employed in physiology cannot comprehend all it does in psychology. The terms "susceptibility," or "*sensibility*," would much better designate what the physiologist has to deal with.

That property of most living bodies which enables them, when any foreign body is brought into contact with them, to become *aware* of the contact, and which is manifested by appropriate signs, is called "*sensibility*." We refer these signs to the *property* of "sensibility," just as we do others to "elasticity," "contractility," etc. When we witness such signs we have not *had* a sensation, but because of the agreement of the signs manifested with those which accompany certain affections in our own persons, we *infer* there *has been* or *is* sensation.

Evidently this differs in measure, if not in kind, from the case where we *have* a sensation in *our own bodies*. In the first case we would never become *conscious* of what a sensation *is*. It would be as remote from our consciousness and our sympathy as *elasticity* or *attraction*. But in the other case it is a conscious personal experience, not only *known* but *felt*, not only *inferred* but *experienced*. The former mode of looking at this affection is what properly falls under the survey of the physiologist, the latter under that of the psychologist. However inseparable these may be in our actual experience, we must nevertheless maintain the distinction in *thought*.

There is no objection to the physiologist appealing to his own personal experience, or his *consciousness*, to enable him to

interpret the phenomena given in sensuous preception; but it must be remembered when this is permitted he is in the distinctive realm of consciousness, and once *on* this ground, there is none but an arbitrary stopping place until all the phenomena which appear in consciousness are given him. He will be giving his sensuous observations, or external objects, a significance, really transfused into them by the interpretations of consciousness.

The fact is we meet here, as we will at every turn, the great antithesis between the objective and subjective, the ideal and concrete, the internal and external, the material and immaterial, by *ignoring* or abolishing which such harm has been wrought in both science and philosophy, and the clear acknowledgement of which lies at the foundation of all that is enduring of either. We insist on it, the facts of physiology depend on *external* or sensuous observation, while those of psychology depend on *internal* observation. Physiology may make all the use of the facts of psychology its legitimate purposes require, and *vice versa*. But we must *not* lose sight of the distinction between the two sciences just laid down, under penalty of damaging confusion.

Sensation is not only an affection of the *organism*, but also of the *mind*. The former must always, at least primarily, precede the latter. The mind becomes *aware* of its state, or *knows itself* as affected. This power to become *aware* of or *know* its own states or acts is called *consciousness*. We speak truly when we say we are conscious of a sensation, but we should never confound sensation *with* consciousness. We can only have a true sensation when we have *first* an affection of the organism, and as a consequence an affection of the *mind*.

But we may be conscious not only of *such* affections of the mind, but of others not thus originated that are *not* sensations. Here, then, emerges what seems to be a clear distinction between sensation and consciousness.

But admitting sensation, as dealt with by the physiologist, comprehends all it confessedly does in general usage in psychology, and recognizing a distinction between sensation and consciousness, it may still further be shown that sensation differs from other mental and from moral phenomena so widely as to render it a hopeless task ever to convert the one

into the others. By no *quasi* chemical process we have any knowledge of can the mere state of "*sensation*," or "feeling," (if we consider these terms as synonymous,) be converted into a *knowing* state. While we cannot now enter into detail at this point, we remark that we must either admit there are distinct capacities or powers, properly called *cognitive* or *knowing*, or we must admit, as the only admissible alternative, the paradox on which Mr. Mill is lauded when he says: "If, therefore, we speak of the mind as a series of feelings, (or sensations,) we are *obliged* to complete the statement by calling it a *series* of feelings (or sensations) which is *aware* of *itself* as past and future; and we are reduced to the alternative of believing that the mind, or *ego*, is *something different* from any series of feelings, or *any possibilities* of them, *or* of accepting the *paradox* that something which *ex hypothesi* is but a *series of feelings*, is *aware* of itself as a series." The truth is, any one who attempts to merge sensation or feeling into cognition will meet with the same difficulty that the clear-sightedness and candor of Mr. Mill has revealed to him. The failure which Mr. Mill makes and bravely acknowledges is really the failure made by all sensational psychologists at this vital point, whether it is recognized or not. There is a profound and impassable distinction between mere *feeling* and *cognition*.

We pass to another important distinction laid down, among others, by Mr. Martineau in an able article on "Cerebral Psychology." It is this: "A sense *cannot make efforts*." In other words, sensation is *passive*, while many of our intellectual powers are *active*. We cannot see or hear or taste or feel at *will*. Nor can we *prevent* sensation at will. But we *can think*, imagine, judge, or reason at will.

In fact, from this matter of sensation, examine its contents as we may, nothing can be obtained which by any legitimate process will yield thought, or any *one* of the distinctively intellectual or moral acts or faculties. Neither are we aided by combining *motion* with sensation.

But let us turn for some assistance to the structure with which mind is connected. We have examined the statements of Prof. Bain, more particularly in the "Senses and the Intellect," concerning the anatomy of the muscular and nervous system and the various organs of sense. The descriptions are

drawn principally from the anatomical works of Sharpey and Quain. Also his ever-recurring statements about "nerve currents," in which he and all others of his class with him *assume* the existence of a "nervous fluid," and likewise his statements about the "recoverability" of these currents, but we fail to find mental phenomena explained by any such means. These matters, interesting as they are on many accounts, even in their psychological relations, are for our present purpose remote and external to us. Indeed, our sense of fitness and propriety is constantly violated by the use of *physical* terms to designate *mental* processes. What clearness or advantage is secured by the employment of such expressions as the following: "Revived sensations," "*plastic* growth of mind," "adhesiveness of verbal trains," "*adhesion* of impressions," "*wave* of sensation," "*cohesive* principle," "*cohesion* of mental *trains* of *movement*," "mental *adhesions*," and others of like kind?

After we have faithfully examined the anatomy of the nervous system and organs of sense, and have taken our microscope to our aid, and have sought out cells and granules, and masses of cells or *ganglia*, and fibers connecting these cells and ganglia with one another on the one hand, and with the muscular and sensitive parts of the organism on the other, and after we have admitted, as we may, that *currents* are passing hither and thither, while power seems to be lodged *here*, the seat of sensation seeming to be *there*, and movement occurs somewhere else, what is it we see? Is it thought, or hope, or joy, or faith, or our ideas of right, wrong, the true, the beautiful, or the good? Nothing but cells and fibers and imaginary currents, and forces known to exist only by the purest inference. This is all. We are as remote from a true knowledge of the real nature and character of our invisible mental and moral faculties, acts, and states, as we would be after contemplating any other mechanism. We have only been looking on the *material conditions* of mind.

As Mr. Lewes remarks, friendly as he is to, and ranking as he does with, these psychologists, "no amount of ingenuity will make an '*impression*' transmitted along a nerve, either by mechanical 'vibrations,' or by fluids of the most mysterious quality, explain the nature of *perception*, which remains the essential fact and eternal mystery."

We are obliged to breathe from our own consciousness that meaning *into* the phenomena which the sensational psychologist seeks to draw *from* them. No process of evolution we can imagine, that is legitimate, is sufficient to give us at its conclusion, movements at first *involuntary* at last as *voluntary*.

Prof. Bain fails, to our minds, to show with certainty *when* or *how* this capital change occurs, from the involuntary to the voluntary.

The whole metamorphosis, as remarked above, is made to take place in that indefinite period which terminates in early infancy. No process we can devise can transform *passive sense* into *self-active mental power*. Nor can the contemplation of the organic conditions of mind, however perfectly known, so far as we can see, teach us *anything* concerning the *intrinsic nature* of mind, unless we make mind an attribute of matter.

The truth is, proceeding in this manner from Physiology to Psychology, we cannot explain the phenomena of mind unless we introduce *new elements*, new "primitive germs," either avowedly or inadvertently. The latter is really done by Prof. Bain, and the entire class of psychologists to which he belongs. To show in what instances this is done would fall outside of our present design. We have confined our attention thus far to the border lines between the two sciences, and have endeavored to ascend from the domain of Physiology, with the best aid it seemed to afford, to that of Psychology, and have been baffled in each attempt to find a logical connection between the distinctive objects of either. A further examination would reveal in a still more striking manner the want of logical conformity between the superstructure and its assumed foundation. The difficulties revealed in the first steps are far from disappearing in succeeding ones. We should be glad to follow on, and find in what manner he accounts for our belief in substance and an external world. He says characteristically in relation to these, that "the conjoint experience of the senses and the movements appear to me to furnish all that we possess in the notion of extended matter," and "that our perceptions and knowledge of the material world come through the muscular feelings, and the sensations by their association with one another." Also, how he obtains our knowledge of *space*, of which he says, "the mental conception that we have of

empty space is scope for movement," or how he obtains and accounts for our notions of cause, of time, or the postulates of exact science, our ideas of proportion, unity, beauty, goodness, and right, and the sentiments or emotions, faith, love, etc. In almost every instance there is much to which we object, copious as are his resources, and skillful as he is in employing them. When, in his second volume, he attempts to exhibit the genesis and composition of our highest faculties, emotions, and beliefs, he seems not only to fail, but partly because of imperfect appreciation of the phenomena he seeks to account for.

But can Physiology really render *no* service to Psychology? We answer, it can.

In relation to some of the border phenomena, as sensation, habit, and the like, it can afford indispensable assistance.

In regard to sensation, for example, part of the truth is with the psychologist, and only part; the remainder is with the physiologist.

Much of the confusion which has prevailed, and *still* prevails, in relation to this term, is due to the fact that it has generally been discussed on purely psychological or physiological grounds; when the true state of the case is, *each* must contribute to the solution of questions which emerge on this field.

To show articulately the instances, and manner in each case, in which Physiology could render efficient aid to Psychology, would exceed our present limits. It can give important aid in determining what are the *organic conditions* of correct or healthy mental action, and in determining the *parts* of the nervous system devoted apparently to particular offices, such as *automatic* or reflex actions, special senses, consciousness, intellection, and the like. Physiology concerns itself with the organism which conveys messages as it were *to* and *fro* between the objective and subjective worlds, and *through* which they are enabled, as it were, to commune. This is a high and worthy task, and one to which the physiologist *as such* would do well to confine himself. We are jealous of the interests of Physiology, and our admiration for what it has accomplished is deep and sincere: but it rests on other grounds than those of its achievements, real or pretended, actual or prospective, in behalf of Psychology.

In looking at the *organism* with which mind is so myste-

riously connected on the one hand, and *mind* itself on the other, we would no more make the mind depend exclusively on the brain and nervous system than we would the brain and nervous system on the mind. The state of the body or brain may and does affect the mind; but we must make the relation reciprocal, and complete the statement by saying the state of the mind may affect the brain or body. While we admire and prize the additions to scientific knowledge, and our stock of scientific conceptions, made by the modern "scientific school," of which M. Comte may be justly regarded as the founder, we, however, are by no means willing to abolish the distinction between the "mental and moral sciences" and the "physical," and instead of crystallizing our knowledges around two grand axes as we seem entitled to do, to group them around *one*, and that one *material*, virtually reducing mind to an attribute of matter, and leading as a logical result to a gross and debasing Materialism.

Art. III.—HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

History of the Church of Christ, in Chronological Tables. By Henry B. Smith, D.D. New York: Scribner & Co. 1859.

The History of Christianity from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire. By Henry Hart Milman, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. A new and revised edition in three volumes. New York: Widdleton. 1866.

History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicolas V. By Henry Hart Milman, D.D. In eight volumes. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

History of the Christian Church. By Philip Schaff, D.D. Vol. I. From the Birth of Christ to the Reign of Constantine. Vols. II, III. From Constantine the Great to Gregory the Great. New York: Scribner & Co. 1839–1867.

History is a progressive science. Its most important principles can only be deduced from accumulated examples. Correct judgments of events can only mature in the light of time. These affirmations are no more true of secular than of ecclesiastical history. Indeed, no branch of history has been more tardily brought to a reasonable degree of perfection than that relating to the Christian Church.

Following the inspired record, the earlier works on this subject were not only fragmentary, but in most cases debased by

superstitious credulity. It is painful to observe how early the annals of the Church suffered from this cause, and to what an extent the authority of many venerated names is really weakened by it. During that dismal millennium extending from the sixth to the sixteenth century, the mingled tide of superstition and corruption continued to flow in upon the Church without ebbing. As a consequence, true progress was checked, literature declined, and there were few in the Church competent to the task of justly delineating the events that transpired. With the introduction of hierarchical schemes and pretensions there seemed to arise the necessity of historical forgeries in the form of pseudo apostolical constitutions and decretals which, under high ecclesiastical sanction, were made to usurp the place of true records, or were so intermingled with authentic narratives as to make detection for many centuries difficult if not impossible. Nevertheless, as time rolled on material for future historians was constantly accumulating and awaiting the dawn of better days for its thorough study and its proper treatment.

As a means of forming a just estimate of the works named at the head of this article, we propose to reach them in chronological order in the course of a brief sketch of the literature of Church History. This course seems the more proper from the fact that many readers are not well aware of the steps by which Church History has been brought to its present position, or of the character and relative value of existing works on the subject.

The beginnings of uninspired Church history were written in the Greek language. Eusebius, bishop of Cesarea in Palestine, is often called the "father of ecclesiastical history;" more from his position as the first of the ancient historians, and from the relative importance of anything covering the period of which he wrote, A. D. 1–306, than from the intrinsic merit of his work. The succession of Greek writers from the period of the Nicene Council to the beginning of the seventh century was very direct. A list of the most important, with their leading characteristics and the periods of their history, may be embraced in a few lines. Fragmentary works, like that of Hegesippus, A. D. 170, and the chronicle of Julius Africanus, A. D. 295, will be omitted.

Socrates, a native of Constantinople, and an advocate by profession, wrote in continuation of Eusebius, A. D. 306–439. In capacity as a historian he excelled his predecessor. His statements are more definite, his descriptions more graphic, and his candor and impartiality at least equal.

Sozomen, a native of Palestine, also an advocate of Constantinople, wrote, like Socrates, in continuation of Eusebius, A. D. 324–423. He is said to have been converted by a miracle of the Palestinian monk Hilarion, and he gives the largest credence to the monastic exaggerations of the times. His narration indicates less of ability and discrimination than that of Socrates. Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus in Mesopotamia, wrote in reference to nearly the same period as Sozomen, A. D. 322–427. His literary merits are equal to those of either of his contemporaries, and he treats on various topics omitted by them. Different opinions have prevailed as to the relations these authors sustained to each other. Some have supposed that Sozomen wrote to supplement Socrates and Theodoret—to supplement the labors of both his predecessors. The best opinion, however, seems to be that the three works were produced independently of each other, and that all together present but too meager a treatment of the period to which they relate.

To the names of these principal writers may be added that of Philostorgius, the Arian, A. D. 318–425, whose work is only known by an epitome, compiled for the purpose of refutation by Photius, bishop of Constantinople, about the middle of the ninth century, and that of Evagrius, an advocate of Antioch, A. D. 431–594. The latter may be regarded as a continuation of the history by Theodoret, and is specially important as covering a period not reached by the preceding works.

None of these writers affect to be philosophical, or expend any words in tracing events to their causes. They all pursue a simple paragraphical method, paying but little regard to the connection of topics. Nevertheless, they give evidence of having carefully sought out the best materials, by consulting, and often copying, the letters of emperors and bishops, the proceedings of councils, and other public and private sources of information. They seem to have given the result of their

inquiries with fairness and integrity, according to their conception of things. If we note their credulity and superstitious admiration of monastic austerities, we must concede that these were faults of their time, and we cannot complain that their works illustrate the spirit of the age in which they were written.

The works thus far named have always constituted, and must always remain, the principal authorities for the period to which they relate. They are now accessible in good English translations, published in Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library. They have attractions for the curious reader and the advanced student, but do not claim the attention of beginners.

In Latin, besides Jerome's meager catalogue of illustrious men and ancient authors, the only Church Histories of the patristic period were translations from the Greek authors named. The Historia Tripartita, compiled from Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret by the monk Cassiodorus about A. D. 560, was the principal book on ecclesiastical history circulated in the Latin Church down to the period of the Reformation. Nevertheless, during that long interval, barren of all history worthy of the name, masses of material were accumulated for the elaboration of future historians. This material consisted of the acts of councils, records of the papal court, monographs of monastic orders, creeds, confessions, catechisms, liturgies, and a vast amount of ecclesiastical matter mingled with the records of civil governments.

The Reformation roused the intellect of the world, and being contemporaneous with the common use of the art of printing, stimulated the production and study of Church History to an extent unknown before. To Matthias Flacius Illyricus, and several Lutheran divines associated with him, belongs the credit of the first truly great work on the History of the Christian Church. He arose in the second generation of the Protestant divines, and maintained with boldness and partisan zeal the extreme consequences of the doctrines of Luther. Moved by the constant taunt of Romanists, that the Protestant doctrines were unknown before the time of Luther, he determined to exhibit to the world the opinions which had been expressed by learned and pious men before the Reformation. He accordingly published in 1556 his Catalogue of Witnesses. But this

was only introductory to his history known as the Magdeburg Centuries. This work was written in Latin, and published in large folios, a volume for each century. The task of preparing and issuing such a work at that time was Herculean, and could only have been accomplished by the utmost energy and perseverance. With limited means, but with iron will, Flacius associated with himself able coadjutors, and fearlessly encountered not only the opposition of Rome, but the jealousy and contempt of a powerful party among the Protestants of Germany. He ransacked libraries to procure books and manuscripts. He secured the pecuniary assistance of wealthy friends, and raised a fund to which even kings and cities contributed to aid in the accomplishment of his purpose. With all the co-operation that could be secured, many years were occupied in the publication of the book. The first volume appeared in 1559, and successive volumes in years following, up to 1574, when the labors of the original authors terminated with the thirteenth century. The work was continued by Lucas Osiander in nine quarto volumes, published A. D. 1592–1604. This was in every respect an extraordinary production. It was written upon a grand scale. It brought to light quantities of unpublished documents, and gave the subject of ecclesiastical history at once a thoroughly scientific arrangement, which, notwithstanding objections to the formality of its classification, has never ceased to be influential upon subsequent writers.

Although the Magdeburg Centuries were unwieldy, and quite unadapted to popular use, they became a grand source of material for public discussion, and for the preparation of smaller books for a hundred years following. They also accomplished the important object of calling out the Roman Church in reply. Several of its most learned writers attacked the work of the centuriators and sought to expose its faults. But they found that a new engine had been introduced into religious warfare, and that they fought at a disadvantage till they had produced something of the same character. The first attempt on a large scale was that of Panvinius, one of the most learned Italians of his day; but he died in 1568, having collected two large volumes of Annalium Ecclesiasticorum.

The elaboration and completion of this work was committed

to Cæsar Baronius, a Neapolitan of great literary ability. Encouraged by the highest papal influence, and furnished with all needed help, he toiled upon it thirty years, thereby winning to himself the dignity of a cardinal, and narrowly escaping an election to the Papacy. Yet Baronius only lived to complete twelve folio volumes, which were printed at Rome 1588–1607. His folios, like those of Flacius, covered a century each. Having been compiled from the papal archives, from conventual libraries, and from various sources not accessible to Protestants, this work had a value peculiar to itself, even in the estimation of those against whom it was aimed. This estimation would have been much higher had not the work been marred by fictitious narratives, spurious documents, corrupted records, and the suppression of all material unfavorable to its objects. Although Baronius prudently avoided direct reference to the Magdeburg Centuries, except to call them centuries of Satan, yet his Annals have always been regarded as an attempted response to the matter they contained. The Annals equaled the Centuries in the spirit of controversy, and were in after years abridged, popularized, and translated into various languages by the partisans of the Church of Rome. The continuators of Baronius were Bzovius, Spondanus, and Raynaldus, who successively brought the Annals down to 1640.

By the great works named the field of ecclesiastical history was broadly opened, and ground was taken upon both sides of all the great questions at issue between Rome and Protestantism. But a long period followed before any other work of great ability appeared relating to the general subject. If the theme was not supposed to be exhausted, its magnitude was at least made obvious, and the hazard on either side of encountering comparison with authorship of so great ability was not likely to be coveted. Besides, the times were agitated, and unfavorable to historic composition. Polemics were in the ascendant, and religious questions were arbitrated by the sword as well as by the pen. It was not till the latter part of the seventeenth century that any considerable degree of attention was given to ecclesiastical history. Since that period, this, like other branches of literature, has received its principal development. As modern Church History took its rise from the Reformation, so it has received its chief contributions from countries

influenced by the Reformation. In every species of discussion and treatment of the subject Germany has taken the lead, while France and England have followed next in order.

In respect to the character of its books on Church History Germany has been a house divided against itself, in which Protestant Orthodoxy, Romanism, and Neology have been contending with each other in a strife long and earnest, but in which the former has gained an obvious, and it may be hoped a permanent, ascendancy.

The most celebrated French works on Church History have been Romanistic, although several valuable treatises in that language have been produced by Protestants. The recent work of De Pressensé on the first three centuries takes a high rank from the beginning.

In England, authorship on this subject has been almost uniformly Protestant, and with almost as great a uniformity representing the views of the Established Church.

America, up to this time, with a few exceptions, has been obliged to content itself with reprints and translations. Even the work of Dr. Schaff, although originating in the United States, is composed and published in German, being simultaneously rendered into English for publication here.

Without further consecutive notice of Ecclesiastical Historiography, attention will now be directed to its more important results as existing in the English language, and more especially as available at the present time to American students. It will assist a ready comprehension of the subject to remark that books on ecclesiastical history may be distributed into three principal classes, namely: 1. Monographs, or treatises on special topics or periods. 2. Manuals, or compendiums. 3. Systematic works, designed to cover the entire subject in detail. Contrary to the preconceptions of many, these different classes of books are severally important to a student, and, in fact, essential to each other. In the conviction that the best mode of using books on Ecclesiastical History is not so generally understood as it ought to be, and that, consequently, the subject is unduly neglected by some, while much time is wasted upon it by others, we will explain briefly the proper design of the several classes of books named.

Monographs are first in the order of production. In fact, no systematic history can be written without a great number of special treatises as a basis. But when written, systematic works do not render unnecessary the further production of special treatises, as individuals have favorable opportunities and proper motives for elaborating particular topics in greater detail than can be allowed in systematic histories.

Manuals are last in the order of production, and yet a first necessity of students. Their design should be to give a just and well-proportioned outline of the whole subject. No person is prepared to read Ecclesiastical History with profit until he has such an outline clearly imprinted upon his mind. For lack of such a preliminary outline many readers become lost or confused in the mass of matter furnished by systematic books; while many others, from reading only or chiefly detached monographs, form at best but fragmentary ideas of the subject as a whole. When, however, a proper outline has been duly impressed upon the mind the student is prepared to fill it up, either as a whole or in parts, by detailed reading in consecutive order, or by topics in which, from time to time, he may be specially interested.

Some of the most valuable of the productions of English writers in this department of literature belong to the class of monographs, and it is remarkable that no treatises of more recent date have surpassed in merit the early books of such men as Cave, Bingham, and Lardner. To the two former, Dr. Schaff in the preface to his second volume pays a handsome tribute in connection with other great names in ecclesiastical history.

Dr. Cave was an eminent clergyman of the Church of England, occupying various important positions in London between the years 1662 and 1713. His principal works are the following: Primitive Christianity, or the Religion of the Ancient Christians. Lives of the Apostles and Fathers of the Primitive Church. Historia Literaria of Ecclesiastical Writers, from the Birth of Christ to the Fourteenth Century, with an Appendix by another hand, reaching to 1517. The last is the most valuable of all his works. It is now rare, and a reprint in convenient form is a desideratum. Cave's "Dissertation concerning the Government of the Ancient Church by Bishops,

Metropolitans, and Patriarchs," although strongly anti-papal, proves his Churchmanship to have been of the highest type. His "Serious Exhortation relative to Dissenters," and his "Discourse on the Unity of the Catholic Church maintained in the Church of England," are of a similar character.

Joseph Bingham, educated at the University of Oxford, was subsequently rector of a small English Church in Hampshire. In 1708 he published the first volume of his Origines Ecclesiasticæ, and the tenth and last in 1722. This work not only secured a high reputation in England, but was so much prized on the continent of Europe as to have been translated into Latin, and published at Halle in 1724–9, and again in 1751. Many editions have appeared in England. The cheapest and most convenient is that published by Bohn, in two volumes octavo. That which is probably the most valuable is an edition in eight volumes, revised by the great great grandson of the author, one hundred and thirty years after the death of his ancestor.

In connection with the works already named, mention is due to "The Credibility of the Gospel History, or the Principal Facts of the New Testament, confirmed by Passages of Ancient Authors, who were Contemporary with our Saviour or his Apostles, or Lived near their Time," by Nathaniel Lardner, D.D. In its modern and most condensed form this work fills eight octavo volumes. Its title, although diffuse, conveys no adequate idea of its value in a historical point of view. Indeed, it has been rarely referred to, except as a work on the evidences of Christianity, and yet it is practically a thesaurus of immense convenience and great value for students in Ecclesiastical History, especially for all who have not access to full sets of those ancient books, which with the lapse of time are growing more and more rare. Although wrought out in reference to his primary object, the confirmation of the New Testament record, the author's plan embraced the history of Christian authors from Barnabas, A. D. 71, to Nicephorus Callisti, 1325, and also copious extracts from their various works. To these he added similar sketches and extracts of heathen authors, from Pliny the Elder, A. D. 77, to Simplicius, A.D. 550. To all the foregoing he added a collection of Jewish testimonies, and a very complete history of heretics. Lardner's

works, in ten volumes, containing the matter referred to, are happily not rare at the present time.

In the department of Manuals of Church History, there has been very little independent authorship in the English language, although of abridgments, translations, and compilations the name is legion. Of this class of books there are two kinds; one in the narrative form, and the other in the elliptical style of annals and chronological summaries.

The narrative style is represented by Dr. George Gregory's "Concise History of the Christian Church." This work was pronounced by Johnson Grant "an excellent abridgment of Mosheim." Actual comparison, however, proves it to be much more; that is, to have been rewritten not only from Mosheim, but from other sources, although modeled on the plan of Mosheim. First published in London 1788–90, it was republished in the United States in 1834, under the editorship of Dr. Martin Ruter, by whose name it is more generally known in this country.

The manuals of the German authors Hase and Kurtz have been translated and published in America. Both exhibit all the advantages of modern arrangement and scholarship, but have other defects, which render them ill adapted to the use of American students. Like all books of Teutonic origin, they give a disproportionate space to German affairs, and in their attempts at comprehensive generalization they often become vague and obscure. Besides, neither their style nor their mode of thought is well adapted to the American mind. Kurtz, a Lutheran, may be considered evangelical; but Hase is offensively rationalistic.

Of the other style of manual two may be named, one English and one American. The first is entitled "Ecclesiastical Chronology, or Annals of the Christian Church from its Foundation to the Present Time, containing a view of General Church History, and the Course of Secular Events; the Limits of the Church, and its Relation to the State; Controversies, Sects and Parties, Rites, Institutions, Discipline; Ecclesiastical Writers. The whole arranged according to the Order of Dates, and divided into Seven Periods. To which are added, Lists of Councils and of Popes, Patriarchs, and Archbishops of Canterbury. By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A., author of a

Manual of Christian Antiquities, etc." This book was published in London in 1840, and possesses no inconsiderable merit, but not being accessible to most of our readers, does not demand more extensive notice.

The title of the other work alluded to in this connection is given at the head of the present article. It has been prepared with the diligence of a laborious scholar, and the tact of a practical teacher, upon the basis of the best German works of the same character. Its excellences, and the advantages of its intelligent use, are almost innumerable; but its awkward and inconvenient form is greatly to be regretted. In one particular it is superior to all other manuals known, it does proportionate justice to American Church History by allotting two full tables to an exhibit of its principal facts, and yet it seems to apologize for the introduction of these tables by calling them *supplementary*, as though America were an irregular addendum both to the world and the Church. The first table relates to the period between 1492 and 1776, in which the Church was propagated by colonization; the second to that from 1776 to 1858, in which the voluntary principle became established in the Church, and the dissent of the old world became predominant in the new.

The value of Dr. Smith's tables is augmented by a minute index, making references easy, and would have been still further increased by the addition of blank pages and columns in which students could note additional facts of importance as they occur. A generous addition of blank interleaves would be a great convenience and advantage to such students as might wish to note further references to authors, or extend their own reflections and observations upon historic events, and also greatly improve the gauntiness of Dr. Smith's meager folio.

Systematic treatises covering the whole period of ecclesiastical history are the ambition of professed historians. Few, however, have lived to complete them. The subject is long, and life is short. Nevertheless, Claude Fleury completed his twentieth volume quarto, and the German Schröckh his forty-third volume octavo! Happily for readers, no English writer or even translator has spread himself out so interminably. Neander's history, of which we have a translation, including his Life of Christ in six volumes 8vo., falls one hundred years

short of the goal at which he had aimed, and only reaches to 1415.

Joseph Milner began at the Pentecost, but death overtook him when he had barely reached the period of the Reformation. The edition of his history most circulated in this country is supplemented by a continuation taken from the history of Dr. Haweis, to the end of the eighteenth century.

Milman began his "History of Christianity to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire" with the incarnation, and his Latin Christianity comes down to 1454, within sixty-three years of the period of the Reformation.

Schaff, at the end of twenty years' public labor in America, has produced four octavo volumes and reached A. D. 600.

To the works of the two living historians last named our further remarks must be limited. Dr. Milman, now and for a long period the Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, commenced his public literary career as a poet in 1815. In 1829 he published a history of the Jews. His "History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire," saw the light in 1840. It was well received from the first, and recently a new edition has been issued and revised throughout by the hand of the author. In that work no definite promise of continuance was given, and for a period of fourteen years it was only entitled to be considered a monograph upon the first four centuries of the Church. As such it was well proportioned, and rounded up with a completeness not excelled in any similar work, at least of an equally popular character.

In 1854 Milman's "History of Latin Christianity" began to appear. That was definitely announced as a continuation of the former work, and in 1857 was brought to a completion. The American edition appeared in 1860, in a style of typography highly creditable to the publishers. The plan of the work may be briefly indicated.

Dr. Milman recognizes Christianity antecedent to the fifth century as essentially Grecian.

> Its primal records were all, or nearly all, written in the Greek language; it was promulgated with the greatest rapidity and success among nations either of Greek descent or those which had been Grecized by the conquests of Alexander; its most flourishing

Churches were in Greek cities. Greek was the commercial language in which the Jews, through whom it was at first disseminated, and who were even now settled in almost every province of the Roman world, carried on their intercourse.

But at the extinction of Paganism, Greek or Eastern Christianity had almost ceased to be aggressive or creative.

Latin Christianity, on the other hand, seemed endowed with an inexhaustible principle of expanding life. No sooner had the Northern tribes entered within its magic circle than they submitted to its yoke, and not content with thus conquering its conquerors, it was constantly pushing forward its own frontier and advancing into the strongholds of Northern Paganism. Gradually it became a monarchy, with all the power of a concentrated dominion. The clergy assumed an absolute despotism over the mind of man: not satisfied with ruling princes and kings, themselves became princes and kings.

Their organization was coincident with the bounds of Christendom. They were a second universal magistracy, exercising always equal, and asserting, and for a long period possessing, superior power to the civil government. They had their own jurisprudence—the canon law—co-ordinate with, and of equal authority with, the Roman or the various national codes, only with penalties infinitely more terrific, almost arbitrarily administered, and admitting no exception, not even that of the greatest temporal sovereign.

Western monasticism, in its general character, was not the barren, idly laborious, or dreamy quietude of the East. It was industrious and productive. It settled colonies, preserved arts and letters, built splendid edifices, fertilized deserts. If it rent from the world the most powerful minds, having trained them by its stern discipline it sent them back to rule the world. It continually, as it were, renewed its youth, and kept up a constant infusion of vigorous life, now quickening into enthusiasm, now darkening into fanaticism, and by its perpetual rivalry stimulating the zeal or supplying the deficiencies of the secular clergy. In successive ages it adapted itself to the state of the human mind. At first a missionary to barbarous nations, it built abbeys, hewed down forests, cultivated swamps, inclosed domains, retrieved or won for civilization tracts which had fallen to waste or had never known culture. With St. Dominic, it turned its missionary zeal upon Christianity itself, and spread as a preaching order throughout Christendom; with St. Francis, it became even more popular, and lowered itself to the very humblest of mankind. In Jesuitism it made a last effort to govern mankind by an incorporated caste. But Jesuitism found it necessary to reject many of the peculiarities of monasticism; it made itself secular to overcome the world. But the compromise could not endure. Over the Indians of South America alone, but for the force of circumstances, it might have been lasting. In Eastern India it became a kind of Christian Paganism, in Europe

a moral and religious Rationalism, fatal both to morals and to religion.

Throughout this period, then, of at least ten centuries, Latin Christianity was the religion of the Western nations of Europe. Latin the religious language, the Latin translations of the Scriptures the religious code of mankind. Latin theology was alone inexhaustibly prolific and held wide and unshaken authority.

Thus has Dr. Milman described the subject of the second great division of his historical labors, to which he somewhat arbitrarily finds a limit at the end of the pontificate of Nicolas V. in 1454. He intimates his reasons for determining that in Nicolas V. closed one great age of the papacy in the following terms:

Before long the pontiff was to be lost in the Sovereign Prince. Nor was it less evident that the exclusive dominion of Latin Christianity was drawing to a close, though nearly a century might elapse before the final secession of Teutonic Christianity and the great permanent division of Christendom.

Logically one might say, that having noted the rise and culmination of Latin Christianity, he ought to have sketched its decline, or at the very least, to have brought its history down to the period when its corruptions provoked the origin of that Protestantism which our author has chosen to designate as Teutonic Christianity.

In 1845 Milman, then Prebendary of St. Peter's, and Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, edited and annotated an edition of Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. A reader of that work, in comparison with Milman's histories, will not find it difficult to trace resemblances in the style of the two authors, though he may be at a loss to decide which excels in the clearness of his portraitures and the stately elegance of his periods.

Milman's works are adapted to readers rather than students; and certainly the author has succeeded in investing them with a charm of narrative and a beauty of diction quite superior to that of any other writer of Ecclesiastical History in our language. Indeed, one can hardly avoid the impression that he occasionally, though unintentionally, sacrifices the stern fidelity of a historian in his fondness for exhibiting a splendid subject, and in his tendency to magnify characters and events in correspondence with his own ideal. Yet Milman is no parti-

san. His candor is uniform, and his broad catholicity is in the happiest contrast with the narrow bigotry so characteristic of many writers of the Church he represents.

Dr. Schaff is the first American who has made any considerable progress in the production of a systematic History of the Christian Church. It will be observed that we are disposed to consider him as much an American as if he had been native born. His citizenship among us is that of intelligent choice, and therefore of the highest merit.

So far as we are aware, his first work published in the United States was a thin duodecimo, bearing the following title: "What is Church History? A Vindication of the Idea of Historical Development. By PHILIP SCHAF. Philadelphia. 1846." The more important ideas of this preliminary work, in a somewhat modified and improved form, were embodied in the "General Introduction to Church History," which constitutes the first part of his "History of the Apostolic Church," published in 1853. On the title-page of that fine volume of six hundred and eighty-three pages, octavo, the author's name had taken on an extra f, which it has since retained. In the preface he announced his plan of a general Church History, to be completed down "to the present time," in about nine moderate volumes. In 1859 the first volume of the proposed "History of the Christian Church, by Philip Schaff, D. D." made its appearance. The first one hundred and forty pages were occupied with a condensation of the preceding work, and the additional matter came down to the edict of Constantine, A. D. 311.

Of the personal history of the author up to that time the following account was published, also in 1859, by Samuel M. Smücker, LL.D., in a work entitled "A History of all Religions," article "German Reformed Church:"

> In the year 1844 the General Synod of the German Reformed Church resolved to send to Germany to procure the services of a German professor for their seminary at Mercersburg, who would be better qualified than any of their native ministers to teach theology to their candidates for the clerical office. After some investigation they selected Dr. Philip Schaff, at that time an under teacher, or *professor extraordinarius*, of theology in the University of Berlin, who had acquired some reputation as a scholar and a man of ambitious energy, who seemed to possess peculiar

qualifications for the vacant place. He accepted the invitation, removed to this country, and at once began to perform the duties of his office. Dr. Schaff is unquestionably a man of superior learning and ability; and the activity in elaborating ponderous books in the department of Church history, which he has since displayed, may well excite the astonishment and despair of American authors and scholars. His associate at Mercersburg was Dr. John W. Nevin, formerly a clergyman of the Old School Presbyterian Church. Dr. Schaff brought with him to this country all his peculiar views in theology, which may be characterized as being strongly conservative, in opposition to every thing like progress or freedom. His opinions are, in fact, very much like the Puseyite school in the Episcopal Church; having great reverence for the Romish Church, and entertaining very intense admiration for the usages and institutions of the Middle Ages, which he is horrified to hear ignorant people in this country call the "Dark Ages." No sooner had Dr. Nevin been brought within his influence than he became a violent convert to Dr. Schaff's opinions, and the pair commenced the work of revolutionizing the whole system of belief and Church usage, which till then prevailed in the German Reformed denomination in this country.

Prominent among the antique novelties introduced by them was a singular and most preposterous theory in regard to the Lord's supper . . . to the effect that in the sacrament of the supper the glorified humanity of Christ, his body, bones, and blood, are actually present; that they are mysteriously united with the consecrated emblems; and that they thereby become virtually and actually united with and received by the worthy communicant. . . .

Few of the ministers of the sect could fully comprehend what these learned doctors meant; but as such able men assured them that that was the doctrine both of Calvin and the Scriptures, they concluded that it must be so, and inferred that all was right. Accordingly, the several synods adopted resolutions approving of this doctrine, and at the same time indorsing several other theological crotchets, old time fossil, medieval conceits about the Church and the ministry, which Dr. Schaff had imbibed when a student at the University of Tübingen. The result was that the new system introduced into the German Reformed Church in this country has destroyed much of the vitality which it had previously possessed.

It is not to be denied that the earlier views expressed by Dr. Schaff on the points above referred to, and some others, caused his historical works for a time to be regarded with distrust by some and indifference by others. But the ease with which he held them in abeyance, the mildness with which he stated them, and the gracefulness with which he laid

them aside in the progress of his own "development" as a historian, has caused those sentiments in a great measure to disappear.

As the first volume of his "Church History" became known and appreciated, the desire among scholars and teachers became general that the subsequent volumes might appear rapidly. At the end of eight years a simultaneous issue was made of the second and third volumes, covering the second period of the History, according to our author's plan of division. At this rate of progress we may expect the completion of his ninth period fifty-six years from the present time, or A.D.1923! If the successive periods grow on his hands as the second one has done, we may also expect seventeen volumes instead of nine. To such as may have the leisure to wait and read them, we presume all these volumes will seem only too short. But we venture to suggest that without more dispatch both author and expectant readers are in danger of being disappointed of the desired result. It is not too much to say that the author, in view of the importance of the work he has so ably commenced, and for the completion of which he has made such scholarly preparations, should not allow himself to be diverted to other objects as he has been for the last few years. Before him lies the alternative of leaving to the world an introductory sketch relating to those periods of Church History already most written upon, or a systematic treatise on the whole subject. Let him, therefore, cultivate his chosen field in which his labors have become a desideratum acknowledged by all. By so doing, and by all necessary aid, making sure of bringing down his work to the present time, he has an opportunity of fame and of usefulness rarely enjoyed by a literary man.

Dr. Schaff's "History of the Christian Church" not only represents the most recent, but the best German scholarship, and that improved by his contact with men and things in the new world. While his idea of the task of a historian is an exalted one, he never loses sight of his obligations as an instructor. By lucid arrangement, systematic subdivisions, and ample references to the literature of successive topics, he constantly ministers to the convenience of students. His sketches of the fathers and other prominent characters of Church

history are unusually vivid. His delineations of doctrinal opinions are clear and satisfactory, although on some topics unnecessarily detailed for a general history.

It is not difficult to find in Dr. Schaff's pages expressions and opinions which challenge adverse criticism. The following instances may be cited as examples:

In vol. i, page 61, the author calls the day of Pentecost the "birthday of the Christian Church," and credits Peter with "the first Christian sermon;" as though Christ, "the head," had not introduced, founded, and established his own Church, in which he called Peter to be an apostle, and as though the great Teacher had never preached a sermon, not even that on the mount!

In vol. ii, page 5, he credits the hermitage and the cloister with "some of the noblest heroes of Christian *holiness!*"

On page 149 of the same volume he says, monasticism "still remains in the Greek and Roman Churches an *indispensable institution*, and the most productive seminary of *saints*, priests, and missionaries!"

On page 542, vol. iii, he says, "The period of church building properly begins with Constantine the Great. There was probably more building of this kind in the fourth century than there has been in any period since, excepting, perhaps, the nineteenth century, in the United States, where every *ten* years hundreds of churches and chapels are erected!"

On page 1024, vol. iii, stands the following very unhistorical, but apparently oracular statement: "He who would give others the conviction that he has a divine vocation for the Church and for mankind, must himself be penetrated with the faith of an *eternal, unalterable decree* of God, and must cling to it in the darkest hours!"

While we regret that such expressions and opinions have been allowed to mar a work combining so many excellences, we can nevertheless afford to overlook them on the score of carelessness in revision, or possibly weakness of judgment, and not, on account of them, to withhold our commendation of a book of such a high grade of merit, and of which we anxiously desire to see the completion.

Had we space we would gladly copy numerous passages which may be instanced as fine examples of the best style and

quality of historic composition. But we must content ourselves with suggesting to the reader the higher pleasure and advantage of reading them in their proper connections, and duly weighing them in the course of a thorough study of the entire work.

Art. IV.—PHYSICAL CAUSE OF THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

From the frequent allusions of some of our most able and popular ministers, in sermons and essays, to the physical or proximate cause of the death of Christ, and from the manner in which they treat the subject, we are led to the conclusion that they have adopted a certain theory upon this point which was promulgated some years ago by an eminent professional gentleman of England, Dr. Stroud, and afterward presented to the public in this country through two of our leading religious journals, namely, the April number, 1849, of the "Methodist Quarterly Review," and the "Ladies' Repository" of May, 1855.

In that excellent and popular commentary on the Gospels, by Rev. D. D. Whedon, D.D., we find Dr. Stroud's opinions on this subject referred to with decided approval. Commenting on John xix, 34, the author says: "Of all the natural solutions, perhaps that of Stroud is the best. He maintains that Jesus died of a broken heart, and in such a case blood would escape into the region around the heart, and there be separated into clot and watery fluid; thence it would escape through the wound made by the spear." These opinions, put forth by Dr. Stroud and his followers, while confined to the religious literature of London, or even England, might pass unnoticed by us; but when indorsed by some of our best writers, and finally by almost every minister who alludes to the subject, in our American pulpits, it becomes a duty to inquire whether those opinions will stand the test in the light of science and divinity.

Two theories of the proximate cause of the death of Christ, have been spoken of as current:

First, that the Saviour of men, by his own divine will, yielded up his life; and second, that some mortal lesion of some vital organ of his human body suddenly supervened, and caused or necessitated death.

Rejecting the former theory, which is the one, we believe, heretofore almost universally received, and adopting the latter, these writers go on to fortify the position assumed by facts drawn from pathological anatomy. These we will notice briefly first, and afterward show the impossibility of this theory, from undisputed anatomical and pathological authority.

The fact is *assumed* by these writers that the vital organ that suffered lesion was the heart; and cases and fact are furnished, from diseased bodies, which are supposed to be analagous, such as these:

> Bennett gives an account of a soldier who died suddenly after a long-continued grief. While all the other viscera were healthy, the pericardium was found to contain not only water, but much coagulated blood. Dr. Thurman mentions a case of rupture of the heart, in which the pericardium was found to contain several ounces of coagulated blood and serum. Dr. Townsend, of New York, mentions a case of an unfortunate female in that city who literally and truly died of a broken heart. In the post-mortem examination, the pericardium being penetrated, a pint, at least, of transparent serum issued out, leaving crassamentum firmly attached to the inner surface of the heart.

Similar cases might be multiplied without number; but it needs but very few words to show their utter inapplicability to the case of the Saviour's death.

The fluids exhibited upon post-mortem examination in the above cases were the results of long-continued diseases and previous morbid conditions of the system. Under such circumstances in chronic disease of the heart, after many months or years of suffering, the pericardium may be put upon the stretch by dropsical effusion until the motions of the heart become embarrassed, and under the weight of the fluid mass cease to beat. But surely no man, understanding this subject, will assert that our Lord came to the cross with a diseased heart. The cases quoted, therefore, cannot apply to him.

The main object of these writers seems to be to explain the

words of John xix, 34, "But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came thereout blood and water;" and the theory seems to have been adopted to account on natural principles for this water and blood. And here two things must be assumed: First, that the heart had been ruptured; and second, that the soldier's spear actually entered and penetrated the pericardium. These assumptions have not a shadow of support, as we shall soon demonstrate.

An opinion, to illustrate the pathology of the case, is introduced from Dr. Paget in the following words: "The crassamentum and serum of the blood never separate while circulating in the natural vessels." The natural blood-vessels are the heart and arteries and veins and capillaries. After death the heart and arteries are generally found empty, so that the blood retires into the veins and capillaries, mostly into the latter, and is therefore not a subject of post-mortem inquiry. Again, Dr. Paget's statement is not a fact of universal application, because it is well known that in some diseased conditions, as in typhus and cholera, the serum separates from the crassamentum while the blood is still languidly circulating in the natural vessels.

The suddenness of the death of Christ is offered as a reason for supposing the rupture of the heart. But the intensity of his previous sufferings in the garden will account sufficiently for the sudden dissolution of the body of Jesus under the agony of crucifixion; and that other more important fact, that he was active and not passive in the matter, and hence chose his own time to end the agony. This we learn from his own words, John x, 17, 18, "Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself." At the point where his sufferings were complete, when he had drank the cup to the dregs he yielded up the ghost, uttering the ever memorable words, "It is finished." There would seem to be nothing very remarkable in the endurance of physical suffering incident to crucifixion. The two thieves were executed in the same manner, and yet retained their presence of mind and ability to reason, reflect, and converse; and one, at least, to repent and pray and believe.

That the sufferings of Christ were different and infinitely

greater there can be no doubt. The degree of his sufferings before he was crucified may be inferred from his agonizing plaints in the garden, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death." Matt. xxvi, 38. The separation of that pure and immaculate soul from that perfect body was surely effected under the joint influence of mental and physical sufferings; the sorrows of the soul and torture of the body. That body was perfect, and remained perfect, in all its organs and parts. It was no further broken than was effected by the nails, the thorns, and the spear, which only separated the living tissues, but did not destroy them; no part could be subjected to disintegration or corruption. It was predicted that his body should be pierced, and this was done, and no more; the surrender of life was nevertheless a voluntary act.

To sustain the theory of Dr. Stroud, a literal signification is given to certain passages found in the prophets and Psalms, such as these: Psa. cix, 22, "For I am poor and needy, and my heart is wounded within me." That this passage has a moral and not a material signification must be clear to the mind of the most superficial reader. The term *breaking* of the heart, as used in the Scriptures, generally, if not always, signifies deep emotion. As in Psa. xxxiv, 18, "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart." A repetition of the same is seen in Psa. li, 17, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." Here the metaphors are so mixed that the meaning is apparent. Again, Isaiah lxi, 1, "He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted," etc. All such expressions refer to the moral, and not the physical, condition of the heart, and are out of place in the attempts to support this theory.

Let us again return to the language of John xix, 34, "But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came thereout blood and water;" not the *constituents* of blood, but *blood* and *water*. There is no intimation here that the heart was pierced; it was simply the *side* that was pierced; which side we are not informed. It might have been the left side, it might have been the right. These symbols of sacrifice and purifying agency were necessary at the time, and were doubtless supplied by divine interposition. The conception and birth of our Lord were miraculous; his life was full of

miracle; why then attempt, in this gross and bungling way, to explain this very important incident of his crucifixion on natural principles, and thus detract from the glory of Christ by making his death result from physical infirmity? When Moses struck the flinty rock the rugged mass was dry and destitute of water, and had remained so for countless ages; yet, under the stroke, God caused the water to gush out, and flow in such abundance as to supply the wants of the mighty hosts of Israel for succeeding years. That rock represented Christ, who on the cross from his cleft side yielded *blood* and *water;* and on the same principle, and for the same reason, namely, because it was necessary.

That the theory of Dr. Stroud, accepted by so many, is not only false and irreverent, but disproved by physiological science, is susceptible of easy demonstration.

First, as to the reverence due that sacred person. We assert that the human body of Christ was perfect in all its parts, and retained its organic integrity throughout the whole of his earthly existence, and especially at the time of his death on the cross. Under the Jewish law a diseased animal could not be offered in sacrifice; and much less could the great antitype expiate the sins of the whole world in offering a diseased or imperfect body, which he must have done if this theory be correct.

Secondly, the issuing of blood from the side does not prove that the heart was touched, and cannot reverently be assumed while inspired testimony is silent on the subject.

Thirdly, admitting the hypothesis, for the sake of the argument, that the heart had yielded, and being literally broken had filled the pericardium, and that the sac had been pierced, the fluid following the withdrawal of the spear must have been supplied from some other source than the heart. This we shall now proceed to demonstrate.

1. The perfect heart is the strongest and most compact muscular organ in the human body; and it is so closely invested by that strong vital sac called the pericardium, that some portion of the sac is in constant contact with its surface. Indeed, it is a double sac or pouch; one layer investing and applying closely to the surface of the heart, the other lying free around it, but so completely adapted to the heart in

shape and size that the heart completely fills it when in action. So close is this investment that the least deposit of organic lymph, in disease, upon the surface of the investing fold, produces a grating sound by the friction of the altered surfaces, though the deposit may be thin as the finest tissue paper; quite easily detected by the ear, placed on the chest over the cardiac region. In the healthy state of the organ there is not room for more than two or three drachms of fluid after including the heart.

2. The cases mention by Dr. Stroud, and adopted by his reviewers in this country, in which a large quantity of fluid had accumulated within the pericardium, were evidently such as had suffered from long-continued previous diseases, the abnormal, or enlarged condition of the sac, furnishing conclusive proof of a morbid change under diseased action.

3. In ordinary cases of death the autopsy, or ocular examination, is deferred for eight or ten hours after death, between which time and the autopsy important changes have usually taken place in the fluids and solids. Here all analogy between the case of the ordinary corpse and the body of Christ fails. He had just expired, and the piercing was done from mere wantonness, and its having been predicted does not alter the case.

4. Many sudden deaths have occurred under the influence and from the effects of sudden grief, fear, joy, or violent physical exertions, after which, on the closest inspection, no lesion of any organ or tissue could be detected; the cause of death seming to have been the mere arrest, or suspension, of the nervous currents, or want of brain power.

5. The language so often occurring in the Holy Scriptures, and in other highly poetic writings, alluding to the breaking of the heart under strong emotional excitement, is employed figuratively, and will be so universally understood notwithstanding the occasional actual occurrence of the accident.

6. It will be proper in this place to give a general description of the heart, in order that our argument may be more clear.

The heart is a double organ; the right auricle, or pouch, receiving the venous blood from every part of the body, except the lungs, whence it passes into the right ventricle; thence

through the pulmonary arteries to the lungs, where it parts with its carbon and receives oxygen; thence returning through the pulmonary veins to the left side of the heart, the blood is poured into the left auricle and thence into the left ventricle, and from there, by the impulse of the heart and other vital forces, it is sent through those elastic tubes called arteries to every part of the body; the onward motion being regulated by a system of valves, necessary here to notice, but not further to describe. The substance of the heart is made up of small, tough, muscular fibers, arranged with a view to secure great strength and capability of continuous action. When the embryo assumes organic form the heart begins to act, and never ceases acting until life is extinct, and in some animals not even then for a time, as it continues pulsating several hours after it is removed from the body.

7. The medium weight of the human heart is nine ounces, and the walls of the cavities at their thinnest parts are about a line and a half in thickness, being in structure firm, composed of many layers of those strong muscular fibers, crossed and interlaced, all of which acquire further resisting power from the peculiar vitality with which the substance of the organ is endowed.

8. The valves of the heart oppose but slight resistance to the regurgitation, or backward motion, of the blood, even after the barrier has been passed. From this we must perceive, that in a perfectly healthy condition of the heart any violent action must throw the blood backward and forward with corresponding force through the natural channels, in which case the heart could not be put upon the stretch so as to create danger of its rupture. In a sound state no such thing as a lacerated heart can happen.

9. But suppose the heart could literally break; a broken organ occupies more space than a whole one, and, consequently, the pericardium would be filled to its utmost capacity of distention with the lacerated organ, leaving no room for the deposit of fluid.

10. Finally, suppose the fluid blood could distend and occupy considerable space within the pericardium, and thus suddenly separate into two parts, clot and serum; the serum might indeed flow out, but not the other part, which is made

to represent the blood, as tough coagula could not *flow* or pass through the orifice made by the passage of a spear. And even if all this were possible it could not truly be called blood; it would only be one of the constituents of blood, which must utterly fail of the design either as a fact or figure. Thus we see the hypothesis is completely refuted and demolished.

These, with many other reasons and facts which might be brought forward, patent and conclusive, compel us to reject and utterly repudiate this theory of the "physical cause of the death of Christ," not only as false and absurd, but repugnant to the sentiment of pious reverence due the person of Christ, and calculated to sap the foundations of our faith by impairing the validity of the vicarious sufferings of our Lord. This theory represents Christ as dying of *necessity* from a weakness or defect in his human body.

This holy sacrifice was without blemish. "Wherefore, when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a *body* hast thou prepared me." The animal sacrifices, though perfect in their kind, were only shadows of this. His body was *prepared*, and was perfect in all the attributes of complete manhood, mighty in its human energies and powers of endurance. Though sometimes weary, it was after great toil; though sometimes hungry, it was after long fasting. The prophet had said, "He shall not fail nor be discouraged." He was strong at the center of his human nature. When his mission required, he could set aside the wants of his nature and continue his fasts, his journeys, and his labors indefinitely. When the rugged and hardy disciples sank under their fatigues and vigils he was still alert and watchful, and it was that even balanced and powerful organization that made him so.

His death could not have been accidental, and at the same time by special appointment. He accomplished death; death had no necessary power over him, neither was it necessary to call in some of the accidental agencies of dissolution to assist in accomplishing death. He is the conqueror of death, but humbled himself to the *condition* of the dead for an end; and then by his own act resumed his life, tarried on earth a few days, to make the proof of his resurrection sure, then assumed immortality for his humanity, and carried it with him to

heaven. Not a fiber lost, nor a mark effaced that is necessary to make his person perfect, or the atonement complete.

This theme is often made prominent, especially by our younger ministry, in declamations from the pulpit. It is startling and novel to many, and calculated to arouse the attention. It brings the most striking act in the great atonement and sacrifice before the mind in a concrete form, which will cling to the memory when the remainder of the discourse and the preacher are forgotten. And just here is the evil. It fixes a fact in the mind which will detract from the dignity of Christ's character and open the door for infidel speculations.

Art. V.—THE AFRICO-AMERICAN.

The American negro, so long an unrecognized element in society, has at length become the disturbing ingredient in modern civilization, and the unresolved factor in the political and social problems of the age. During the earlier periods of our nation's career his existence was, for the most part, persistently ignored, and now it is only reluctantly that men accord to him the consideration that they are unable any longer to withhold. The time has, indeed, at length fully come when his demanded recognition can no longer be denied, nor the questions thus brought into notice be kept further in abeyance. We, therefore, rather accept than choose the theme of present disquisition as foremost among the vital questions of the times. The subject is, however, beset with unusual and formidable difficulties, both from its inextricable partisan entanglements, and from the prevailing deficiency of reliable statistics and other data; for of almost no other of the great questions of the age are even generally well-informed persons so deplorably ignorant.

Viewed in all its extent, this subject very fully and forcibly illustrates the invincible vitality of great principles, and their power to survive temporary defeats and to work out at length their appropriate results. Human history presents scarcely another such instance of essential wrong so hedged about by

its circumstances, which at once concealed its iniquities and defied its assailants, as African slavery. It has been, in short, an experiment of the possibility of maintaining a system at war with Christianity and repugnant to all the better instincts of human nature, in the light of modern civilization; and that experiment, fairly made, has also wholly failed, and the system has fallen by its own inherent destructiveness. The world of mankind has marked its progress for nearly three centuries, and as the result, the voice of enlightened humanity became both loud and unanimous in its condemnation as a ruinous and complicated villainy. Thus it is that ideas are seen to be the great and indestructible power whose triumph, though often delayed, is sure to come at length. The sword may be the immediate agent to effect revolutions; but only when evoked by the action of great principles and potential ideas, and while acting in obedience to them, can it accomplish permanent results. The civilization of the age is not only illuminated with intelligence, it is also instinct with conscientiousness; and therefore every interest becomes strong or weak according as it is or is not in harmony with justice and righteousness. It is, doubtless, often difficult for the most trustful to wait for the slow though certain developments of results; but the confident expectation of the final vindication of the right is not more the child of faith than the sure lesson of human history. The results of this long and painful process of experiment are now maturing before us, and the present age, especially in this country, is gathering the harvest that other times have sowed and cultivated with so much suffering and labor.

African slavery, as an American institution, is coeval with the colonization of the new world. The English nation holds the bad pre-eminence in its maintenance, because of its superior success in founding and conducting colonies; though it has been outdone by Spain in the rapid consumption of Africans as an article of merchandise or a productive agent. The field for slavery, where it has flourished most largely and been maintained in the greatest simplicity, has been the region within the tropics; though it has also become thoroughly and firmly rooted in the temperate portions of both hemispheres. In the West Indian Islands which are still dependences of

various European kingdoms, the administration of the system has varied according to the policy of the home government. In the Spanish Islands it is still maintained in all its rigors, requiring large annual supplies of newly-imported Africans to meet its demands for consumption. In all the other islands except San Domingo, where the negroes have achieved both freedom and political independence, slavery has been abolished by the home governments. On the American continent the republic of Mexico, and those of Central and South America, have all abolished the system by organic laws; while in Brazil it has been so modified and meliorated that its steady decline and not remote extinction seem to be pretty well assured. The effectual suppression of the African slave-trade, which, now that the American flag no longer protects it, may be reckoned an accomplished fact, must either modify or wholly destroy the system in Cuba; and last and best of all, the final downfall of the abomination of desolation in this country is at length, though very recently and most strangely, passed into history.

The history of the African slave-trade, could it be written, would no doubt constitute the darkest chapter in the records of human cruelty and remorseless lust for gain. How many of Africa's hapless sons and daughters, many of them persons of somewhat elevated social and political standing, and some of respectable culture and scholarship, have been torn from their homes, and how many of these have left their bones to mark the highway of slave-ships over the ocean, and what has been the personal history of the hundreds of thousands that have been brought to America, can never be known. The very imperfect and fragmentary accounts that we have, sufficiently prove that a fearful order of things prevailed in that business, and suggest also the thought that for these things there may still be a terrible account to be rendered. A very hasty examination of some of these facts will now be undertaken, taking the island of Jamaica as an example of the whole, though probably its record is better than that of either the Spanish or French islands.

Of the progress of the slave population, and of the importation of Africans into the British West Indies, some estimate may be made from the imperfect statistics now accessible.

JAMAICA was seized by the British in 1655, when the few slaves then in the island fled to the mountains, and thence kept up a war of depredation against the whites, being reinforced from time to time by recruits from among the slaves of their enemies. An accommodation was at length arranged, but of course, after the negroes had placed themselves in the power of the whites, the terms of capitulation were very little regarded. The wars of the Maroons, which originated in that affair, present a varied picture of cruelty and perfidy on one side, and of valor and romance on the other. In 1658, three years after the occupation of the island by the English, the number of slaves was only 1,400, twelve years later there were 8,000, and in 1673 there were 9,504. From that date to 1734, a period of sixty-one years, we have no data as to the number of negroes in the island; but at the end of that term there were found to be 86,546, showing an average annual increase of more than 1,200. In 1775 the aggregate number of Africans and their descendants in the island was 194,614. On the other side, it is ascertained from reliable data that up to that time there had been brought to that island from Africa not far from 500,000 captives, of which number a little more than one fourth (137,114) had been re-exported, leaving about 360,000 imported where less than 200,000 remained. A report, made to the provincial assembly of Jamaica in 1791, gives the number of slaves as 250,000, showing an increase of more than 50,000 in sixteen years. The commercial statistics of the same period show the importation of Africans to have amounted to more than 100,000. Allowing 10,000 for the free negroes in the island in 1791—a large estimate—we have a living negro population of 260,000 remaining from an importation of more than 600,000. We are thus brought to the terrible demonstration that during the eighteenth century the system of slavery as actually maintained in Jamaica, under British rule, not only effectually hindered any natural increase of the enslaved race, but also literally used up more than half of those imported. During the seventeen years from 1791 to 1808, at which latter date the foreign slave-trade became unlawful, about 160,000 Africans were imported; and nine years later, in 1817, the number in the island was no less than 346,150, giving an increase in twenty-four years

of about 85,000, which would indicate an importation during these years of not far from 200,000, for natural increase seems to have been a thing unknown during these years.

From the last date, 1817, by which time the foreign trade had been pretty effectually suppressed, till the date of emancipation in 1833, the negro population steadily declined. In 1820 the aggregate had fallen off about three thousand, or a little less than 1,000 per annum. By 1826 a further loss of over 11,000 had taken place—nearly 2,000 per annum. In 1833, when the final registration of slaves was made preparatory to emancipation, there were reckoned only 311,119, showing a loss of nearly 20,000 during the preceding seven years, and of more than 34,000, or ten per cent., in sixteen years. Of this decadence of the slave population a very small proportion was due to emancipations made during this period; of which it is ascertained, however, that but very few were made. Another class of statistics shows conclusively the manner by which this strange loss occurred. During the twelve years from 1817 to 1829 the whole number of births reported among the slave population was 69,102, of deaths 75,412, excess of deaths 6,312, of which excess more than half occurred during the last quarter of the term. These statistics are, indeed, incomplete, as they do not cover the whole period; but they are quite unimpeachable as to the relative proportions of the births and deaths. Were they complete the aggregate loss would appear greater than is here represented. From the best estimates that can be made from the imperfect data now accessible, it seems probable that the number of Africans brought to Jamaica and not re-exported, before the year 1817, exceeded by more than two to one the number found in that island at that time. It is also plain that the destructive agencies by which the raw Africans had been consumed during the continuance of the slave-trade did not cease their wasting with the suppression of the traffic, but for obvious natural causes it relatively increased. As a summary of the above we give an extract from an able and judicious treatise on the subject:

Viewing these facts, not a doubt can, we think, be entertained that the number of negroes imported into the island and

retained for its consumption was more than double the number that existed there in 1817, and could scarcely have been less than 750,000. . . . If to these we were to add the children that must have been born on the island in the long period of 178 years, and then reflect that all who remained for emancipation amounted to only 311,000, we should find ourselves forced to the conclusion that slavery was here attended with a destruction of life almost without a parallel in the history of any civilized nation.—*Carey's Slave-Trade*, p. 12.

A like examination into the affairs of the other British West India islands would show that the horrors of Jamaican slavery were not confined to that island, but extended over the others with little if any mitigation. In BARBADOES the number of slaves in 1753 was 69,870; in 1817, sixty-four years after, during which time slaves were constantly imported, there were only 77,493. In this island the slave system was somewhat meliorated before the time of general emancipation, and accordingly, after the cessation of the foreign trade, the increase was greater from natural causes alone than before the cessation of foreign importation. The case of slavery in Barbadoes is clearly an exceptional one, by reason of the good treatment extended to the bondmen during the last years of the continuance of slavery, and the better condition of the freedmen at and immediately after their emancipation. In Trinidad, out of a total slave population of 23,537, the deaths in twelve years amounted to 8,774, equal to $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or more than three per cent. per annum. The births during the same period were 6,001, only a little more than two to three deaths. In GRENADA there were in 1769 an aggregate of 35,000 negroes; and notwithstanding a steady and large importation was kept up, nine years later (1778) there were only 25,021. The whole number emancipated was only 23,471. For the solution of a case so startling it is only necessary to consult the statistics of births and deaths for the fourteen years from 1817 to 1831, during which time the births were 1,101, the deaths 1,972. The whole number of slaves emancipated in all the British dependences in 1834, when of course every one was enumerated, because each one was to be paid for by the government, was 780,993, a sum less by 38,811 than the number found in the same provinces five years before, when there was no such motive for a full return. This shows an annual net

loss of nearly *one per cent.* For the West Indies proper we find the following summary:

> The number emancipated in the West Indies was 660,000; and viewing the facts that have been placed before the reader, we can scarcely err much in assuming that the number imported and retained for consumption in those colonies had amounted to 1,700,000. This would give about two and a half imported for one that was emancipated; and there is reason to think that it might be placed as high as three for one, which would give a total import of almost two millions.—*Carey's Slave-Trade*, p. 14.

Terrible as was the waste of life in the British West Indies during the whole period of the existence of slavery in those islands, there is good reason for believing that the slaves were quite as humanely treated there as in any other part of the world where the plantation system of slavery, as contradistinguished from the domestic, was maintained. The controlling purpose in all ordinary cases of slave-holding, whether by individuals or nations, is the pecuniary profit of the enslavers. If that purpose is most certainly attainable by the rapid consumption of the slaves, and the importation of fresh supplies, that course will be taken, often unconsciously by the agent himself, and it will be but slightly modified by the humanity or the cruelty of the immediate agents of the work. The lust for gain, in which slavery is rooted, is not only imperious in its demands, but also impatient of delay. It requires the largest early returns, and will not consent to defer present gain to remote, and therefore somewhat uncertain, advantages, though these promise to be much greater.

To properly estimate the workings of West Indian slavery it will be necessary to look into something more than the mere question of numbers, as given above. The moral and social condition of the slaves, and of the negroes generally, must be taken into the account. Now it is known that these negroes were kept in a condition of ignorance and barbarism compared with which their state in Africa was one of tolerable civilization. From the hour they left their native shores to that of their deaths, the sole practical purpose of their existence was to bring gain to those who possessed them; and since the only use to which they were to be put was unskilled

manual labor, their mental culture was either unthought of, or discouraged as impertinent or dangerous. Each man landed from a slave-ship represented a certain amount of capital, to be employed for the benefit of the proprietor, and the opinion of capitalists favored rapidity of production and of course of consumption. The facts that have come to us abundantly prove that the attempts made by missionaries, and other philanthropic persons, for the moral and mental improvement of the negroes, were regarded with but little favor by the planters, and though great praise may be due to the self-sacrificing men who engaged in that work, it is also quite evident that their success was but limited and partial. During the whole period of slavery in Jamaica, the great body of the slaves were in a condition of gross and degraded barbarism. While the slave-trade was in full operation there were five men to one woman among them, which at once indicates the utter absence of society, and also accounts, in part at least, for the very small natural increase of population. As a means of civilization, West Indian slavery was a great practical failure, or rather it was never designed to effect anything of the sort, for the negro race as found in those islands at the time of the cessation of the slave-trade was probably really lower in mental and moral standing than an equal number of their kindred in the interior of Africa. The experiment carried on at such a terrible expense for two hundred years, ought certainly to have satisfied all who were willing to learn that the continuance of slavery is incompatible with a process of preparation for freedom, and, therefore, that immediate and not gradual emancipation is the only way of escape from the system.

But since slavery was maintained at such expense for the pecuniary benefit of the slave-owner, it may not be impertinent to inquire into the economical relations of the system. No doubt a good many persons became rich by pursuing the calling of planters in the West Indies. Adventurers in many cases amassed large fortunes, and dazzled their bewildered admirers with the display of their hastily gotten riches. But such facts settle nothing as to the general economical results of the system. These must be inquired for among the records of commerce and agriculture for those islands, as shown by full

and extensive statistics extending over long periods of years, and by the condition of the colonies as improved or otherwise at somewhat remote after-times, and these, it must be confessed, are anything but favorable.

From a statistical report of the exports of the island of Jamaica from 1772 to 1857, we select four principal articles, sugar, coffee, ginger, and pimento, to show the progress of this island's productions. Until 1791 we have accounts of only sugar and coffee, and during these twenty years the export of sugar increased from a little more than 76,000 hogsheads to 91,000, and of coffee, from 841,558 pounds to 2,299,874. Two years later the quantity of sugar exported had declined about ten per cent., and that of coffee increased more than forty per cent. The sugar crop generally increased, though not uniformly from year to year, till 1805, when the exportation reached 150,352 hogsheads. The next year the exportation of coffee reached 29,298,000 pounds, and of pimento 2,541,000. The largest ginger crop (3,621,260 pounds) was made in 1797; and in 1809 the export of pimento reached nearly four and a half millions of pounds, an amount never reached again for twenty years. Then again it increased rapidly, and in 1833 nearly eight and a half million pounds were exported. It thus appears that the productiveness of the system of slave labor had been fairly tried under most favorable conditions, and had culminated and begun to decline during the first decade of the present century. From 1805 (when the sugar crop reached over 150,000 hogsheads) the production of sugar steadily declined, till in 1833, the last year of slavery, it had fallen to 83,000. The largest coffee crop (34,000,000 pounds) was made in 1813; in 1833 it was less than 10,000,000 pounds. From its highest point (over three and a half millions) in 1797, the ginger crop fell down to less than half a million in 1822, but had rallied again to nearly three millions in 1833. The pimento crop has been very variable, but generally advancing. In 1794 it reached two and three quarter millions of pounds, and only three years later it was less than half a million. In 1809 it had risen to nearly four and a half millions, then it declined for some years, but rallied again, and in 1833 reached an aggregate of 8,423,100 pounds. From this point it again declined to less than one and a half millions, but has since more than recovered the

highest point given above. It appears that the productive capacity of slave labor in Jamaica had reached its highest point about the year 1805, while the foreign slave-trade was still in full operation, and the whole course of legislation, whether imperial or colonial, was directed to favor that system of industry. And though the foreign slave-trade was made illegal a few years later, it is evident that it was actively prosecuted for ten years after it had been made unlawful. But the system of slave labor, as a form of productive industry, had run itself out, and with all its natural and legal advantages undiminished it was becoming every year less and less profitable. The ruin of the industry of the island, though often attributed to emancipation, was already far gone when the act of emancipation took place; and that only put an end to a system that had proved a failure, whether viewed in its economical or its moral and socialistic relations.

There is no good reason to question the genuineness of the philanthropy of those who championed the cause of West Indian emancipation in the British Parliament, and in the nation at large. We gladly accord to them all honor, notwithstanding the dishonorable position occupied by many of their sons as to the same cause in this country. It is, however, quite certain that the claims of justice in that case owed its success quite as much to the economical failure of slavery as to British love of freedom. It was because the West Indies were bankrupt, and yearly becoming more and more hopelessly insolvent, that British statesmen consented to seem to be just. Throughout the whole range of those beautiful islands, where the slave system had enjoyed every advantage of which its essential perversity left it capable, the universal order of things, down to the time of emancipation, was made up of foreign indebtedness, mortgaged estates, and future crops drawn upon, and the proceeds expended; in brief, an all-pervading bankruptcy. The system had broken down under its own inherent depravity before the nation had practically discovered that it was morally wrong.

The origin of African slavery in the territory now constituting the United States of America dates from the early days of its colonization. But though the existence of slavery is incidentally recognized from time to time through all parts of

the national annals, it is usually referred to vaguely, and very little care seems to have been used to record its facts or to collate its statistics. Accordingly the whole subject, though so near to us as to both time and place, is but little understood. The following extract presents a condensed estimate of certain important facts of the case:

> In the North American provinces, now the United States, negro slavery existed from a very early period, but on a limited scale, as the demand for slaves [white apprentices] was mainly supplied from England. The exports from the colonies were bulky, and the white could be imported as return cargo; whereas the blacks would have required a voyage to Africa, with which little trade was maintained. The export from England ceased after the Revolution of 1688, and thenceforward negro slaves were somewhat more freely imported. The only information on the subject, furnished by M'Pherson in his "Annals of Commerce," is that in eight months, ending July 12, 1753, the number of negroes imported into Charleston, S. C., was 511; and that in the year 1765–6 the value of negroes imported from Africa into Georgia was 14,820 pounds; and this, if valued at only ten pounds each, would give only 1,482 negroes. From 1783 to 1787, the number exported from all the West India Islands to this country was 1,392, being an average of less than 300 per annum; and there is little reason for believing that this number was increased by any importation direct from Africa. The British West Indies were the entrepot of the trade, and thence they were supplied to the other islands, and the settlement on the Main; and had the demand for this country been considerable, it cannot be doubted that a large portion of the thousands then annually exported would have been sent in this direction.—*Carey's "Slave-Trade,"* pp. 16, 17.

These meager statistics seem to comprise the sum of our detailed information upon the subject. They are manifestly too incomplete to serve as a basis for any general conclusions, and accordingly the writer just quoted resorts to estimates based upon ascertained *data* in the colonial period, as compared with the well-ascertained facts of later times. From the various United States censuses we have reliable information as to the number of colored persons, slaves and free, from 1790 to 1860, and, as well, their ratio of increase. Assuming their natural increase to have been in the same ratio before as since the first national census, (1790,) it is easy to determine pretty accurately what portion of the actual increase was by births, and what by importation. In 1714 the whole number of per-

sons of the African race in the provinces which afterward became the United States was 58,850, of whom probably about one half were imported Africans. Allowing a decennial increase of twenty-five per cent., the number in 1750 would have been not far from 130,000. But the actual number at that date was no less than 220,000, leaving 90,000 to be credited to the foreign slave-trade. Starting with this ascertained number in 1750, and coming down to 1790, (the date of the first United States census,) when the actual number of negroes in the country was again determined, and assuming the decennial increase by excess of births over deaths to have been at the rate of twenty-five per cent., we may readily determine also the numbers imported into the country. To show the whole at a glance we will put it in tabular form.

Years.	Actual Numbers.	Natural Increase.	Actual Increase.	Importation.
1750	220,000	.....	.....	.....
1760	310,000	55,000	90,000	35,000
1770	462,000	77,000	152,000	75,000
1780	582,000	115,500	120,000	5,000
1790	757,363	145,500	175,363	29,863

From all these facts and estimates it appears that the whole number of Africans brought into this country down to 1714 was not far from 30,000; from 1714 to 1750, about 90,000; from 1750 to 1790, 143,500; and from 1790 to 1808, (when the slave-trade was abolished,) about 70,000, making a grand total of 333,500, or a third of a million, which had grown by natural increase to nearly twice and a half that number, thus presenting a remarkable contrast to the destructive process noticed in the case of the British West Indies.

During the first decade of the present century the increase of the colored population of the country was no less than 378,374. Of this amount about 30,000 came in by the annexation of Louisiana, leaving nearly 350,000 (equal to an increase of thirty-five per cent.) to come from other sources. The natural increase, at the ratio assumed above, would have been nearly a hundred thousand less, calling for an importation of that number. But all the known facts of the case are against such a conclusion; for only the states of South Carolina and Georgia allowed the slave-trade at that time, and those only eight of the ten years; and it is known that only

twenty small vessels were employed in the trade. And as during the next ten years, when the foreign slave-trade had entirely ceased, the increase was at the rate of thirty per cent., there is good reason for supposing that that ratio was equaled during the former ten years, which would bring down the number to be credited to importation very nearly to that given in our first reckoning. We give, again using the tabular form, the number of colored persons in the country at each decennial census, with the aggregate increase by decades, and the ratio.

Years.	Aggregate.	Increase.	Ratio.
1790	757,363	.....	..
1800	1,001,436	244,073	·32
1810	1,379,374	377,938	·37
1820	1,771,629	392,255	·29
1830	2,328,642	536,913	·31
1840	2,873,758	545,116	·23½
1850	3,638,962	765,104	·26½
1860	4,435,709	796,747	·22

The first two terms of increase given in the above table were somewhat aided by the foreign slave-trade, the former, however, but slightly, as very few slaves were then imported. During the second ten years—the first of the century—that trade was somewhat quickened, as the improved condition of the country created a demand for labor. The increase, however, was manifestly almost wholly by the excess of births over deaths. After the cessation of the foreign slave-trade, and during a decade marked by war and great financial depression, the ratio of increase declined from thirty-seven per cent. to twenty-nine, but rallied again during the next term of ten years to thirty-one, which is probably about the normal rate of increase of such a population. Since then it has declined very considerably but not steadily, and during the ten years between 1850 and 1860 it reached a remarkable, not to say alarming, degree of depression.

The conclusions to which these things compel us is, first of all, that slavery as it has existed in the United States has been, for the most part, of the mildest possible type. This is proved beyond a doubt by the fact that the births so largely exceeded the deaths, a condition of things that can exist only where the physical requirements are well and sufficiently met.

American negroes are proverbially prolific and long lived, the two sufficient conditions of rapid natural increase. The interests of the ruling class have affected this rate of increase, alternately to accelerate and to retard it. The steady demand for able-bodied slaves to open the new lands of the South and Southwest made slave breeding profitable, so as to sensibly affect the result as shown by the census. This influence operated most fully and with least interference from 1820 to 1830, when the ratio of natural increase reached its maximum, thirty-one per cent. After that date the demand for slave labor became so great that it was often found more profitable to use the slave women as producers of cotton, rice, and sugar, than of young negroes, and accordingly the rate of increase fell off during the next ten years more than a quarter. It slightly recovered from its depression during the next decade, but sunk still lower during the last. But it is sufficiently evident that our slave system was strong and vigorous at the opening of the present decade, and that left to itself it might have continued for half a century longer.

From 1790 to 1860, the free colored population of the country increased over eightfold; the slave population about five and a half fold. But in their growth the two classes did not advance together, but rather alternately; nor was the rate of increase of the two classes, reckoned as one, uniform. In the early years of the republic public sentiment was strongly opposed to slavery, and emancipations were numerous; but the foreign slave-trade more than made good the deductions thus made from the proportion of slaves to free negroes. When the slave-trade had ceased, the practice of emancipating had also pretty effectually run its course, so that during the ten years from 1810 to 1820 the two classes were left to their proper natural increase; the free increasing at the rate of twenty-five per cent., and the slaves thirty. Between the years 1820 and 1830 slavery was abolished in the states of New York and New Jersey, by which some fifteen thousand slaves were set free; and yet during that decade the rate of increase of slaves in the country considerably exceeded the average ratio. Since 1830 the rate of increase of free blacks has steadily and rapidly declined till it has become less than half the natural rate. The progress of the slave population has

been more uniform, though there has been a decline there also. From 1820 to 1830 the increase was nearly twenty-nine per cent.; the next ten years it was more than thirty and a half; then it declined to less than twenty-four for the next decade; from 1840 to 1850 it rallied again to nearly twenty-nine, but fell off during the next decade to only a little more than twenty-three per cent.

These data, collected from the census returns, show very clearly the increase by excess of births over deaths of the whole colored population of the United States. A very few have probably been introduced from abroad, both free and slaves; and about as many perhaps have left the country either as emigrants or fugitives. These two elements may therefore be disregarded in our estimates. It appears, then, that in the best physical conditions compatible with the state of slavery, the natural increase of such a class of persons may be carried above thirty per cent. for a term of ten years; any falling short of that rate must therefore be charged to defective physical provisions, or to disturbance of domestic and social relations. Among the free people of color these causes of limited increase operated much more largely than among slaves, owing to their poverty and unwillingness to be burdened with large families, and also to their isolated condition, scattered sparsely among the whites; and these rather than any special mortality among them, whether in infancy or in later life, must be charged with effecting this diminution of their increase. Two closely-related causes must be recognized as operating against the largest natural increase of the slave population: the internal slave-trade, by which the *quasi* marriage relations of slaves were interrupted, and overworking, where the immediate fruits of slave labor was esteemed more valuable than slaves themselves. It is well ascertained that when slaves command a high price, and slave labor is dear, that their natural increase is diminished, because slave women are worth more to use up in the field or factory than for raising young slaves. These two causes operated together, and their results are seen in the falling off from the maximum increase, above noted.

The following table (copied from the "Preliminary Report of the Eighth [U. S.] Census," for 1860) shows the growth of

the colored population of the whole country since the taking of the first general census in 1790:

Years.	Free Colored.	Increase pr. ct.	Slaves.	Increase pr. ct.	Total Colored.	Inc. pr. ct.
1790	59,466	....	697,897	....	757,363	....
1800	108,395	82·28	893,041	27·97	1,001,436	32·23
1810	186,466	72·00	1,191,364	33·40	1,337,810	37·58
1820	233,554	25·23	1,538,038	28·79	1,771,562	28·58
1830	319,599	36·87	2,009,043	30·61	2,328,642	31·44
1840	386,303	20·87	2,487,455	23·81	2,873,758	23·41
1850	439,449	12·40	3,204,313	28·82	3,638,762	26·62
1860	482,122	10·97	3,953,587	23·38	4,435,709	21·90

For the first and second terms of the above table, the rate of increase is above the highest natural standard, during the first only slightly, but much more largely during the second, owing to the continuance of the foreign slave-trade. After 1810 that source of supply ceased, and the rate of increase declined nearly one fourth. The next ten years carried it up again to over thirty-one per cent.; and as only natural causes of increase were then in operation, that rate may be taken as a maximum, even in the most favorable conditions. The causes of the subsequent falling off of increase have already been intimated.

In the next table we give the aggregate colored population (slave and free) in the Eastern and Middle states at each general census, putting the six eastern (New England) states together.

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.
New England	17,033	18,559	19,906	20,756	21,376	22,657	23,021	24,713
Gain per cent	....	9	7¼	5	2¾	6	1½	7 2-5
New York	25,978	30,717	40,350	39,361	44,945	50,031	49,069	49,005
Gain per cent	....	18¼	31½	—2½	14	11½	— 2	....
New Jersey	14,185	16,824	18,694	20,018	20,557	21,718	24,046	25,318
Gain per cent	....	18	11	7	2¾	3½	9¾	5
Pennsylvania	10,274	16,271	23,287	30,413	38,333	47,918	53,626	56,849
Gain per cent	....	58½	43	30	27½	25	12	6

A number of curious facts are presented in this table which we have not room to consider. The careful reader will not fail to detect them.

The colored population of the Northwestern states, as shown by the last national census, was 65,652, of which number considerably more than half were in Ohio. These statistics, however, shed no new light upon the problem under exami-

nation; for except in Ohio, and scarcely there, the colored people are hardly an appreciable element in the population.

The facts that we have thus collated show in part the condition of the colored race in the Middle and Eastern states, and they demonstrate the infelicity of that condition, and its tendency to the worst possible social and economical results, that is, the destructive elimination of a constituent portion of the social body. Seventy-seven years ago the ratio of blacks to whites in these states was nearly seven per cent.; seven years ago it was less than two per cent. So small a proportion of the people may perhaps be left uncared for by our public economy, and the community not seem to suffer by it. But the effect of such neglect upon the subjects of it could not fail to be most disastrous. A pariah population, mixed through the social mass, with absolutely no social position, could scarcely fail to deteriorate in character and decline in numbers. Shut out of all society, high or low; excluded from schools and churches; admitted to none of the mechanical trades, and forbidden to earn a livelihood except in the most servile occupations; it were not strange if they have not increased numerically, nor risen above their original lowliness. It is rather strange that they have fought their way upward against such terrible odds even so far as to their present unelevated status.

The census of 1860 shows a slave population in fifteen states and the District of Columbia of almost four millions, and a free colored population of about a quarter of a million. The white population of the same states amounted to about eight millions. For all practical purposes the two races may be set down as holding the ratio of two whites to one colored. Of the colored people fifteen sixteenths were slaves. But these proportions between whites and blacks, and between free blacks and slaves, were not the same in all parts. There was a relative decrease of the slave population in all the more northern slave states, especially during the last decade, owing manifestly to the domestic slave-trade, by which the middle aged and the young negroes were carried away southward. This migration also very greatly interfered with the aggregate natural increase. Their distribution by classes is shown in the annexed table.

States.	Free Col.	Slaves.	Total Colored.	Whites.	Colored, per cent.	Whites, per cent.
Alabama.....	2,690	435,080	437,178	526,431	45·37	54·63
Arkansas.....	144	111,115	111,259	324,143	25·55	74·45
Delaware.....	19,829	1,798	21,627	90,589	18·46	81·54
Florida.....	932	61,745	62,677	77,747	44·55	54·45
Georgia.....	3,500	462,198	465,698	591,550	49·81	50·19
Kentucky.....	10,640	225,483	236,123	859,725	21·55	78·45
Louisiana.....	18,647	331,726	350,473	357,629	49·48	50·52
Maryland.....	83,942	87,139	171,081	515,918	24·75	75·25
Mississippi.....	773	436,631	437,404	345,345	55·88	44·12
Missouri.....	3,572	114,931	118,504	1,063,489	10·03	89·97
North Carolina...	30,463	331,059	361,522	629,942	36·46	63·54
South Carolina...	9,914	402,406	412,320	291,388	58·53	41·47
Tennessee.....	7,300	275,719	283,019	826,722	28·03	71·97
Texas.....	355	182,566	182,921	420,891	30·11	69·89
Virginia.....	58,042	490,865	548,907	1,047,299	34·39	65·61
Dist. of Columbia.	11,131	3,185	14,316	60,764	19·04	80·96

In the older of these states, and especially those farthest north, it will be seen that the free blacks bear a comparatively large proportion to the whole colored population. The little state of Delaware was scarcely a slave state at all in 1860, except in the vigor of her slave code and the partisan pro-slaveryism of a portion of her people. In Maryland nearly half the colored population were free. Virginia, North Carolina, and Louisiana had each a considerable free colored population; while in the more southern and newer states that class formed scarcely an appreciable element.

As compared with the white population, it will be seen that the ratio differs widely in different states. In two states, South Carolina and Mississippi, the blacks were in majority. In Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana the two races were almost equally numerous. In all the region extending westward from the ocean side of South Carolina and Georgia to the Mississippi, the two races are substantially equal in number.

The number of mulattoes, or colored persons of mixed blood, is less considerable than has been supposed, though it may be doubted whether the census is entirely reliable in that particular. The ratio of "mulattoes" to "blacks" in some of the Northern states, and especially where the colored population is relatively very small, amounts to considerably more than fifty per cent. So also as to the free colored population of the

(formerly) slave states. In Louisiana, the rate per cent. of mulattoes among the free colored was over eighty-one; in Mississippi, over ninety-one; in Georgia, fifty-seven; in the Carolinas, seventy-one; in Virginia and the District of Columbia, forty; in Maryland, nineteen; in New Jersey, fifty. (!) Reckoned accurately, the rate per cent. of "mulattoes" and "blacks" among the whole free colored population of the country was in 1860, for the former 36·22, for the latter 63·78; for the slave population 10·41 and 89·59; and for the whole population of the country about thirteen per cent., or a little more than one eighth. It thus appears that seven eighths of our whole colored population were of pure African blood.

The mulattoes are most numerous in the older slave states, and in parts where there are most free negroes, for it was that class especially that received emancipation. The proportion of mulattoes has also steadily increased, as is shown by each successive census, since not only the children of parents of the opposite races are of that class, but also all those of parents of mixed blood. There is no good grounds for the popular fallacy that persons of that class are not both physically and mentally quite the equals of others of their own social position. Whether or not the mixing of the two races is physiologically and psychologically good or evil, we will not attempt to determine. It is certain that the advocates of the popular notion will find some difficult and stubborn facts to contend against in establishing their theory.

In all our late slave-holding states the negro had come to occupy a fairly designated place in the social body. His condition was recognized in the statute book, and in all the framework of society. He had his place in every family, and in all the departments of industry. The agriculture, the manufactures, and the commerce of the country all recognized him. Even the religious organizations did not ignore him; but while to the secular estimation he seemed only a beast of burden possessing a faint trace of reason, the better class of religionists recognized him as "a beast with a soul;" and accordingly some little regard was paid to his religious wants; only in matters of education he was entirely ignored. Four generations of people had succeeded each other, mutually bequeathing and inheriting the social state imposed by slavery.

The habits, the thoughts, the manner of living and acting induced by the relations of slave-holders, had become characteristic of the dominant race; and the corresponding reciprocal qualities had equally possessed the blacks. To this rule there were no doubt exceptional cases among both races; but they *were exceptions*, and so, according to the adage, proved the rule. The whole social structure of a contiguously-located community of twelve millions of people was interpenetrated with slavery. The value of every class of property depended upon slavery. The public peace, the safety of either race, the provisions for the necessaries and the luxuries of life all depended on that feature of the social fabric.

The alternatives presented by the negro problem in 1860 were two only, to wit, its perpetuation by letting it alone, till it should die out by its inherent tendency to social ruin, exhausting the economical resources of the land and corrupting the public morality, or else its violent overthrow. The notion of removing slavery, or even mitigating it, by the deportation of the negroes, was the maddest, the most baseless, that ever found countenance in sane minds. There was nowhere to send them, nor any means of conveyance. The whites did not desire them away, and the blacks were violently opposed to going. The country needed their labor, and they needed to be fed and clothed. As for the once much-talked-of process of gradual emancipation it was simply impossible, and wholly undesirable had it been practicable; and when one considers all that was involved in the sudden and violent overthrow of that great social system, the disruption of society on so vast a scale, the disorganization of the labor of twelve million people, the destruction of commercial values, and the thorough derangement of the social fabric, for all these were necessarily involved in the abolition of slavery, it is not strange that most of those who most fully appreciated the subject drew back from the tremendous experiment. We fully sympathized with such, even while we differed from them as to the requirements of the case. But it was a matter of life and death with the nation even before the rebellion brought on the crisis. Like a cancer on the body, slavery was corrupting the life-blood of the nation, and hastening its catastrophe; so that the terrible experiment of the knife—of its violent removal—

was the only way of hope. The excision has been made, and the patient is upon the hands of the surgeons—the government. The wound is deep, somewhat inflamed, and not wholly without gangrene; but the patient is robust, though fearfully exhausted, and there is ground to hope that with good attention, and a thorough sanitary regimen, *in due course of time* a complete cure may be effected.

Our notices of West Indian slavery came down to 1833, the period of emancipation; of American slavery, to 1860, the very eve of the outbreak of the rebellion, which resulted in the overthrow of the system in this country. The facts we have presented show marked contrasts, and quite as remarkable coincidences in the two cases. The system of slavery in the West Indies was vastly more atrocious than anything known in this country, except in rare and isolated cases; for while, under the former, the births never nearly equaled the deaths, under the latter the natural productiveness reached a point seldom or never equaled in any other case. The reasons for this difference, though diverse, are sufficiently obvious. In the West Indies the slaves were seldom under the direct supervision of their owners, but were committed to the care of overseers, who sacrificed the laborers for the sake of immediate large returns. While the slave-trade continued it was thought more economical to import labor from Africa than to produce it in the colonies; and the same methods of labor and general treatment were continued during the short time between the abolition of the slave-trade and the act of emancipation. In this country the slaves and their masters were nearly always in close proximity, for slavery was here rather a domestic institution than merely an industrial one, and so both on account of the larger humanity of the masters, and from their greater carefulness of the negroes as property, the non-productiveness and the waste of life that prevailed in the West Indies were avoided. The non-residence of the West Indian proprietors was alone sufficient to insure the failure of their industrial system, and the waste of the property used, of whatever form. The presence and supervision of the proprietors in this country secured the physical well-being of the slaves, and at the same time rendered their labor more permanently profitable than in the other case.

The opening of new fields of industry in the South, especially the production of cotton, largely affected the condition of the slaves in all parts of the country. By reason of the increased demand for labor the price of slaves was greatly increased, first in the cotton-growing regions, and then elsewhere, causing a steady movement of able-bodied negroes toward the Southwest. Thus the older slave states became the American Guinea, from which the far South drew its supplies of slaves, and slave-breeding took the place of the foreign slave-trade. That this state of things was practically favorable to the increase of the negro race cannot be questioned. But as no registries of births and deaths of negroes were kept in any of the slave states, it is impossible to verify by statistics the inverse proportions of births and deaths in the more northern and more southern slave states. With the increase of the cotton culture, and the introduction of the plantation system, as contradistinguished from the domestic, in large regions of the South, the ratio of increase rapidly declined. The evils that had blighted the system as a form of industry in the West Indies were thus incorporated in the system of American slavery, resulting in its legitimate fruits, a diminished increase of population; and a decline in the value of slave labor. But the deterioration of American slavery was relatively retarded also by the presence of a more numerous free population, so constituting a more wholesome social body, in which the economics of the community were conserved. Society in our slave states in 1860 was in an incomparably better condition than was that of the West Indies thirty years before. A small but substantial middle class, made up of artisans, professional men, and small farmers, was found in nearly every part of the South, and especially in the grain-producing as distinguished from the cotton-growing regions, of which the West Indies was wholly destitute. These gave compactness and vitality to society, and by strengthening the social body at the same time gave stability to slavery. American slavery, therefore, came to its overthrow in a much less exhausted state than did its insular congener.

In each of these communities slavery was abolished by a power foreign to itself, and in both, in direct opposition to the wishes and protests of the ruling classes. In both countries

the freedmen, on awaking to their new life, found their former masters reduced to penury, and the communities of which they had so suddenly become members possessing very little available property. Upon the islands slavery, acting like the mistletoe on the tree upon which it for a time flourishes, but whose vitality it as certainly at length destroys, had thoroughly impoverished everything about it. In this country the work of impoverishment, though steadily advancing, had not gone nearly so far as with them; but the wastings of war completed what a vicious industrial system had not yet fully accomplished. Of the twenty million pounds sterling granted by the British Parliament to the planters as compensation for their slaves, very little went out of Great Britain; it scarcely sufficed to cancel the debts with which their estates were burdened. On the other hand, if the American planters received no compensation for their slaves, emancipated by a military decree, so they paid none, or nearly none, of the debts owed by them when the war-cloud overshadowed them. In both cases, therefore, emancipation came, bringing with it or finding society disrupted, industry disorganized, public confidence destroyed, the freedmen unable to set themselves to work, and their late masters scarcely better able; the freedmen bewildered or intoxicated by the strange revolution of their affairs, and the whites embittered, disheartened, and themselves scarcely less bewildered. In the case of the West Indies their comparative littleness, and the political insignificance of the whole community affected, made the whole affair relatively of very little account. Not so with us, however. Here twelve millions of people are involved in the catastrophe, comprising more than a third part of one of the great powers of the earth. A social revolution of such magnitude, so sudden and so thorough, has scarcely occurred in the history of our race.

To thoughtful minds a problem of such vast proportions, and beset with such formidable difficulties, cannot fail to suggest doubts and misgivings. Our nation is in the midst of an experiment of the most stupendous import, involving our exaltation or our overthrow. It is quite certain that the colored element cannot be eliminated from our population, and that their removal is neither practicable nor desirable. The nation must prosper or perish with them. But, happily, the case does

not come to us as an entirely untried experiment. Like transformations have been made elsewhere, though none on near so extensive a scale, and the results are generally of a most assuring character. Even in the British West Indies, where, as has been shown, slavery had done its worst before emancipation came, the colored population have evinced a wonderful recuperative power, and promise soon to restore those beautiful islands to something better than their former prosperity. The condition and surroundings of our freedmen are vastly better than were those in Jamaica, and the processes of industrial recovery and social reorganization will no doubt be correspondingly rapid.

We are not blind to the disorders and distractions that prevail in the "unreconstructed" states, and we are not surprised at them nor discouraged by them. But though passions seem for the time to bear rule, and partisanship to triumph over both patriotism and private interests, we still have hope. Passions are but for a season; reason and self-interest are perpetual, and must prevail at length. In the darkest hour of the power of the rebellion we still had confidence in the finality. So now in this no less trying crisis we still have faith in God and humanity. And may we not see the Divine Hand leading us now, as then? Our Moses, who under God had brought us through the wilderness of rebellion and intestine war, fell just as the nation was passing its Jordan; but our Joshua still lives, and through him, we trust, our God will soon give rest to his people.

Art. VI.—OUR PAST AND PRESENT RELATIONS TO SLAVERY.

John Wesley's opinion that American slavery was "the vilest that the sun ever saw;" and Francis Asbury's prayer that "the infernal spirit of slavery" should be banished from Zion, indicate the principles and the policy of primitive Methodism. On this line the early Methodist ministry for many years literally pushed the battle to the gate. Preachers denounced it in such an unqualified manner that the people

renounced all connection with slavery, in order to obtain a standing in the Methodist Church. Annual conferences sent up memorials to the state legislatures asking for the abolition of slavery. General conferences stigmatized it as "an enormous evil," "an abomination," which they held in the deepest abhorrence, and were determined to extirpate. And the first bishops required the enforcement of the rules against slavery as a condition of continuing to supply those circuits and places where it was alleged that the rules were too obnoxious to be suffered.

This positive, uncompromising hostility to slavery made Methodism a power in the land, which was recognized in high places. It conferred with presidents and governors, and was listened to in legislative halls on behalf of the slave. And in the convention where the Constitution of the United States was formed, Methodism aided in holding back the oppressor's hand from blotting that document with the black words "slave" and "slavery." For it is matter of history that Mr. Marshall, afterward chief justice, urged with much emphasis, that if the government thus countenanced slavery it would lose the support of the Methodists and Quakers.

The momentum of Methodism in this direction was not kept up by the continued appliance of the forces which had produced it. It is true that the testimony of the Church was for a long time faithfully maintained after the administration of discipline was relaxed. But testimony was not sufficient in itself to develop moral power when the principles enunciated were not carried out in practice.

The facts are thus stated by authority:

> The experience of more than half a century will afford us many important lights and landmarks, pointing out what is the safest and most prudent policy to be pursued in our onward course as regards African slavery in these states. . . . Rules have been made, from time to time, regulating the sale, purchase, and holding of slaves, which, upon the experience of the great difficulties of administering them, and the unhappy consequences both to master and servants, have been as often changed or repealed.* The history of the Church shows this point indisputably, that the highest ground that has ever been held upon the subject was taken at the very organization of the Church; and that concessions have been made by the Church continually, from that time to this, in

* Address of the Bishops, 1840.

view of the necessities of the South; that while the antislavery principle has never been abandoned, our rules have been made less and less stringent, and our language less and less severe. *

The abandonment of the original ground occupied by the Methodist Episcopal Church prepared the way for more deplorable results. The Church for a time interposed her influence and her authority to suppress the agitation of the subject of slavery. The General Conference of 1836, by a vote of one hundred and twenty to fourteen, adopted a declaration of opposition "to modern abolitionism," and, besides, disclaimed "any right, wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slave-holding states in this union." The Pastoral Address also, of the same year, deprecated the excitement caused by agitating the subject of slavery, and said, "The only safe, scriptural, and prudent way for us, both as ministers and people, to take, is wholly to refrain from this agitating subject."

The four years ensuing witnessed the most agitating discussion that had yet occurred. A small minority of Methodists who were abolitionists held conventions, published antislavery books, tracts, and periodicals, and sought to secure conference action against slavery. A large majority of the Northern Methodists were opposed to this agitation, and wished to conciliate the Southern Methodists, and prevent their threatened division of the Church. And to this all the official papers, with the entire episcopal board, agreed. Several annual conferences at the North and West construed the advice of the General Conference, "wholly to refrain from this agitating subject," to have the force of law. Participation in abolition movements was then decided to be "contumacy and insubordination." And the discipline of the Church was for a few years administered on this basis. For this cause private members were expelled, official members were removed, license was withheld from local preachers, young men were refused recommendation to the ministry, candidates were denied admission to annual conferences, ministers were dropped from the rolls, and elders were suspended from all the functions of the Christian ministry.

While the irrepressible agitation was thus being largely

* Dr. Durbin's Speech, 1844.

increased by the efforts made to put it down, the General Conference of 1840 was held. Its action was in harmony with that of the General Conference of 1836. But it was the last of the retrograding series; for here the downward tendency of the conservative element touched bottom. The ever-growing "necessities of the South" led the conference to sanction the action of the Missouri Annual Conference, which had charged a minister with maladministration for receiving the testimony of colored persons against white persons at a Church trial. The General Conference, also, by a vote of seventy-four to forty-six, declared, "That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher among us to permit colored persons to give testimony against white persons in any state where they are denied that privilege in trials at law." But the most remarkable action was taken, in view of a memorial from Westmoreland, Virginia, which complained of the Baltimore Annual Conference for refusing to ordain local preachers who were slave-holders. A committee reported, and the General Conference adopted the following resolution:

> That, under the provisional exception of the General Rules of the Church on the subject of slavery, the simple holding of slaves, or mere ownership of slave property, in states or territories where the laws do not admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom, constitutes no legal barrier to the election or ordination of ministers to the various grades of office known in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and cannot, therefore, be considered as operating any forfeiture of right in view of such election and ordination.

The injustice of the discrimination thus made against the colored members of the Church, and these monstrous concessions in favor of slave-holders, were a great reproach, which deeply mortified, and subsequently awakened and aroused the Church to action. But it was also an exhibition of subserviency to the demands of the "infernal spirit of slavery," which for a time seemed to stupefy the people. And the authorized inaction of the Church, and the suppression of its old testimonies against slavery, made it appear almost shorn of its strength, a giant bare and bound in the presence of enemies. There was, however, even then, an immense antislavery force in process of development, which was afterward unfolded within and without the ecclesiastical lines.

This General Conference was succeeded by a season of profound peace in the Church, which was of short duration. It was the peace of despondency with one party, while to the other it was the complacency of a complete triumph. Nothing more remained to do for the conciliation of the South. And the friends of agitation of the subject of slavery saw little to gain by further effort.

Soon there was announced a secession from the Church on antislavery grounds, which was led off by Rev. O. Scott and others, and the organization of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America. These seceders assumed, that leaving the Church when they did, and for the causes assigned, and organizing another body, would give them a power to arouse the Methodist Episcopal Church to action against slavery, which they had not exerted within her pale during the previous years of agitation. Aside from this, or any other issue they made with the old Church, it is certain that they were an embodiment of primitive Methodistic antagonism to slavery. And their movements are necessarily within the scope of this review.

The Wesleyan Connection took away from the Methodist Episcopal Church less than twenty elders of the traveling ministry, and not over five thousand of its communicants. Their number increased to fifteen thousand in two years. This was mainly by conversions from the world, and by accessions from other bodies outside of the old Church. Incorporating, as they did, lay representation in their annual and general conferences, members were drawn to them from various denominations in large numbers, and the Wesleyans speedily became a body of great vigor and enterprise. Such is their view of their own history.

They vindicated zealously the claims of the Bible against the outrageous perversion which made its teachings justify American slavery under any circumstances. They preached "politics in the pulpit" twenty-five years ago, and denounced slave-holders and their apologists as fiercely as John Knox did popery. Their constitution forbade all distinctions in the rights and privileges of ministers and members on account of ancestry and color. They set forth in their Articles of Religion, (VII.) that "all men are bound so to order all their individual and

social and political acts as to secure to all men the enjoyment of every natural right." Their general rule forbade "the buying or selling of men, women, or children with an intention to enslave them, or holding them as slaves, or claiming that it is right so to do." And voting for a slave-holder was followed by expulsion from the connection. This was Methodism in earnest against slavery.

These movements outside of the Methodist Episcopal Church were antecedent to the great antislavery awakening within it. The actors therein claimed, and others less partial in their opinions agreed thereto, that these movements were causative as well as antecedent. It will be generally conceded, perhaps, that these movements were no hinderance to the conventional as well as conference action which soon became the usage of that Church on the question of slavery. And never had the antislavery discussion in the Church been so extensive and so determined as it was during the two years intervening between the organization of the Wesleyan Connection and the session of the General Conference of 1844.

When this body convened in New York it unexpectedly confronted the fact, that now, for the first time, the Church had a slave-holding bishop. And he was indorsed by nearly one half of the Church, including, as afterward appeared, the senior bishop, thirteen annual conferences, five thousand ministers, traveling and local, with nearly five hundred thousand members. His friends pleaded and protested, and threatened division if he was not let alone. But with this in full view, the conference, by a vote of one hundred and ten to sixty-eight, declared it as the sense of the body that the bishop should desist from the exercise of his office so long as he remained connected with slavery. And thence the movements were initiated which culminated in the great secession, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Besides this emphatic declaration to the friends of slavery that its encroachments must cease at once and forever, the conference went further. It sanctioned the suspension of a man from the ministry who refused to manumit his slaves. The vote stood one hundred and seventeen to fifty-six. And subsequently it rescinded the resolution of 1840 against receiving colored testimony, by a vote of one hundred and fifteen to

forty. And thus three important results were accomplished. A slave-holding bishop was rebuked; a slave-holding minister was suspended; and the reproach put on the colored people was removed. These were, in fact, waymarks indicating new points of departure in what was truly an "an onward course as regards African slavery in these states." *

The General Conference of 1848, when asked by the new Church at the South to enter into fraternal relations with it, answered with a united voice, not one dissenting: "This General Conference does not consider it proper at present to enter into fraternal relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South." And the same body, by a similar vote, rescinded the resolutions of 1840 on the Westmoreland petition, and thereby annulled all its unfortunate concessions to slavery, which the Southern Church had used with damaging effect for years.

No specific action was taken on the subject of slavery in the General Conference of 1852. But during the discussions on conference boundaries, prominent men of the North, East, and West declared most emphatically that no more slave-holders were wanted in the Church; and that those who were yet in the Church were tolerated only, and not justified. One, who has since been chosen bishop, proposed a plan which refused admission to all slave-holders thereafter, and provided for the manumission of the slaves then held by members of the Church. And so the tide of Methodist antislavery sentiment indicated its rising power and swept steadily onward.

The four years ensuing were occupied with the most thorough discussion, through the official press and at the annual conferences, of the enormity of the evil of American slavery, the responsibility of the Church, and the duty of immediate action, condemnatory of all slave-holding by its membership. Twenty-nine annual conferences out of thirty-eight memorialized the General Conference of 1856 in favor of antislavery action. And the very large majority of antislavery delegates in that body, with the memorials committed to their hands, expressed unequivocally the voice of the Church on the subject of slavery.

The minority of that body, however, had on their side the

* Bishops' Address, 1840.

restrictive rule, which required the concurrence of three fourths of the members of the annual conferences, with two thirds of all the members of the General Conference, to change the rule on slavery, and exclude slave-holders. No such concurrence had been secured. But the conference put on record a vote of one hundred and twenty-two yeas to ninety-six nays in favor of such a change.

The debate on slavery during this session of the General Conference was very ably conducted, and very elaborate. Several weeks were spent by the committee on slavery in preparing a report. Several days were occupied by members in public debate. And the antislavery disputants were some of the ablest ministers of the Church, who met their equals of the minority in a hard-fought, but triumphant contest. The law of the Church was not then changed, but the fact was demonstrated that its sentiment on the subject of slavery was completely revolutionized. Legally, slavery yet existed. Morally, it was doomed. Sentence of death was then pronounced upon it. For not only was the large vote recorded as above indicated, but a further expression was given to the will of the Church. The Book Agents and the Tract Society were instructed to publish antislavery books and tracts, thus officially branding slavery as a crime, and to be treated as such.

Four years more ensued. The antislavery action of the churches, the annual conferences, and the official press, was rapidly developing itself as a national power in favor of universal freedom. The spirit of the vast majority of the representatives of the Church was willing, but the will of a decreasing minority was yet too strong to change the letter of the law on slavery. Hopelessly defeated in debate, excluded from all places of distinction in the Church, and dwindling daily to the mere shadow of its former self, the minority of conservative men clung to the bare pole of a restrictive rule, and rallied grimly around that; so that the movement at the General Conference of 1860, for changing the law on slavery, failed by only four votes. As it was, the vote stood one hundred and thirty-eight yeas to seventy-four nays. This was a gain of thirty-eight votes by the antislavery men since the previous session of the same body. And as each vote represented a constituency of thirty ministers and over four thousand members,

the great increase of antislavery power is manifest, as, also, the greatness of the task of revolutionizing a Church of nearly one million members.

At this date the old antislavery testimony of the Church was promulgated, in all its primitive purity and power, by the adoption of a new chapter on slavery, in answer to the old question, too long neglected, "What shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of slavery?" Its language deserves to be copied in full. "*Answer*, We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery. We believe that the buying, selling, or holding of human beings, to be used as chattels, is contrary to the laws of God and nature, and inconsistent with the Golden Rule, and with that rule in our Discipline which requires all who desire to continue among us to 'do no harm,' and to 'avoid evil of every kind.' We therefore affectionately admonish all our preachers and people to keep themselves pure from this evil, and to seek its extirpation by all lawful and Christian means." And the vote on this action was one hundred and fifty-five yeas to fifty-eight nays, or nearly a three fourths vote.

Two years prior to this action a new Methodist force had been organized against slavery. The Northern annual conferences of the Methodist Protestant Church had for several years constituted an antislavery minority of that body. After long-continued, patient, and earnest labor with their Southern brethren, this minority withdrew and organized separately in 1858. They excluded all slave-holders, and removed all distinctions on account of color which had prevailed in the old Discipline.

At this period, therefore, there were three Methodist bodies at the North, moving in separate columns, on well-defined lines of action, toward the same objective point, against a common enemy, American slavery. These were, the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, and the New Methodist Protestant Church. With each the movement had been the work of years. The first two bodies named were nearly co-etaneous in their antislavery labors; for the organization of the Wesleyans, and the newly awakened antislavery life of the old body, date back now nearly twenty-five years. The Protestants moved into line soon after.

And, however separate the path of their respective movements, or however diverse the measure of their power, they were now with accumulated forces rapidly converging to one grand goal, the overthrow of slavery. And thus, providentially in a very essential matter, the unity of American Methodism was already a fixed fact. It was now one grand antislavery army of three divisions.

Two of these bodies, by withdrawing from the majorities antagonist to their views, had easily secured a constitutional prohibition of slavery in their Discipline; while the Methodist Episcopal Church, doubtless influenced by their action, and impelled as well by sympathy with the generous civilization of the age, and by the benevolence of a common religious faith, had marshaled a vast majority of her communion in active hostility to slavery. And its number was more than tenfold greater than the entire united membership of both the other bodies, and was rapidly growing in power, equal to the task of enacting a constitutional prohibition of slavery for a Church of a million members.

Just at that time occurred the slave-holders' rebellion, which dug the graves of nearly three hundred thousand loyal men, and almost buried the government beneath their bodies. But it was not successful. The government still lives. Underlying its foundations are the patriot dead; and their memory will cement its unity and perpetuate its glory for many coming ages.

Among the specific agencies which contributed to this grand consummation, a prominent sphere must be allotted to Methodism. The primitive Wesleyan hostility to slavery, just now completely awakened and organized in the threefold family, presented an unbroken front, more than a million strong, whose praying force and voting force and shooting force all responded to the war cry, Death to slavery!

To assume this for Methodism is not to deny the power of, nor to displace, any other religious body from its position on the roll of honor. It is only designed to affirm that the absence of such a united, vigorous, tireless agency from the conflict as this was would have materially changed the history of the nation and the fate of American slavery. Without discriminating between the branches of the family of

Methodists, but regarding all as one Church, the explicit language of President Lincoln evidently is even more expressive than as originally applied: "The Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to heaven, than any."

During the progress of the war the Methodist Episcopal General Conference of 1864 was held in Philadelphia. Here the long contest on the subject of slavery closed by the enactment of a law forbidding all "slave-holding, buying or selling slaves." The strength of the vote at three successive General Conferences was as follows: In 1856, yeas 122, nays 96. In 1860, yeas 138, nays 74. In 1864, yeas 207, nays 9. The concurrence of the three fourths vote in the annual conferences during the year 1865 established constitutionally, as the law of the Church, that which had been the clearly ascertained will of the majority many years before.

From this date the platform of American Methodists was a unit on the great question of human rights, as their vindication of the integrity of the institutions of freedom had been one in the alignments of the battle-field. And the most natural sequel to this record is the facts which have since transpired.

In June, 1865, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church met at Erie, and issued a circular letter. They said that the relation of that Church to slavery now was such that "a general union of all Methodists who agree in doctrine, and who are loyal to the government and opposed to slavery," was practicable and desirable in their judgment. And they added with special significance that "we consider that the great cause which led to the separation from us of the Wesleyan Methodists of this country has passed away." And all Methodists were invited to unite in the Centenary celebrations of 1866.

A convention of non-episcopal Methodists was held at Cincinnati in May, 1866, which officially recognized these suggestions, and appointed their president, with two others, a committee, who addressed the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation thereto, and received a reply, signed personally by every member of the episcopal board.

In January, 1867, an informal conference of Wesleyan ministers and laymen was held at Adrian, Mich. They issued

"A Calm Appeal" in favor of returning to the Methodist Episcopal Church, which was published in their official paper, "The American Wesleyan." Four months later, three of the same ministers issued a "Fraternal Greeting" to their ministerial associates, more than fifty of whom had signified their purpose to accept the invitation of the bishops, as above indicated, and for the reasons they suggested. And other movements are progressing of which it is not proper, and perhaps not possible, to speak fully at this time. They all evidence a tendency toward repairing completely the breach made in the ranks of American Methodism by American slavery.

The downfall of slavery has removed barriers to Christian effort on this great continent hitherto impassable. Through this opening to new fields of missionary enterprise the men and the money of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been pressed forward promptly and in large measure. Its press and pulpit are united in the labor of vindicating human rights, righteous government, political equality, and the spread of scriptural holiness over these lands. Already has its action challenged the admiration of the nation, and awakened emulation in other religious bodies, as well as secured very marked recognitions of divine favor.

With clean papers in the hands of her officers, the old ship now clears from port, homeward bound, with all sails set, on an open sea. Freighted as she is with the interests of millions, whose earthly happiness and heavenly joy are periled or secured by failure or success, all pious hearts will pray, God, bring her safely to the landing on the other shore, with a full cargo of precious jewels for his kingdom and his crown.

Art. VII.—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN CANADA.*

[ARTICLE FIRST.]

The Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, "no less the child of Providence" than the parent body in the United States, has a history replete with thrilling adventure, and with the righteous deeds of heroic men. Her history, therefore, if properly written, cannot fail to interest the devout reader in every clime.

Several of the Irish Palatines, who, under God, were the founders of Methodism in New York, were also the founders of Methodism in Canada. About the year 1769 Philip Embury and family left the city of New York, and located themselves at Ashgrove, within the bounds of the present Troy Conference. They were followed, in 1770 or 1771, by Paul and Barbara Heck, their three sons, and several others of the New York society. Here, again, as in New York, Embury established a class, and held meetings among the people; but having injured himself mowing, he died suddenly in 1773.

In 1774, in consequence of the evidently approaching revolutionary storm, Paul and Barbara Heck, with their three sons, John Lawrence, who had married the Widow Embury, David Embury, brother to Philip, and many more of the Irish Palatines from Ashgrove emigrated to Lower Canada, and stopped for a time near Montreal. Not being pleased with that section of the country, however, they removed in 1778 to Augusta, in Upper Canada. David Embury, with several of his friends, subsequently settled along the Bay of Quinté, where many of their descendants still live.

The first Methodist society in Canada was formed in Augusta, as nearly as can be ascertained, in 1778, and had among its first members Paul and Barbara Heck, their sons

* We have given in a previous Quarterly a history of that branch of Canadian Methodism which stands in connection with the Methodism of England. We now give a history of the branch styling itself "The Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada." Both branches have been recognized by our General Conference as true members of the Methodist family. We would trust that the time is not distant when old differences may be forgotten, and the two may become one.—Ed.

John, Jacob, and Samuel, John and Catharine Lawrence—Mrs. Lawrence had been Philip Embury's widow—and Samuel Embury, son of Philip, with such others of the little band of emigrants as felt it a privilege to unite with the class. Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence opened their house as a place of worship, and Samuel Embury was appointed leader. Here, indeed, was a "church in the wilderness." Paul Heck died in 1792 and Barbara Heck in 1804. They both sleep near the "Old Blue Church in the front of Augusta."

In Lower Canada Methodism had its origin in Quebec in 1780. At this period a regiment of British troops, known as the 44th, was stationed in that city. Among these soldiers was one of Mr. Wesley's local preachers named Tuffey, who was commissary of the regiment, and who, it is evident, had considerable influence among his fellow-soldiers, which he used for their benefit, preaching and explaining the word of God to all who would listen to him. There is no record, however, that Mr. Tuffey founded any permanent society among either soldiers or citizens, and soon after the termination of the Revolutionary war the 44th was disbanded, and Mr. Tuffey returned to Europe with several of the officers and men; while others having received grants of land settled in the country. After the disbanding of the 44th regiment little or nothing was known of Methodism in Quebec for many years.

On the 7th of October, 1786, Mr. George Neal, a school-teacher and local preacher, crossed the Niagara River into Canada, at Queenston.

Mr. Neal was born in Pennsylvania,* February 28, 1751, but while still young he removed to North Carolina. He also resided at different times in South Carolina and Georgia. In the latter state he was appointed captain of a company in the British service, to which cause he adhered throughout the war of the Revolution. He was soon promoted to a majorship, and was present in several engagements; but he suffered most severely at the seige of Charleston, where he very narrowly

* Several Methodist writers state that Mr. Neal was an Irishman by birth. This, however, is a mistake. The writer of these pages has been at some pains to ascertain accurately the facts respecting Mr. Neal's early history, by examining that gentleman's own private papers, which he was kindly permitted to do by Mrs. Hutchinson, Mr. Neal's youngest daughter, who had them in possession. The above statements respecting Mr. Neal are taken from his own private papers.

escaped with his life. Defeat following defeat, Mr. Neal saw that the British cause was lost, and being cut off from the royal forces, he with difficulty made his way into Maryland, where he commenced teaching school. Here he became acquainted with the Methodist people, and for the first time heard a Methodist preacher—Rev. Hope Hull—whom Dr. Stevens calls "the Summerfield of the time." Mr. Neal was awakened under the powerful discourses of this "young and eloquent" itinerant, and was soon after soundly converted. He became a local preacher, and for a time labored as a supply on the Pee Dee circuit. Finally, however, he came, at the time above stated, to Canada, and settled in the Niagara district, where he again taught school.

Mr. Neal suffered no little persecution from those in high places after he came to this province; he was arrested for preaching to his fellow-settlers, and given the alternative of desisting from this work or being banished from the country. He refused to obey man in this respect, and the day was fixed for his banishment; but in the midst of his trouble, his chief persecutor died suddenly, and he was allowed to continue in the province, and to preach without further molestation.

The second Methodist class in Canada was organized by Mr. Neal, in the township of Stamford, in 1790, Christian Warner being appointed leader, an office which he continued to fill for forty-four years. The brave old local preacher, and the earnest, pious leader, both died long years ago, and have, with many of their associates, entered into their eternal rest.

A few of Mr. Neal's pupils still linger on the shores of time, and quite a number are still living who, when they were young, listened to him as he published the glad tidings of salvation in the great congregation. In his day he was eminently useful, both as an instructor of youth and as a minister of righteousness, and though he rests, his works follow him.

In 1788 Mr. Lyons, a school-teacher and exhorter from the United States, came to Adolphustown, and following the example of his brethren of those days, sent out appointments wherever it was practicable, collecting the scattered inhabitants together upon the Sabbath for worship, either in the

little log school-houses—the only public edifices there were—or in the private dwellings of the settlers; and, where this was found to be impracticable, he, after his school-hours were over, not unfrequently went miles into the still wilder wilderness, searching for the "lost sheep of the house of Israel," exhorting sinners to become reconciled to God, and establishing believers in righteousness. Under his appeals stout-hearted sinners were awakened, frequently falling down before the Lord, and crying out in anguish of spirit, "Men and brethren, what must we do to be saved?" and very many, indeed, rejoiced in the "words of this salvation."

About the time that Mr. Lyons came to Canada, or shortly afterward, Mr. James M'Carty, an Irishman who had been living in the United States, resolved to make his home in this country, and settled on the Bay of Quinté. Mr. M'Carty had been converted under the preaching of Mr. Whitefield, and feeling that a dispensation of the Gospel had been committed to him, he co-operated with Mr. Lyons and the Methodists along the Bay, preaching as he had opportunity. It is said that he wrote out his sermons in full, and read them to his congregation with great effect.

The same intolerant spirit, however, that caused Mr. Neal to be arrested at Niagara because he preached Christ to the people, prevailed at Kingston. Certain men "clothed with a little brief authority," and actuated by State Church principles, decided that none but the "regular clergy" should be teachers of religion in Canada, and consequently the progress of Methodism should be stopped. Accordingly, Mr. M'Carty was arrested and cast into prison, and his wife and friends forbidden to see him, or administer to his wants. A humane Irishwoman, however, hearing of the sad condition of the prisoner, prevailed upon Judge Cartwright to allow her to supply him with food. At length Mr. M'Carty was tried under an edict for the banishment of "vagabond offenders," and was sentenced to banishment on one of the Thousand Islands in the St. Lawrence. The prisoner was removed from the judgment-hall of these *mighty potentates*, and given into the charge of four Frenchmen, who were ordered to execute the sentence; but as the boat which was to convey him to his destination moved smoothly out upon the placid waters,

M'Carty addressed them in their own language, and drew such a picture of his own condition, the destitution of his family, left without any one to support them, and of the tyranny of those who persecuted him for following the dictates of his own conscience, that his guards were moved to compassion, and dropping down the river till they were out of view of Kingston—where those *humane gentlemen* (?) who formed the council which had sentenced him dwelt—they landed him again upon the main land, whence he returned once more to his wife and family, and to the society of his Christian friends. But, alas! his respite from persecution was short. On the following Sabbath, while Mr. M'Carty was preaching in the house of Mr. Robert Perry, an officer and three men, all armed, entered, and again arrested him. He was taken once more to Kingston, and thrown into the *cells.* He was again tried, and this time sentenced to transportation to the United States, and so faithfully was the sentence carried out that he disappeared, never again to be seen by his family, or the congregations to whom he used to minister upon the Bay of Quinté. How he went was never known. His persecutors stated that he left the province by way of Montreal; but their testimony was not considered reliable, and of course there were many rumors concerning his disappearance. A Mr. Sherwood stated that shortly after Mr. M'Carty's trial the persecuted man went to the States and secured a home for his family, that he, Sherwood, saw M'Carty in Montreal on his way after his wife and children, and that after he had reached a place on the St. Lawrence called the "Cedars," he was found dead in the woods near the road, having been stabbed in several places. The above facts, concerning Mr. M'Carty's fate, the writer received from Mr. John M'Carty, of Coburg, son of the martyred man.

"The blood of the saints" has in all ages been "the seed of the Church." Although Mr. M'Carty thus fell a martyr to the cause of Christ, the work moved gloriously on; and that he, who had by ruthless persecution been separated from the little band of pilgrims in the wilderness, had "passed through death triumphant home" became the conviction of all who had worshiped with him. Mr. Robert Perry and others were raised up to assist Mr. Lyons in his work, and the "common people heard them gladly."

In 1790 Mr. William Losee, of the New York Conference, who had in 1789 been appointed to the Champlain circuit as junior preacher with David Kendall, not having succeeded well in his field of labor, received permission from his presiding elder, Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, to come into Canada and visit his relatives along the Bay of Quinté, doubtless with the hope of opening a new field of usefulness. Mr. Losee crossed the St. Lawrence into Lower Canada, and came up the river, preaching at Augusta and at other places until he reached the townships along the Bay. Here he halted, and spent some weeks preaching to the settlers. Lyons and M'Carty, with their associates, had been preparing the way before Mr. Losee's arrival, and when it was known that he was in their vicinity, and would deliver "a message from God to them," the people came from far and near to hear him, some with "ox sleds," bringing their wives and little ones, and others, at night, on foot, carrying torches to light them on their way, and returning in the same manner, illuminating the dark forests, and making them re-echo the jubilant songs of Zion. By the time Mr. Losee had reached Adolphustown the people felt that a new era had dawned upon the country, and they "thanked God and took courage."

Mr. Losee could only remain a short time with his friends, as it was necessary he should return to his own country before the ice should leave the rivers; but before he left petitions were given to him, signed by the people in and about the Niagara and Midland districts, which he was requested to present to the New York Conference, urging that a missionary should be sent to Canada. In consequence of these petitions, and of the favorable report given by Mr. Losee, Mr. Asbury was induced to send Mr. Losee to Kingston in 1791. At the conference of 1792 Mr. Losee returned one hundred and sixty-five members under the head of Cataraqui, instead of Kingston, as there was another circuit of the same name as the latter in the United States. Whether this estimate included the societies at Augusta and Stamford, or either of them, cannot now be determined.

The first class established by Mr. Losee, and the third organized in the province, was formed on the Kingston circuit on the 20th of February, 1791. He organized his second society on

the following Sabbath, and his third on the 2d of March, the day on which Mr. Wesley died. The work in Canada may now be said to have been fairly commenced. Mr. Losee was a plain and powerful preacher, and frequently very pointed in his remarks to the ungodly. It is related of him that on one occasion, when preaching at Hay Bay, a powerful man who had at different times disturbed religious worship entered the assembly, and began as usual to annoy all those who were near him by his irreverent scoffing. Mr. Losee for some time continued preaching without appearing to notice the disturber, but waxing warmer and more eloquent as he proceeded. At length, when the scoffer had passed all bounds, the minister suddenly paused, and fixing his dark, piercing eye upon the man, and at the same time pointing his finger directly at him, said in an exceedingly solemn manner, "O, Lord, smite him!" "Amen," heartily responded some of the worshipers. The amens had scarcely died away when again, with still greater emphasis than before, Mr. Losee pronounced the same words, "*O, Lord, smite him!*" Amen, again rang through the congregation. The offender leaped to his feet to leave the place, but before he had taken the first step the preacher once more cried out at the top of his voice, "O, LORD, SMITE HIM!" and at the same instant down the man fell, as though he had been shot. The scene which followed may be more readily imagined than described. Sinners trembled and wept, prayer and praise became general among believers; it was indeed a time of power. The man, as soon as he fell, had begun to call on God for mercy, and thus he who had come "to mock remained to pray," and was some time after added to the "number of the disciples." In this manner the word grew and multiplied in the land.

In 1792, in consequence of the favorable statements of Mr. Losee, and also in conformity to the wishes of the people, the New York Conference was induced to send other preachers to Canada. The circuits were set down in the Minutes thus: "Cataraqui, Darius Dunham; Oswegatchie, William Losee." These charges were within the bounds of the Albany district, Freeborn Garrettson, presiding elder. Cataraqui was the name of a small stream running into the Bay of Quinté, above Kingston; Oswegatchie was the name of another stream, and

was so called from an Indian village, situated where Ogdensburg now stands.

After a tedious journey of many days' traveling across the state of New York, much of it then a howling wilderness, the weary itinerants reached their destination—Earnesttown, and gave out that they would hold a quarterly meeting on Saturday, 15th, and Sunday 16th September. The presiding elder could not be with them, but as Mr. Dunham was an elder, and Losee a deacon, they were qualified to administer the sacraments of the Church.

The news of Mr. Losee's return, and of the arrival of Mr. Dunham, together with the announcement of the quarterly meeting and love-feast, the first meeting of the kind ever held in the province, on the following Sabbath, filled many of the people with delight. Messengers were sent to the neighboring townships to herald the joyful intelligence, and the people flocked to the meeting in a manner similar to the Israelites of old when they gathered to the "feast of tabernacles."

On Saturday the usual religious services and the business meeting were held, and were well attended. The quarterly prayer-meeting was established, and the Holy Spirit rested on the assembly. God was in the midst of his children, preparing them for the duties of the approaching morning.

The Sabbath dawned. It was a memorable day. At an early hour the members and other serious persons repaired to Mr. Parrot's barn to attend the love-feast, where they spoke together of God's kind dealings toward them, and for the first time many of them partook of the sacrament, and presented their children for baptism. Love-feast and sacrament over, the doors were thrown open, and crowds of people who had been collecting during the morning entered the barn, and Mr. Dunham preached with energy and effect, followed by Mr. Losee with a powerful exhortation. The hearts of the assembly were moved by these servants of God as the "leaves of the forests are moved by the gentle winds of heaven," and many went out from the first quarterly meeting in Canada not only almost, but altogether persuaded to be Christians.

Losee and Dunham now resolved to separate, and Mr. Losee bade adieu to the societies he had gathered the first year, and hastened on to Oswegatchie, his new circuit, leaving Mr. Dun-

ham to take charge of the work on the Bay of Quinté. Both were successful, as their returns to the next conference show. Losee returned from Oswegatchie ninety, Dunham from Bay of Quinté two hundred and fifty-five, the latter name having been substituted for Cataraqui. There does not seem to have been any appointment made to Canada for 1793, though it is evident that Dunham and Losee both remained at their work, as there were returns for that year. There had been an increase on the Oswegatchie, and a small decrease on the Bay of Quinté, the total being three hundred and thirty-four.

In 1794 Canada was set off as a separate district. Darius Dunham, presiding elder, James Coleman and Elijah Wolsey were circuit preachers. This arrangement, however, did not continue long. Next year the Canadian work was placed under the charge of John Merrick, who had the oversight of a very large district in the neighboring country. The Bay of Quinté circuit had enlarged so much in 1795 that S. Keeler was sent to assist Mr. Wolsey. Mr. Dunham was this year appointed to Niagara, where Mr. Neal had already formed a class about five years before any regular help reached them, excepting it might be now and then an occasional visit from some of the brethren who had traveled on the Bay of Quinté charge. Upon his arrival Mr. Dunham found a membership of sixty-five persons, but does not appear to have been very successful in his labors, as he reports a decrease of one. But Mr. Dunham could not have been considered remiss in discharge of duty by Bishop Asbury, as the conference of 1796 again set off Canada as a separate district, and Mr. Dunham was appointed presiding elder; preachers, S. Coat, H. E. Wooster, and James Coleman.

The Methodist Church of those days as well as at present occasionally suffered loss. In 1793 and in 1795 there was a slight decrease in membership, but with these exceptions the cause steadily advanced up to the commencement of the present century, at which time there was one district, comprising four circuits, with a membership of nine hundred and thirty-six, and seven preachers.

The hardships endured by these early Methodist preachers can scarcely be realized in these days of improvement. New York, or sometimes Philadelphia, was their starting-point.

From thence they were obliged to travel on foot or on horseback, in many cases for hundreds of miles, through the wilderness, with nothing but an Indian trail for a path. Broad, deep rivers were to be crossed, and a circuit made round dangerous swamps, and when night came down upon the travelers they must make the best of their circumstances and camp out. Traveling by steamboat was an idea entertained only by the visionary enthusiast, and railroads and telegraphs had not even *been dreamed* of.

The conference of 1796 was held in New York, commencing September 30. This year the Messrs. H. C. Wooster and S. Coat volunteered for the Canadian work. Before reaching their destination these missionaries endured fearful hardships, being twenty-one days on their journey from the conference to Canada, obtaining lodging as they might in the few scattered log-cabins, or where there were none, camping out. During this journey the missionaries at times really suffered for food. The quarterly meeting on the Bay of Quinté circuit was about being held when they arrived there. In a prayer-meeting on Saturday afternoon, conducted by Mr. Wooster, a most remarkable revival of religion commenced among the people. While engaged in singing and prayer the Holy Spirit descended on the members, and several of them fell, overwhelmed with that

> "Sacred awe that dares not move,
> And all the silent heaven of love,"

while others shouted halleluiahs, or sang glad anthems of praise. Awakened sinners were crying for mercy, each intent on his own salvation, and the tide of feeling seemed surging on like the rush of mighty waters, when the presiding elder, who had gone with Mr. Coat and the stewards to a neighboring house to attend to the finances of the circuit, heard the noise, and hastened to the place of worship to put a stop to the confusion. As he entered the place, however, he was struck with the deep solemnity which seemed to rest upon the assembly, and kneeling down among the worshipers he began praying silently for direction and guidance. As he knelt thus he heard Mr. Wooster whisper out, "God bless Brother Dunham, God bless Brother Dunham," when down went the elder prostrate on the floor, with those of the slain of the Lord who

were already there, but soon arose to shout and praise God as fervently as any of his brethren. From this meeting the reformation spread into every part of the province where the Methodist preachers visited the settlements, and hundreds were converted and added to the Church. The latter part of 1796, and the beginning of 1797, form a memorable era in our Church history.

In 1800 Daniel Pickett was admitted on trial, and sent to the Ottawa, or Grand River country, as it was then called, to break up new ground. The Ottawa, though a wild, remote region, had even then an enterprising though scattered population, some of whom were Methodists, or were favorable to the connection. Mr. Pickett was well received, and was moderately successful, returning to the conference next year forty-five members; but as he had had a hard year, Bishop Asbury appointed him at this conference to the Bay of Quinté, a better, but not less responsible circuit.

Two years later another young man, who was afterward distinguished as an able minister of Christ both in Canada and the United States, entered the ministerial ranks. Nathan Bangs was converted in Canada, and was admitted into the New York Conference on trial in 1802, and traveled in this province for seven years, one of which he traveled under the presiding elder. In 1812 he was appointed to the Lower Canada district, but did not go to his work in consequence of the breaking out of the war. His physical and mental energies were both sometimes severely taxed during his long and weary travels, and temptations assailed him on every side. Though feeling it his duty to preach, he trembled at the responsibility resting on him, and at times almost sank under it. On one occasion becoming disheartened he left his circuit, flying Jonah-like from the presence of the Lord, till he was stopped by the ice breaking up in the Grand River near where Brantford now stands. Reflection convinced him that he had been laboring under temptation, and that it would be wrong to leave his charge; accordingly he retraced his steps and labored with greater diligence and zeal than before, and with much more success.

Seven years of toil, and the illness induced by the miasma of the swamps of an uncleared country began to tell upon his

constitution, and fearing that he could not stand the work in Canada, he expressed a wish to be allowed to return to his native land, and was accordingly appointed to Delaware in 1808; and in a very few years rose to eminence in the connection.

In 1828, after the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada had, by consent of the American General Conference, become an independent body, Dr. Bangs was invited to become our bishop, but declined: a step he afterward regretted, as it might—doubtless would—have prevented the unhappy secession of 1833.

In 1805 two other men, who were afterward quite distinguished, and eminently useful in the Church, came to the province, namely, Henry Ryan and William Case. They were both appointed to the same circuit, Bay of Quinté. Mr. Ryan had been admitted in 1800; Mr. Case was admitted this year. In 1827 Mr. Ryan withdrew from the connection, and in 1829 organized a new body called Canadian Wesleyans; and Mr. Case, in 1833, went with the union party, who at that time became subject to the British Conference. Both these men spent the most of their days in Canada, and died in the country they loved, and for which they had labored.

From 1791 to 1812 the work in Canada had been regularly and satisfactorily supplied by ministers who, at the call of Bishop Asbury, volunteered to come to this remote wilderness, that they might instruct the people in the way of righteousness. Bishop Asbury was interested in the success of the Canadian cause, and had long hoped to visit at least a portion of the societies in this country; but did not succeed in doing so till the 3d of July, 1811, when he crossed the St. Lawrence, and passing up from Cornwall to Kingston, he preached at various places, beholding with delight the prosperous condition of the societies, and the willingness of the people generally to hear the word. Of the inhabitants he said, "My soul is much united to them." Respecting the townships through which he passed he makes this record: "Our ride has brought us through one of the finest countries I have ever seen; the timber is of a noble size; the cattle are well-shaped and well-looking; the crops are abundant, on a most fruitful soil. Surely this is a land that God the Lord hath blessed."

The Upper Canada district was in 1810 placed under the

direction of the Genesee Conference, Lower Canada remaining with the New York Conference till 1812, when the whole Canadian work was placed within the bounds of the Genesee Conference, such an arrangement being more convenient for all the parties concerned.

The New York Conference of 1812 met at Albany, Dr. Bangs says, on the 5th of June, though it was advertised in the Minutes for the 4th, and the Genesee Conference met at Niagara July 23. Statistics for this year were as follows, namely: two districts, eleven circuits, eighteen preachers, members two thousand eight hundred and forty-five.

The New York and Genesee Conferences assembled in 1812 under a pressure of great anxiety respecting their Canadian brethren. President Madison, in his message to Congress, June 1, 1812, four days before the meeting of the New York Conference, had recommended immediate war with Great Britain. Congress acquiesced, and on the 18th war was formally declared. This news reached Quebec on the 24th, and Little York, Upper Canada, on the 26th. In consequence of this proclamation the Canadian government issued an order that "all American citizens should leave the country by the 3d day of July, 1812."

This decree was to go into effect just twenty days before the meeting of the Genesee Conference, and before most of the preachers appointed by the New York Conference could reach Lower Canada. It is necessary to state this in order to understand what follows.

Appointments to Lower Canada were as follows, namely: Lower Canada district, Nathan Bangs, presiding elder; Montreal, Nathan Bangs; Quebec, Thomas Burch; Ottawa, Robert Hibbard; St. Francis River, Samuel Luckey, J. F. Chamberlain. Mr. Hibbard was drowned the same year while attempting to cross the St. Lawrence, and Mr. Burch went to supply the place of Mr. Bangs at Montreal, where he was permitted to remain, as he was a British subject. It was not considered safe for the other brethren to come to the province in consequence of the proclamation.

At the Genesee Conference the following appointments were made for Upper Canada: Upper Canada district, Henry Ryan, presiding elder; Augusta, J. Rhodes, E. Cooper, S.

Hopkins; Bay of Quinté, Isaac B. Smith, J. Reynolds; Smith's Creek, Thomas Whitehead; Young-street, Joseph Gatchell; Niagara, Andrew Prindle, Ninian Holmes; Ancaster and Long Point, Enoch Burdock, Peter Covenhoven; Detroit, George W. Densmore. As Detroit could be supplied from the American side, Mr. Densmore chose to stay in Canada. The preachers who remained in the province during the war were, H. Ryan, T. Whitehead, John Reynolds, A. Prindle, E. Burdock, G. W. Densmore, and David Culp, who had been called out by the presiding elder. Mr. Neal assisted as a local preacher in the Niagara country, and Daniel Pickett, although he had located, helped to fill the appointments on the Bay of Quinté circuit, and Mr. Dunham, too, assisted as he was able; and in addition to these, the regular ministers, there were several local preachers scattered here and there through the societies who rendered very valuable services. Thus it will be seen that the people were not as destitute of the Gospel as was represented at the time when the Wesleyan missionaries came out, and unsettled, and in many cases divided, the societies, giving as their reason the religious destitution of the provinces during the war, though the obvious cause was political prejudice against American Methodists. In effect, they really denied the right of American ministers to preach to British subjects. So far does political rancor carry even wise and good men. For these interferences there was no other cause than political prejudices. The ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church were as loyal as any other class of his majesty's subjects. But still further to remove every or any doubt respecting the course to be pursued by American ministers under foreign governments, the General Conference of 1820 adopted the following disciplinary rule:

> As far as it respects civil affairs, we believe it is the duty of all Christians, and especially all Christian ministers, to be subject to the supreme authority of the country where they may reside, and to use all laudable means to enjoin obedience to the powers that be; and therefore it is expected that all our preachers and people who may be under the British or any other government will behave themselves as peaceable and orderly subjects.—*American Discipline*, page 26.

Where the preachers were unable to come to their circuits, or were obliged to leave those they were on, because of the

war, Mr. Ryan supplied the vacancies as best he could with the help at his disposal, and thus did much to preserve the Church from the sad effects of the war.

The Canadian Methodists being now cut off from all communication with their brethren in the United States, Mr. Ryan called a conference of those preachers who remained in the country, which met at the house of Mr. Benjamin Corwin, near Lundy's Lane, Mr. Ryan occupying the chair, and having associated with him Thomas Whitehead, A. Prindle, John Reynolds, E. Burdock, E. Petty, and J. Rhodes. D. Culp, who was traveling under the presiding elder, was also present. After due consultation Mr. Ryan appointed the preachers to their respective fields of labor, and they went apparently as cheerfully as though they had been appointed by Bishop Asbury. It is very much to be regretted that the journals were not fully preserved.

In the summer of 1814 Mr. Ryan again called his little band to meet him in conference "at the Sixth Town Meeting-House," and again appointed them to their various charges; and in this manner kept the work supplied until peace was declared, after the treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814.

There were two most unjustifiable charges urged against the American ministers by high-church and state politicians which never were substantiated, and which the conduct of the Canadian Methodists proved to be untrue during the struggle of 1812. The first of these was, that the American preachers taught their people disloyalty to the British government, and consequently they were dangerous to the public peace. The second, that the American preachers had no regard for their flocks, or they would never have left them in the hour of danger and fled to the United States. The maligners altogether ignoring the fact that the proclamation compelled those who were not British subjects to go, whether they wished to or not.

It was through these and kindred misrepresentations that some were led to encourage the coming of the British missionaries, which resulted in the division of several of the societies; and others, after the war, were by the same means induced to agitate for a separation of the Canadian Methodists from the parent body.

The war being ended, it was hoped that the Genesee Con-

ference would now be able to fill all the stations with suitable ministers, and that the societies would soon enjoy their wonted peace and prosperity. In this, however, the Church was mournfully disappointed. The Wesleyans of England had sent out ministers during the war, and these men now set up claims of superior loyalty, and going into the old congregations and long-established classes, created strife and contention in many of the societies where hitherto there had been only peace and amity. In all this they pleaded as excuse for their conduct that it was not proper for the Methodists in Canada to be under any foreign ecclesiastical superintendence, though at the same time the British Conference, quite justifiably, was sending *its missionaries into foreign countries* wherever there was any opening whatever. This fact, however, was studiously kept out of sight both by these missionaries and by the home and provincial governments, by which they were urged on in their attempts to subvert the original Methodist societies.

The reason of the conduct of the governments, both home and provincial, was obvious. The Methodist Episcopal Church was as a body opposed to any established Church, or, indeed, any union of Church and State in the colonies, while the Wesleyans of England in those days were not, considering themselves to be, as Mr. Alder afterward said, "a branch of the Church of England, both at home and abroad."

Notwithstanding all these difficulties with which the Church had to contend, the preachers and most of the members remained warmly attached to the original connection, and in Upper Canada the societies and congregations steadily increased. Suitable places of worship were erected in many places, and the power of God attended the preaching of the word.

The year 1817 was the most remarkable for religious revivals that had yet taken place in the country. The Genesee Conference held its session this year in Elizabethtown, Upper Canada, commencing June 21, 1817, Bishop George presiding. An annual conference in Canada was a new and strange thing. The people anxiously awaited the day on which it was to commence, anticipating with delight and pleasure a visit from the bishop and the ministers, at the same time praying devoutly for and *expecting* a great revival. Not only did they pray for the descent of the Holy Spirit on themselves and the confer-

ence, but that particular individuals might be awakened and converted, and it resulted according to their faith.

Among others who were named was a young man from Delaware county, in the state of New York, who resided not far from the place the conference was to meet. The young man was moral and upright in his deportment, but being a strong Calvinist, and having listened to the misrepresentations of the enemies of Methodists, he not only considered their manner of worship very objectionable, but greatly disliked them as a people. Before he left the paternal home he had been warned to shun the *Methodists*, as it was thought there was a demoniacal influence about their preaching. For a long time he adhered to this advice, and refused to hear a Methodist minister; but shortly before the conference he was persuaded to attend their meetings a few times. Not seeing anything objectionable in these meetings, he concluded that the Methodists in Canada were unlike the Methodists in the States, and that he might, therefore, with perfect safety attend their meetings. He frequented the meetings held in connection with the conference, and before it adjourned was converted, became himself a Methodist preacher, and was admitted into the Genesee Conference at the session held in 1820 at Lundy's Lane, having been employed by the presiding elder the previous year. The young man has grown old in years and in labors, but the scenes of the conference of 1817 continue green in his memory. In the seventy-second year of his age and forty-eighth of his ministry, Rev. PHILANDER SMITH, D.D., *senior bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada*, still lives a life of usefulness, the fruit of earnest, importunate, faithful prayer. Bishop Smith is the oldest Methodist minister in Canada *now effective*.

The programme of the Sabbath services of that conference may not be uninteresting. The religious services commenced at eight o'clock in the morning, and lasted with but little intermission till eight at night. There were five sermons preached and several exhortations delivered. Bishop George delivered a most powerful discourse, and it is thought that over one hundred souls were awakened, and led to seek salvation at this conference or immediately after its close. The revival spread from the conference to most of the western circuits, and during

its continuance it is estimated by Dr. Bangs that over one thousand souls were awakened and brought to Christ.

In 1820 there were in connection with the Methodist Church in this country two districts, seventeen circuits, twenty-six preachers, and five thousand five hundred and fifty-seven members.

This year the General Conference met at Baltimore, and Canadian affairs were introduced at an early period. Petitions had been sent from Canada asking the continuance of the American preachers, praying for an annual conference, and complaining of the unseemly conduct of the British missionaries. Bishops George and Roberts brought the question before the conference verbally. The whole subject was carefully considered, and the Rev. John Emory delegated to the British Conference to try, if possible, to come to a proper understanding with the English body. A communication was sent from the same conference to the members in Canada, assuring them that the preachers they solicited should be continued. It was proposed by the General Conference to the British Conference, through Mr. Emory, that the British missionaries should remain in Lower Canada, while the American ministers continued to occupy Upper Canada, as it was thought this course would give general satisfaction.

To this proposition the British Conference at the time honorably and with apparent cheerfulness consented. The American bishops and preachers faithfully carried out their part of the agreement, but unhappily the English missionaries did not, as, in violation of their own solemn compact, they continued to occupy Kingston, one of the most important towns in the province.

In reference to this the General Conference of 1824 passed the following resolution:

> That a respectful representation be made to the British Conference of those points in the late agreement between the two connections which have not, on the part of their missionaries, been fulfilled.

What was accomplished, however, put a stop to contention, and for a time, at least, the Church had a comparative degree of prosperity.

This state of quietude did not long continue; other clouds began to gather over the ecclesiastical horizon. The Genesee Conference of 1823 did not elect Rev. H. Ryan to the General Conference of 1824, at which he took great offense. Mr. Ryan had held the office of presiding elder ever since 1810, and had attended two General Conferences, and these facts, connected with his age and the arduous labors he had undergone, entitled him, he thought, to the office of delegate. Mr. Ryan was a good speaker, and had been indeed in labors very abundant, consequently he was very popular among the membership, and in this his great strength lay; but in some instances he was arbitrary with his preachers, and he was headstrong and obstinate. Although not elected to the General Conference he determined to attend it, and a convention having been called by parties who encouraged him in *his* scheme of separation, Mr. Ryan and a Mr. Breckenridge, an influential local preacher on the Elizabethtown circuit, were appointed delegates extraordinary to the Baltimore Conference. These gentlemen took with them numerously-signed petitions, independent of the petitions taken by the regular delegates, praying for an *immediate* separation from the American body. This irregular delegation could not, of course, be acknowledged by the conference, which Mr. Ryan ought to have realized before he left Canada. Its rejection, however, greatly displeased Mr. Ryan, and created much sympathy with him where the matter was not understood, and where his palpable inconsistency was not perceived in strenuously opposing lay delegation in Canada, and at the same time bringing a layman from a lay convention, and asking for him as well as himself a seat in the conference. These brethren were treated with the utmost courtesy, and allowed to appear before the Committee on Canadian Affairs, which quite satisfied Mr. Breckenridge, but not Mr. Ryan.

The Rev. William Case, the other Canadian presiding elder, had also been "left at home" at this time; but he, considering that his brethren had a perfect right to make their own selection, in contrast with Mr. Ryan, readily acquiesced in their decision. Mr. Ryan having returned to Canada in a state of vexation with his American brethren, resolved to be free from their control. He accordingly fomented the agitation which finally resulted in the separation of the Church in

this country from the parent body; and subsequently in his own withdrawal from the connection, and organizing a new sect. To such lengths does self-will lead men. Artfully covering his ambition by a cloak of loyalty, and urging the same arguments as those used by the English missionaries, that is, that the societies in Canada should not be under any foreign superintendence, he spread dissatisfaction throughout his large district. The upper district, presided over by Mr. Case, was measurably free from agitation. But our limits oblige us to postpone the conclusion of our history to another article.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

THE PROTESTANT WORLD.

STATISTICS OF PROTESTANTISM—PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC COUNTRIES—COMPARATIVE GROWTH OF PROTESTANTISM AND ROMAN CATHOLICISM.—A glance at the current statements concerning the present number of Protestants reveals the widest discrepancy. Thus the new volume of the *Christian Year-Book*, published in England, contains the following statements: "Taking the population (of the world) to be 1288 millions, they have been divided according to religious denominations, thus: Protestants, 76,000,000; Romish Church, 170,000,000; Greek Orthodox Church, 89,000,000; Jews, 5,000,000; Mohammedans, 160,000,000; Buddhists, 340,000,000; other Asiatic Religions, 260,000,000; Heathen, or Pagans, 200,000,000. Another classification is: Catholics, 185,000,000; Protestants, 106,000,000," etc. The *Year-Book* next gives a list of religious denominations from Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, and summarizes it as follows: "Protestants of various orders, 68,630,000; other religionists, including Universalists, Mormons, Tunkers, Swedenborgians, and Shakers, 693,000." Here are three different statements, estimating the number of Protestants severally at 68,000,000, 76,000,000, and 106,000,000. It is clear that statements so widely divergent are entirely worthless.

Still the subject is one in which every Protestant feels an interest. The comparison of Protestant and Roman Catholic countries, of Protestant and Roman Catholic civilization, of the relative growth of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, presupposes some knowledge of the relative strength of these two large divisions of the Christian world. In the following lines we shall endeavor to show what is, according to our present statistical knowledge of the religious denominations of the world, the most probable estimate of the present numerical strength of Protestantism.

To arrive at a proper understanding of statistical statements of this kind, it is, however, necessary to premise two explanations, one relative to the use of the name Protestant, and another relative to the idea of denominational statistics of population.

The name Protestant, which originated in 1529, at the Diet of Spires, and properly referred only to the protest of the German princes who favored the new Reformation against some resolutions passed by the majority of the Diet, has gradually come to be the ordinary designation of all those Christians who are not either Roman Catholics or members of the Eastern Churches. There is a need for some common name of this class of Christians; because—whether right or wrong we do not decide—there are in the opinions of millions strong bonds of union, which characterize it as one division of the Christian Church, in opposition to the Roman

Catholics and the Eastern Churches. Other names have been proposed instead of Protestant, such as "Evangelical Catholic;" but new names of this class, however appropriate, rarely succeed in supplanting those already in common use, and as regards "Evangelical Catholic," in particular, it appears to be less proper for a name which is intended to embrace all Rationalists. It is an important objection to the use of the name Protestant, that an influential party in one of the large Christian denominations, the Anglican Church, refuse to be classified with Protestants, and would prefer a classification with the Episcopal Eastern Churches; but as long as no other more appropriate name has been agreed upon, the statistician has a right to adhere to names in common use, after having duly noticed that many Anglican, some Baptists, and perhaps some portions of other denominations, protest against being counted in. In the case of the Anglicans this may be done all the sooner, as one of the main branches of the Anglican Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, retains the word Protestant in the official title of the Church.

As regards, secondly, the religious statistics of the population of the several countries, it is essential well to distinguish between statistics of members of a religious denomination and religious statistics of population. Full statistical accuracy can only be obtained as regards membership, and it is gratifying to know that the religious denominations both in America and in Europe begin to pay a greater attention to this subject. Religious statistics of the population can obviously only consist of estimates. It means the population which lives and grows up under the formative influence of a particular religious doctrine. Formerly almost every government of Europe required all its subjects to be connected with some particular religious denomination, and the official census contained ecclesiastical as well as political statistics; but as religion is being more generally recognized as a free act of every citizen which does not concern the state government, the holding of ecclesiastical censuses has already been discontinued in a number of countries. It is, however, clear from the results of the official ecclesiastical censuses, taken by state governments in countries where the profession of any form of religious belief or unbelief is not amenable to secular laws, that the number of persons who report themselves as "Deists," "of no religion," or in any way as non-Christians, is exceedingly small, and it is, therefore, proper to class the immense majority of the population in the Christian countries of Europe and America, which is not reported as "Roman Catholic," or as "Jews," under the head of "Protestant." The following list contains the total population of every large country, revised according to the latest statistical manuals, (such as the *Gotha Almanac* for 1868, etc.,) and the estimates of the Protestant population:

I. America.

1. Under American Governments.	Total Population.	Protestants.
United States of America	31,429,891	25,000,000
(With the late Russian America)	70,000	.....
Mexico	8,218,080	5,000
Central America	2,500,000	.....
United States of Colombia	2,794,473	4,000
Venezuela	1,565,000	.....
Ecuador	1,040,371	.....
Peru	2,500,000	1,000
Bolivia	1,987,352	.....
Chili	2,084,945	10,000
Brazil	11,780,000	100,000
Argentine Republic	1,465,000	10,000
Paraguay	1,337,431	.....
Uruguay	240,965	3,000
Hayti and St. Domingo	900,000	10,000
2. Under European Governments.		
Dominion of Canada (including Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland) (1861)	3,295,706	1,750,000
Other British Possessions	1,140,000	600,000
French Possessions (1862)	306,912	.....
Spanish "	1,032,062	.....
Dutch "	86,703	35,000
Swedish "	18,000	55,000
Danish "	48,111	
Total	75,841,002	27,583,000

II. Europe.

	Total Population.	Protestants.
Portugal	4,349,966	7,000
Spain	16,302,625	16,000
France	38,067,094	1,600,000
No. German Confederation	29,248,533	20,682,000
South German States (including Lichtenstein)	8,524,460	3,351,000
Austria	32,573,002	3,237,000
Italy	24,550,845	60,000
Papal States	690,000	1,000
San Marino	7,600	.....
Switzerland	2,510,494	1,482,000
Holland	3,552,665	2,300,000
Luxemburg	203,851	.....
Belgium	4,984,451	25,000
Great Britain	29,591,009	23,000,000
Denmark	1,684,004	1,675,000
Sweden and Norway	5,862,155	5,800,000
Russia (including Poland and Finland)	68,224,892	4,122,000
Turkey	15,725,387	30,000
Greece	1,348,412	3,000
Total	288,001,163	67,285,000

III. Other Parts of the World.

	Total Population.	Protestants
Asia	798,635,000	723,000
Africa	188,000,000	739,000
Australasia	3,854,000	1,050,000

Thus, in a total population of about 1,355,000,000, the Protestant population may be set down at about 97,200,000. The Protestant population as yet does not constitute a majority in any of the large divisions of the world; but it will soon in Australasia, where paganism is fast disappearing, and where the Protestants constitute a majority in each of the incipient states. In America Protestantism prevails in the most powerful, most growing, and populous country, and if the rate of increase will be in future what it has been in the past, is sure to outgrow Roman Catholicism. Even in Europe, where the numerical preponderance of the Roman Catholic Church is most striking, there are hardly any two Roman Catholic nations to match the combined influence of Great Britain and the North German Confederation, the two leading Protestant states.

GREAT BRITAIN.

A New Project of Ecclesiastical Union—the Anglicans and the Wesleyans.—We have reported from time to time in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* on the progress of the various movements for an ecclesiastical union of denominations heretofore separated. The most important of these movements are the movements, 1, for the union of the several Methodist bodies; 2, for a union of the several Presbyterian bodies; 3, for a union of the Established Church of England and Ireland with the Anglican Communions of Scotland, of the British Colonies, and of the United States of North America; 4, of the Anglican Church, in general, with the Oriental Churches, and chiefly with the Greek Churches. To these projects, which have for years been the subject of animated discussion, another has recently been added, namely, of a union between the Anglican Church and the Wesleyans. The idea is a novel one, and appears to have been started by an Anglican paper of High-Church tendencies, the *Guardian*, which publishes a number of letters from friends of the movement. Among these letters, one from the Rev. Peter G. Medd, M.A., who is a fellow and tutor of University College, Oxford, seems to have attracted special attention. Mr. Medd thinks that in the face of the imminent struggle between Christianity on one hand and the aggressive powers of lawlessness and unbelief on the other, a reunion of all who hold the Nicene Creed is greatly desirable. As regards, in particular, a union between the Anglican Church and the Wesleyans, he makes some important concessions. The internal moral discipline of the Wesleyan Connection, he says, is superior to that of the Church of England, "if, indeed, the Church can be said to have any at all." In his opinion, the failure of the Church of England to welcome, adopt, and direct the Wesleyan movement, which was "essentially good and religious," was "the greatest evil that has befallen her for the last two centuries." He even makes the sweeping assertion that but for Wesleyanism the masses of the large town populations would not have been almost, but altogether practically heathen. Mr. Medd lays down his plan of a union as follows:

I am not the one to recommend the smallest departure from the essential principles of ecclesiastical order. Episcopal supervision must be secured, and the administration of the sacraments (except, of course, baptism in case of necessity) must be rigidly confined to persons in holy orders. This done, I would at once admit the whole of the Wesleyan system into connection with our own system almost as it stands. Such of their ministers as desired and were found fit (I believe that would be the majority) might, after due inquiry and examination, be ordained. They might then (with or without their system of itineranecy) continue to minister to the same congregations as before, in the same buildings (duly consecrated and licensed as chapels-of-ease to the parish church in whose parish they were locally situate) and with the same services as before, excepting only in the administration of the sacraments, when the Church's forms should be alone authorized. Their smaller meeting-houses, usually served by local preachers, might, in most cases, continue much as at present, of course under episcopal license and control, as useful supplements and feeders to the parish church.

While earnestly deprecating, as full of danger to the peace of our own body, in the present uneasy state of affairs, *any alteration whatsoever* of our existing services and Prayer book, I must say that,

after years of consideration, I can see no valid objection to, no real difficulty in, allowing to exist, side by side with them, a set of subsidiary services of a more elastic and popular and less formal kind, conducted by licensed lay readers or permanent deacons, (men of middle class, earning an honest livelihood by trade,) of whose piety and moral fitness the bishop should satisfy himself.

The interest taken by the Anglican Church in the question was shown by the fact that it formed a prominent subject of discussion at the meeting of the Convocation of York, which began on the 6th of February. One of the friends of the movement, Archdeacon Hamilton, made the following motion:

That whereas there now exists a very general desire for Christian unity, and the causes which led to the formation of the Wesleyan body as a distinct community are sensibly diminished, it is the opinion of this house that an attempt should be made to effect brotherly reconciliation between the Wesleyan body and the Church of England; and, therefore, with a view of promoting this most desirable object, a committee of this house be appointed to enter into communication with the president of the Wesleyan Conference, and to invite him to procure the nomination of an equal number of that body, to meet such committee for the purpose of considering the possibility of a thorough reunion between the Wesleyan community and the Church of England.

The motion was warmly supported by a number of members, and great praise bestowed upon the Wesleyans as a body of earnest Christians; still the majority were adverse to this motion, some urging against it as a reason only the probability that the Wesleyans would not entertain any such proposition for union; while others, among whom were the Bishops of Carlisle and Ripon, regarded Wesleyanism as "the largest and most fatal schism" which the Church has known for the last two centuries. Archdeacon Hamilton, finding that the majority of the Convocation was against the proposition, was prevailed upon to withdraw his motion, when the following amendment, offered by the Bishop of Ripon, was adopted:

That whereas the union of faithful Christians is earnestly to be desired, and many of the causes which originally led to the separation of the Wesleyans from the Church of England are sensibly diminished, this house would cordially welcome any practical attempt to effect a brotherly reconciliation between the Wesleyan body and the Church of England.

Thus the project failed. It is noteworthy that, while in the case of all the other ecclesiastical movements the party proposing the union met the second party either as a peer, or even, as in the case of the union between the Anglicans and the Greeks, as superiors, the Anglicans in the above case treated the Wesleyans as their inferiors. They did not properly propose a union, but, to use their own expression, a "reabsorption." Such a proposition could, of course, not be entertained for a moment. The London *Watchman*, in showing the absurdity of the proposition, refers to an address made some twenty-five years ago by the conference to the Methodist societies regarding the Established Church.

The conference then officially and solemnly avowed that the title of "*the Church*" to be regarded as one of the main bulwarks of the Protestant faith had been grievously shaken; opinions being held by a large number of the clergy that the Scripture was insufficient as the sole and universal rule of faith and practice; that episcopal ordination had exclusive validity; that the sacraments possessed a necessarily saving efficacy; a revival of which sentiments was, in its consequences, directly leading to Popery. It was likewise stated that the simplicity of worship was depreciated in comparison with the gorgeous ritual of Rome, and that, amid all the zeal for externals, the vital and essential doctrine of justification by faith was awfully obscured or denied.

The *Watchman* then briefly refers to tenets held at present by the Romanizing and the Rationalistic parties in the Anglican Church as constituting much weightier arguments against any proposition of union.

The chief organ of the evangelical party in the Anglican Church, the *Record*, also declares that it has no faith in the practicability of a reunion of the Wesleyans with the Church of England. Thus the affair is regarded on all sides as being at an end.

THE COLENSO CASE—THE ACTION OF THE PAN-ANGLICAN SYNOD—EFFORTS FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF ANOTHER BISHOP OF NATAL—STRONG OPPOSITION OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON—AN IMPOR-

TANT JUDICIAL DECISION IN FAVOR OF COLENSO.—The Pan-Anglican Synod, of which we gave a full account in the last number of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, passed two resolutions on the Colenso case, *one*, declaring the whole Anglican communion to be deeply injured by the present condition of the Church in Natal, and asking for the appointment of a committee to report on the best mode by which the Church might be delivered from the continuance of this great scandal, and the true faith maintained; and *another*, expressing acquiescence in a resolution, passed in June, 1866, by the Convocation of Canterbury, and giving some advice to the diocese in case the consecration of a new bishop should be decided upon. These resolutions were adopted almost unanimously, there being but three hands raised against it. The synod thus expressed its condemnation of the views held by Colenso, and its desire for his removal. At an adjourned meeting of the Pan-Anglican Synod, which met on December 10, and at which forty-two bishops were present, the Committee of the Synod on the State of the Church in the diocese of Natal reported that the whole Anglican Communion was deeply grieved at the present condition of the Church, and recommended the general meeting to appoint a committee of prelates to report on the best mode by which the Church might be delivered from a continuance of scandal and the faith maintained. This was accordingly done.

In January the Bishop of Capetown, still sojourning in England, officially announced: "One has at length been elected to the office of Bishop of the Church in Natal. The appointment has been made by the Metropolitan and the Bishop of Grahamstown, in concurrence with the Archbishop of Canterbury." The person chosen was the Rev. W. R. Macrorie, M.A., Incumbent of St. James's, Accrington. The 25th of January was appointed for the consecration of the new bishop. But before that day the Bishop of London, the most determined champion of the State-Church system among the English bishops, and as such opposed to any Church measures for the removal of Colenso, published a letter, which he had addressed to the Bishop of Capetown, endeavoring urgently to dissuade him from doing what would involve a violation of the law. If the consecration be performed in England, the English Consecration Service can alone be lawfully used under the Act of Uniformity. That service prescribes the production of the Royal Mandate, and the Bishop of London says:

Moreover, the bishop elect is called upon to declare in the face of the congregation that he is persuaded he is truly called to his ministration in the office of a bishop, not only according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, but also "according to the order of this realm." To many it seems inconceivable that any man will be found to make this solemn declaration, in the midst of all these doubts, before the legality of his consecration has been publicly established by some competent authority. It is in very mild but decided terms that the Bishop of London reminds Dr. Gray that he is "taking a leap in the dark."

He adds:

Meanwhile your brother bishops in England may well be thrown into great perplexity. We know not in which of our dioceses an act which, to say the least, is of most doubtful legality, is to take place. We may read in the newspapers any morning that the thing has been already done, and we may be left in the disagreeable position of being called upon by others, as well as moved by our sense of public duty, to visit some of our clergy for taking part in proceedings contrary to the law of the Church and realm; when, had we been properly informed beforehand, and the matter formally investigated, we might have prevented them from committing themselves.

This letter was followed by another to the same effect, from the Archbishop of York. These letters had considerable effect. The original idea of having Mr. Macrorie consecrated in England was abandoned, and an attempt made to have him consecrated at Perth, in Scotland. To prevent this the Bishop of London addressed a letter to the Primus of the Scottish Church. The following is the most important portion of this letter:

Feeling a deep interest in the Scottish Episcopal Church, and knowing well the ecclesiastical condition of Scotland, I cannot but be very anxious that no steps should be taken likely to create divisions in that Church, or to represent it as in any way separating itself from the Established Church of England, or putting itself in opposition to English law. You say, in your letter of January 25, that his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury informs you that "he sees no objection to the consecration taking place in Scotland in accordance with the

request of the South African bishops." His Grace, in so expressing himself, no doubt naturally looks not so much to the interest of the Scottish Episcopal Church, with which he must necessarily be but imperfectly acquainted, as to his individual view of Bishop Colenso's deposition. Might I suggest also that his Grace has made no public declaration that his opinion differs materially in this matter from that of the Archbishop of York and myself, and that such a private expression of opinion as you allude to is something very different from a formal and public request that you would facilitate the proposed consecration? If I might venture to suggest to the bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church, I would say that they ought not to presume his Grace's concurrence and sanction without some formal approval and request. Without this it seems to me unfair to his Grace to take so serious a step, and in any way to make it rest on his Grace's single private authority, unsupported by any public document expressing his official decision, or the decision of any meeting of his suffragans in convocation or elsewhere.

When the consecration was about to take place, a telegram from the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, during the whole progress of this Colenso controversy, has shown the greatest vacillation, prevented any further step being taken in the matter. Soon after the Bishop of Capetown left England for his diocese, without having achieved his purpose, the consecration of a new bishop.

In the mean time an important judicial decision had been rendered in the colony of Natal in favor of Colenso. The Supreme Court of the colony decided that Natal was a crown colony when the plaintiff's patent was issued; that Dr. Colenso, therefore, is trustee of all the buildings, and has ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The judgment further ejects Dean Green from the deanery, and prohibits him from officiating in any of Dr. Colenso's churches. At a meeting held by the opponents of Dr. Colenso, it was resolved not to appeal against this judgment, but to erect or hire temporary churches, and that Dean Green should at once proceed to England.

THE EASTERN CHURCHES.

STATISTICS OF THE GREEK AND THE OTHER EASTERN CHURCHES—THE EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH INTERCOMMUNION WITH THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.—The statistics of the Greek and other Eastern Communions at the close of the year 1867 were (so far as they can be ascertained) as follows:

1. *The Greek Church.*—Russia, (in Europe, 51,000,000; in Siberia, 2,600,000; in the provinces of the Caucasus no official account of the ecclesiastical statistics has yet been made; the total population of this part of the empire is 4,257,000, the population connected with the Greek Church may be estimated at about 1,500,000; hence, total population of Russia connected with the Greek Church is about) 55,000,000; Turkey, (inclusive of the dependencies in Europe and Egypt,) about 11,500,000; Austria, 2,921,000; Greece, (inclusive of Ionian Islands,) 1,220,000; United States of America, (chiefly in the territory purchased in 1867 from Russia,) 50,000; Prussia, 1,500; China, 200: total, 69,692,700.

Of the figures above given, those referring to Russia, Austria, and Prussia are from an official census; those concerning China are furnished by the Russian missionaries in Pekin; those on Turkey and Greece are estimates almost generally adopted. It is, therefore, evident that the total given has a high claim to approximative correctness.

2. *The Armenian Church.*—According to one of the best authorities on the subject of the Eastern Churches, Dr. Petermann, (in his article in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie,*) the total number of Armenians scattered in the world is about 2,500,000. Of these about 100,000 are connected with Rome, and are called United Armenians; 15,000 are Evangelical Armenians, and all others belong to the National (or "Gregorian") Armenian Church. The number of the latter may, therefore, be set down at about 2,400,000. The great majority of them (about 2,000,000) live in Turkey, about 170,000 in Russia, and 30,000 in Persia.

3. *The Nestorians,* including the *Christians of St. Thomas* in India, number, according to the most trustworthy accounts, about 165,000 souls, exclusive of those who have connected themselves with Rome, or have become Protestants.

4. *The Jacobites* in Turkey and India are estimated at about 220,000, but the information concerning them is less trustworthy and definite than that about the preceding Churches.

5. *The Copts and Abyssinians.*—The Copts may be roughly estimated at about 200,000, the Abyssinians at 3,000,000.

Together, therefore, the population connected with these Eastern Communions embraces a population of about 76,500,000.

All these bodies lay claim to having bishops of apostolical succession, and consequently all of them are embraced in the union scheme patronized by the High-Church Anglicans. Both the Low-Church and the Broad-Church parties dislike the idea of a union with the Greeks, Copts, Abyssinians, and the other Eastern Communions; but the High-Churchmen, of all shades of opinion, are a unit on this subject, and the action favorable to the union movement which has been taken by both the English Convocations and the General Convention of the United States shows the great ascendency of High-Church tendencies in the Anglican Communion. An important fact in the history of this movement is the official transmission of a Greek translation of the pastoral letter issued by the Pan-Anglican Synod to all the patriarchs and bishops of the Greek Church, accompanied by the following letter:

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. To the patriarchs, metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, priests and deacons, and other beloved brethren of the Eastern Orthodox Church, Charles Thomas, by Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, sends greeting in the Lord:

"If one member suffer," the holy apostle says, "all the members suffer with it; if one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it." Wherefore we, having called to a conference our brethren the bishops of that part of the Catholic Church which is in communion with us, and which by God's grace is spreading itself forth in all regions of the earth, and having come together with them for the sake of united prayer and deliberation, and having written with all readiness of mind and brotherly love an encyclic epistle to the priests and deacons and laity of our communion, notify to you, as brethren in the Lord, what has lately taken place among us, in order that ye also may rejoice with us in our oneness of mind. Furthermore, we send to you a copy of the said epistle, in order that when ye read it, ye may see what is the mind of the Anglican Church concerning the faith of Christ, and that ye may know that we acknowledge, and, God willing, are resolved to maintain, firmly and immovably, all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the sure word of God; and to contend earnestly for the faith once for all delivered to the saints, and to hold fast the creeds of the one holy and apostolic Church, and to keep pure and undefiled the primitive order and worship as we have received it from our Lord Jesus Christ and from his holy apostles, and that with one mind and one voice we reject and put far away from us all innovations and corruptions contrary to the Gospel of Christ, very God and very man, and that we earnestly desire to fulfill the preaching of his saving truth to all nations of the earth, in order that the kingdoms of the world may become the kingdoms of the Lord and his Christ. May the Lord grant unto all to have the same mind in all things, that there may be "one flock and one Shepherd!"

The English papers which are friendly to the movement state that this letter was received with profound respect and unfeigned admiration by several prelates of the Russian Church. They also state that "the reunion-school at Moscow, well represented both at the university and at the theological seminary, is full of hope as regards the preparation of a common basis for peace negotiations." At the second annual meeting of the "Eastern Church Society" of England, held in 1867, Rev. Mr. Williams, one of the most zealous champions of the intercommunion movement, stated that he had conversed with the Greek patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and with other eminent Eastern bishops on the subject, and that all had expressed their entire approbation of the union of the Churches. Mr. Williams declared, moreover, that the Metropolitan of Scio had said to him that the time for electing commissioners from both sides to adjust the differences between them was at hand; and that the Patriarch of Antioch had assured him that he proposes to found a school as a preparation for the union, and he desired to obtain an Englishman as a professor in it, that the members of it might learn the English language.

A singular document, with regard to the effort to establish close relations between the Anglican and Eastern communions, is an address from Nestorian bishops, presbyters, deacons, and laymen to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, purporting to express the sentiments of the Nestorian Church. The Nestorians, says the address, are suffering persecution from both Mohammedans and Papists, and among themselves there is the most

abject spiritual ignorance. "In fact, we are told the clergy are on a par as regards spiritual matters, all apparently walking in the road to perdition." An appeal is therefore made to the Church of England, as being endowed with "riches and knowledge," to send spiritual laborers to the Nestorians. It is hardly credible that such a document should receive the names of the three bishops and three presbyters whose names are signed to it. We know, however, from the reports of the American missionaries among the Nestorians, that efforts have of late been made by High-Church Anglicans to prejudice the Nestorians among the missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, and draw them into union with the Church of England.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

One of the best German writers on Palestine, Titus Tobler, has compiled a *Geographical Bibliography of Palestine*, (*Bibliographia Geographica Palæstinæ*, Leipzig, 1867,) a work of immense labor, for every one acquainted at all with geographical literature knows the works on Palestine to be exceedingly numerous. Attempts at compiling a bibliography of this kind had previously been made by Rosenmüller, (in Vol. I of his *Handbuch der bibl. Alterthumskunde*, 1823,) by Dr. Robinson, (Vol. I of his *Palestine*, 1841,) and by Dr. Carl Ritter, (*Erdkunde*. Part V. 1850.) But all these lists were incomplete, and, besides, needed continuation. Tobler is specially qualified for a work of this kind by his habitual thoroughness and accuracy. His book consists of three parts: the first (pp. 5–206) catalogues, and briefly characterizes, "works which certainly, or most probably, were written by eye-witnesses," from the *Pilgrim of Bordeaux*, in A.D. 333, to the year 1865; the second (pp. 207–226) works by writers "who certainly, or most probably, did not know Palestine from personal inspection," the first being probably St. Eucherius of Levius, about 445; the third (pp. 227–248) contains maps, and an alphabetical index of sixteen pages closes the book. A large number of works, especially Greek and Slavic, are here registered for the first time. Among the latest German additions to the Palestine literature is a new work by Prof. Sepp, [Roman Catholic,] author of a *Life of Jesus* in 7 vols., a work on *Jerusalem and the Holy Land* in 2 vols., etc. The Protestant papers recognize the great scholarship of the author, and accept as correct some of the new views he presents; but show him to be frequently rash in his conjectures and untrustworthy in his grammatical illustrations, (*Neue architektonische Studien und histor.—topogr. Forschungen in Palestina*. Warzburg, 1867.) Prof. Sepp was formerly Professor of History at the University of Munich, but was recently [January, 1868] dismissed by the government of Bavaria.

The forerunners of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century are not yet so fully known as they deserve to be, for to Protestants these—frequently secret—reformatory movements in the Middle Ages are one of the most interesting portions of Church history. A little work by Dr. Pröhle makes us acquainted with an Augustine monk of the second half of the fifteenth century, Andreas Proles, whom Luther highly esteemed, and counted among the most enlightened witnesses of the Gospel. [*Andreas Proles*, etc. Gotha, 1867.] The above is the first work on Proles, and is highly commended for its careful compilation. In addition to its information on Proles, it contains an interesting account of the evangelical tendency in the Augustinian order in Germany.

The Roman Catholic Church of Germany produces at present a larger number of able theological works than all the other countries of the world together; but at Rome they are anything but satisfied with this literature, as among the prominent theologians there are few who are regarded in Rome as perfectly sound in the faith. It sometimes happens that the greatest zealots for the interests of the Roman Catholic Church advocate views which every one knows

to be abhorred at Rome. Thus a considerable sensation has recently been created by a little book [*Funfzig Thesen*, etc., Braunsberg, 1867] on the ecclesiastical situation of the present age, by Professor Fr. Michelis of Braunsberg, editor of the periodical *Natur und Offenbarung*, member of the German Parliament in 1867, etc. Michelis advocates the full and mutual independence of Church and State, and the obligatory introduction of civil marriage, denies the superiority of the Church over the State, the idea of a "Christian" [theocratic] state, all tenets for which the popes ever since Gregory VII. have not ceased to raise their voice. It censures some acts of the German bishops, and even praises the letter of the Emperor of Austria, which indicates the abolition of the Concordat. The whole Roman Catholic press of Germany is discussing the question whether the book is anti-Catholic or not. Among the literary papers there is an evident sympathy with the liberal author, while the popular sheets, which are under the more direct influence of the bishops, and bear more the character of party organs, denounce the book, and predict its condemnation by the pope.

Of the work of Professor Hergenröther on Photius, whose appearance has already been announced by us, the second volume has been issued, continuing the work to the death of Photius. The author has been called to Rome by the Pope to assist in the preparations which are being made for the convocation of the Œcumenical Council.

Of the great work of Professor W. Gass on the *History of the Protestant Dogmatics*, [*Geschichte der prot. Dogmatik*, etc. Berlin, 1867,] the fourth volume has appeared. It embraces the age of Rationalism, the theological views of the several philosophical schools, and the age of Schleiermacher.

Of new editions we notice Guericke's *Introduction into the New Testament*, [N. T. *liche Isagogik*, 3d ed., Leipzig, 1867,] De Wette's Commentary to the Epistles to Titus, Timotheus, and the Hebrews, [*Handbuch zum N. T.*, 2d vol., 5th part, 3d edit., Leipzig, 1867.]

Among recent announcements of new German books we find several posthumous writings of prominent theologians. The Lectures by the late Professor Bleek, of Bonn, on the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, edited by Windrath, (*Der Hebräerbrief*, Elberfeld, 1868,) is an epitome of the well-known larger *Commentary to the Epistle of the Hebrews*, by Dr. Bleek, which appeared in 1840, and is at the same time to serve as a thoroughly revised edition of the larger work. Of the Lectures on Church History of the late Dr. J. A. Möhler, the greatest Roman Catholic theologian of Germany of the nineteenth century, the first two volumes have recently been published by P. B. Gams, (*Kirchengeschichte*, Ratisbon, 1868,) and the third volume, which completes the work, is to appear in the course of the year.

A new Bible Lexicon has just been commenced under the editorship of Professor Dr. Schenkel, of Heidelberg. (*Bibel-Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1868.) Among the contributors are mentioned Dr. Bruch, professor at Strassburg, one of the editors of the first complete collection of the works of John Calvin, which is now in course of publication; Dr. Diestel, Professor at Greifswald; Dr. Dillmann, who is supposed to have among living scholars the most thorough knowledge of Ethiopian language and literature; Dr. Gass, author of the great work on the History of Dogmatic Theology; Lic. Hausrath, author of a work on the Apostle Paul; Dr. Hitzig, professor in Heidelberg, well known by his commentary on the Psalms and other books of the Old Testament; Dr. Holtzmann, professor in Heidelberg, author of several works on the history of the New Testament and on the early period of the Christian Church; Dr. Keim, professor in Zürich, author of several works on Life of Jesus; Dr. Lipsius, professor in Kiel, and favorably known in the theological world by keen investigations on the history of the Gnostics and other historical and exegetical writings; Dr. Merx, the editor of the new periodical, which is exclusively devoted to the Old Testament; Dr. Reuss, of Strasburg, author of a celebrated Introduction to the Books of the New Testament, and numerous other works; Dr. C. Schwarz, of Gotha, author of a popular work on the recent literature of Protestant theology; Dr. Schweitzer, of Zürich, author of the work on the *Central-Dogmen* of the Reformed Church. Most of these contributors are known as moderate liberals, (Rationalists,) and the new work is un-

doubtedly intended to be a manifesto of the party. At the same time the names of the contributors above mentioned are a guarantee that the new lexicon will contain many articles of great scholarship and value. The work is to consist of four volumes. Of the prominent men of the non-negative Tübingen school none are mentioned as contributors.

Simultaneously with the above Bible Lexicon, a new Theological Cyclopedia, (*Theologisches Universal-Lexicon*, Elberfeld, 1868,) has been begun, which is to embrace in two volumes a brief compendium of all the matter generally contained in theological cyclopedias. The names of the editors and contributors are not mentioned. The prospectus promises an entirely objective treatment of all subjects. It is to be finished in about two years.

A new addition to the copious recent literature on the theology of Luther, and of the early Lutheran Church, has been made by a work of Dr. H. Schmid, Professor of Theology at the University of Erlangen, entitled the *Struggle of the Lutheran Church on Luther's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper during the Age of Reformation*, (*Kampf der luth. Kirche um Luther's Lehre vom Abendmahle*, Leipsic, 1868.) *The Church Constitution aimed at by the Lutheran Reformation* is the subject of a little work by Professor von Zezschwitz, well known for his large work on Catechetics, (*Ueber die wesentlichen Verfassungsziele der luth. Reformation*, Leipsic, 1867.) On the downfall of the Crypto-Calvinists in Saxony, in 1574, one of the darkest periods in the early history of Lutheranism, a thorough article has been written by Dr. Kluckhohn, who is regarded as one of the ablest writers on this period of Church history. (*Sturtz der Krypto-Calvinisten*, in Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. xviii.)

ITALY.

The first volume of the Gospel printed at the Propaganda office from the ancient Greek manuscript in the Vatican Library, under the direction of Chevalier Pietro Marietti, has appeared. It has been revised by Fathers Vercellone and Cozza. This Vatican *Codex* was written very accurately, apparently in the fourth century, and all friends of sacred erudition were desirous of an edition of it which would represent the same quality and form of letter, and the precise number of letters and lines. The first volume contains the Gospel according to St. Matthew. The entire publication will extend to six volumes, the last containing notes and dissertations.

FRANCE.

In France a great activity has for several years been displayed in the publication of new editions of some of the largest works of Roman Catholic literature. Quite a number of these are at present going through the press. Of the new edition of the *Acta Sanctorum*, edited by Carnandet, twenty-seven volumes had been published up to the end of the year 1867. As the reproduction embraces the fifty-four first volumes of the collection, and as about ten volumes are published annually, this new edition will be completed in the year 1870. It will cost about eight hundred dollars. The first two volumes of this work appeared in the year 1643, the fifty-third volume ending at the 15th of October, and being the sixth volume of the Saints of October, in 1794. The invasion of Belgium by the French scattered the library of the Bollandists, and thus interrupted the continuation of the work. In 1847, a society of Jesuits, supported by the Belgian government, resumed the work; and the fifth-fourth volume appeared in 1846; the fifty-fifth in 1854; the fifty-sixth in 1858; the fifty-seventh in 1861; and the fifty-eighth in 1865.

A new edition of the Annals of Baronius, with the continuations by A. Theiner, is published at Bar-le-Duc. It is to embrace about 45 volumes. Thus far 11 volumes have been published, reaching to the year 679. (*Annales Ecclesiastici.*)

Of the translation of the complete works of Chrysostom by Abbé J. Bareille, volume ix has been published. The whole will embrace twenty-six volumes and cost 400 francs. (*Œuvres complètes.* Besançon.)

An important work on the relations of the Church of Rome and the first empire has been published by Count Haussonville. It contains many documents which had not been published before. (*L'église Romaine*, etc. Paris, 1867.)

The work on St. Apollinaris and his Age, by Abbé Chaix, has been completed by the publication of the second volume.

(*St. Apollinaire et son Siècle.* Clermond, 1868.)

A compendious "Universal Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Science," in two volumes, has been published by Abbé Glaire, well known by a number of exegetical works. (*Dictionnaire Universel des Sciences Ecclésiastiques.* Tours, 1867.)

J. Chantrel, one of the editors of the *Univers*, has written a history of the Church of Rome from 1860 to 1866, intended as a continuation of the Church history of Rohrbacher. (*Annales Ecclésiastiques de* 1860 *à* 1866. Corbeil, 1867.)

"The Maid of Orleans," is the subject of another new work by Abbé Taugey. (*Etude sur Jeanne d'Arc.* Chaumont, 1867.)

A highly interesting pamphlet on "The Destruction of Protestantism in Bohemia," has been written by Professor R. Reuss. (*La Destruction du Protestantisme en Bohème.* Strassburg, 1867. It had originally appeared in the *Revue de Theologie.*) The author traces the Church history of Bohemia under Emperor Ferdinand II., from 1621 to 1628, and shows that the destruction of Protestantism was chiefly the work of the Papal nuncio Caraffa, who with cruel energy, and not without success, undertook to crush out Protestantism in all classes of the population. Among the chief sources from which the author derives his information are the memoirs of Caraffa himself.

Art. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Presbyterian and Theological Review, January, 1868. (New York.)—1. Moral Philosophy in Great Britain. 2. The Activity of the Thinking Mind. 3. Presbyterian Reunion in the Colonies of Great Britain. 4. Presbyterian Division and Reunion. 5. Celebrated Preachers in the French Church. 6. The Philadelphia Presbyterian Union Convention.

Baptist Quarterly, January, 1868. (Philadelphia.)—1. Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity to punish the Wicked. 2. The Educational Problem in this Country. 3. Shedd's History of Christian Doctrine. 4. Celsus' Attack upon Christianity. 5. Francis Wayland. 6. Curtis on Inspiration.

Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, January, 1868. (Philadelphia.)—1. The English Language. 2. Prisons and Reformatories. 3. Presbyterian Reunion. 4. The Pastorate for the Times. 5. Liberal Christianity.

Bibliotheca Sacra, January, 1868. (Andover.)—1. The Natural Theology of Social Science. 2. Remarks on Second Epistle to the Corinthians iv, 3, 4. 3. The Nature of Sin. 4. The Claims of Theology. 5. The Egyptian Doctrine of a Future State. 6. The Site of Sodom. 7. The Present Attitude of Evangelical Christianity toward the Prominent Forms of Assault.

Congregational Quarterly, October, 1867. (Boston.)—1. David Thurston, with Portrait. 2. The Silence of Women in the Churches. 3. History of the Association of Ministers of Cumberland County, Me., from 1788 to 1867. 4. Gathering a Church and its Privileges. 5. Congregationalists Undenominational. 6. The First Christian Worship in New England. 7. A Blacksmith in the Pulpit and in the Parish. 8. Plagiarism. 9. An Aged Father's Hint. 10. Congregational Necrology.

Congregational Review, January, 1868. (Boston.)—1. Christ's Death Supernatural. 2. Woman's Place in Religious Meetings. 3. The Apostle Paul the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. 4. The Object of Punishment in the Government of God. 5. Infant Baptism: When and Where should the Ordinance be Administered? 6. The State of the Country. 7. Short Sermons.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1868. (Gettysburg.)—1. Life and Labors of Augustine. 2. Schmid's Dogmatic Theology. 3. The Human Element in Religion. 4. Bibliography. 5. The Image of God. 6. The Strength and Beauty of God's Sanctuary. 7. Reminiscences of Deceased Lutheran Ministers. 8. The Work of the Ministry. 9. Ministerial Success. 10. Geology and Moses. 11. The Reformation.

FREEWILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, January, 1868. (Dover, N. H.)—1. Jesus Christ: His Person and His Plan. 2. Recreation and Amusements. 3. The Anti-slavery Record of the Freewill Baptists. 4. Christian Growth. 5. Murphy's Commentary. 6. The Perversion of the Gospel a Proof of its Divinity. 7. The German Philosophy.

MERCERSBURG REVIEW, January, 1868. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Sacramental System of the Early Church. 2. The Church Doctrine of the Forgiveness of Sin. 3. Force of Religious Ideas. 4. The Second Adam and the New Birth. 5. Presbyterian Union Convention. 6. Christian Nurture. 7. Forms of Prayer. 8. Authority and Freedom meeting in Faith.

NEW ENGLANDER, January, 1868. (New Haven.)—1. American and European Systems of Deaf-Mute Instruction Compared. 2. Divorce. Part IV.—Divorce and Divorce Law in Europe since the Reformation. 3. The National Debt. 4. A Review of the Memoir of President Wayland. 5. The Conference System. 6. Some Curious Coincidences respecting Slavery. 7. "What sort of Schools ought the State to keep?" 8. Meteoric Astronomy, and the New Haven Contributions to its Progress. 9. A Review of the two last volumes of the "Schönberg-Cotta" Series: "The Draytons and Davenants" and "On both Sides of the Sea." 10. The Jarves Collection of the Yale School of the Fine Arts.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, January, 1868. (Boston.)—1. Boston. 2. Francesco Dall' Ongaro's Stornelli. 3. Railroad Management. 4. The Character of Jonathan Swift. 5. Fraser's Report on the Common-school System. 6. Co-operation. 7. Witchcraft. 8. Nominating Conventions. 9. Governor Andrew.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, January, 1868. (Boston.)—1. Sources of Error in the Use of Language. 2. John Murray. 3. Right Ideas and their Test. 4. Errors of Lexicons of the New Testament. 5. Rationalism *versus* Miracles. 6. The Crusades. 7. Notices of Recent German Works.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1868. (London.)—1. "The Catholic Revival:" its latest Aspect. 2. The Eastern Question: its Religious Bearings. 3. A Mohammedan Commentary on the Bible. 4. Scottish Christianity and Mr. Buckle. 5. Tyndale and the English Bible. 6. Rationalism not allied to Protestantism. 7. Lives of Celebrated Jewish Rabbis. 8. German History of the Reformation. 9. Page's "Man: Where, Whence, and Whither?"

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, January, 1868. (London.)—1. Montalembert's "Monks of the West." 2. The Neo-Classical Drama. 3. Our Merchant Princes. 4. Foreign State Education. 5. Early English Religious Writings. 6. Liddon's Bampton Lectures. 7. Recent Hymn Writers. 8. Education of Pauper Children. 9. Jane Taylor. 10. More Essays: the Position of Affairs.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, January, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Gachard's "Don Carlos, and Philip II." 2. Oysters, and the Oyster Fisheries. 3. Anjou. 4. Tyndall's Lectures on Sound. 5. Liberal Education in England. 6. Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis. 7. De Fezensac's Recollections of the Grand Army. 8. Two per Cent. 9. The Queen's Highland Journal.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Sir Walter Scott. 2. The Queen in the Islands and Highlands. 3. Private Confession in the Church of England. 4. Guizot's Memoirs. 5. The British Mu-

seum. 6. Longevity and Centenarianism. 7. Phœnicia and Greece. 8. Church Progress. 9. What shall we do for Ireland?

North British Review, December, 1867. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Relations of Heathenism and Judaism with Christianity. 2. Modern Provençal Poems. 3. Ralph Waldo Emerson. 4. The Natural History of Morals. 5. The Military Systems of Europe. 6. Population. 7. Italy in 1867. 8. The Social Sores of Britain.

Westminster Review, January, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Dangers of Democracy. 2. Physiological Psychology. 3. Two Temporal Powers. 4. The Church in Scotland. 5. Extradition. 6. The Origin of Electricity. 7. Indian Worthies. 8. The Abyssinian Difficulty. 9. The Land Tenures of British India.

German Reviews.

Zeitschrift fur die Historische Theologie. (Journal for Historic Theology.) 1868. Second Number.—3. Nippold, Contributions to the Church History of Holland. 4. Herzog, The Family Calas, and Voltaire, the Restorer of their Honor. 6. Klemme, The Significance of John Tennhardt.

This periodical has greatly gained in point of interest since it has passed under the editorial management of Professor Kahnis, of Leipsic. The above number contains two very valuable articles by Professor Nippold, of Heidelberg, and Professor Herzog, of Eilangen. Professor Nippold reviews three new works on the Church History of Holland, and gives us on this occasion biographical sketches of their authors, all of whom belong among the most prominent theological scholars of Holland. The first of these works is a *Church History of the Netherlands before the Reformation.* (*Kerkgeschiedeniss van Nederland voor de Hervorming*, 1st vol., Arnheim, 1864.) Moll, professor at the Athenæum of Amsterdam, (a theological seminary of the Established Church of Holland,) is favorably known by several other historical works, (a *History of the Religious Life of the Christians during the first Six Centuries*, 2 vols., 1844, etc.,) and is called by Nippold the master of all Dutch Church historians. In consequence of the close relation existing between the Netherlands and the neighboring provinces of Germany, his book is of great interest also for the Church history of Germany, and continental Europe in general. The second volume, containing the Church history of Holland during the eleventh century, is in press. The second of the works, reviewed by Nippold, is one on *The Beginning and the Doctrine of the Earlier Baptists compared with those of the other Protestants*, by S. Hoekstra, professor at the Mennonite Seminary of Holland. (*Beginselen en Leer der oude Doopgezinden, vergeleken met die van de overige Protestanten*, Amsterdam, 1863.) It discusses the origin of the Baptist denomination, and the relation of the Anabaptists to the

Mennonites and other Baptist communities; the common ground of all the divisions of the Church which in the sixteenth century separated from the Church of Rome; and the differences between the Lutheran, Reformed, and the Baptist parties. The third of the works reviewed by Professor Nippold is one by Christian Sepp, Mennonite preacher at Leyden, and editor of one of the leading Theological periodicals of Holland, (the *Theological Contributions*,) author of a *Pragmatic History of Theology in Holland from* 1787 *to* 1858, *Doctrine of the New Testament on the Writings of the Old Testament*, etc. It is entitled *John Stinstra and his Times*, (*Johannes Stinstra en zyn tyd*, 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1865, 1866,) and gives a vivid description of the theological and ecclesiastical condition of Holland during the eighteenth century.

Professor Herzog, the editor of the *Real-Encyklopädie*, gives in the fourth article an interesting review of the celebrated trial of the Protestant family Calas, chiefly according to the work of Coquerel.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne, (Christian Review,) December, 1867.—1. Lichtenberger, Ecclesiastical Situation in Germany. 2. Frossard, Béranger. 3. De Seynes, Faraday.

January, 1868.—1. De Pressensé, The Roman Question under the First Empire according to New Documents. 2. E. de Bonnechose, Theodore Parker and the Present Crisis in the Reformed Church of France. 3. Frossard, Béranger.

February, 1868.—1. E. de Pressensé, The Roman Question under the First Empire according to New Documents. 2. Sabatier, The Spiritualist School and the Religious Question. 3. Rosseeuw St. Hilaire, Legends of Alsatia.

This review fully sustains the high reputation which it has long occupied in the Protestant world. The list of articles given above shows the tact of the editors in selecting subjects, and all the articles which we have examined are ably treated. In addition to the articles every number also contains a review of recent literature, and a review of important ecclesiastical and political events. The *Review* is now in its fifteenth year.

The January number announces a list of articles to be published in the course of the year 1868, among which are the following: Guizot, *on Religious Philosophy;* Professor Pédézert *on Religious Orders and Christianity;* Secrétan, *on Victor Cousin;* Forgues, *on the Crisis in the United States;* Count Pelet de la Lozère, *Napoleon I. and Cromwell.*

Bulletin Theologique, (Theological Bulletin,) January, 1868.—1. Le Savoureux, *History of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament.* 2. Arnaud, The Teaching of Jesus Christ on the Holy Spirit. 3. Corbiere, Luthardt's Salutary Truths of Christianity. 4. Wabnitz, Bulletin of German Literature. 5. Hollard, Richard Rothe.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Genesis. With a new Translation, by J. G. Murphy, D.D., T.C.D., Professor of Hebrew, Belfast. With a Preface, by J. P. Thompson, D.D., New York City. 8vo., pp. 519. Boston: Draper & Halliday. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard & Co. 1867. [New York, sold by N. Tibbals & Co.]

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Exodus. With a new Translation, by J. G. Murphy, D.D., T.C.D., Professor of Hebrew, Belfast. Andover: Warren F. Draper. Boston: W. H. Halliday & Co. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. [New York, sold by N. Tibbals & Co.]

We have long thought a commentary on the Old Testament from the ripest scholarship and the highest talent to be one of the most imperative demands of the day. But so rapid and so momentous have been the changes of the demands of science upon repeated reconsideration of previous interpretations, and so dubious have been the present aspects of science itself, that it is no wonder that the biblical scholar has paused before committing to record any new construction of the text to meet the scientific demand. We are gratified to say, nevertheless, that the two volumes before us are very brave and very successful adventures upon this stormy sea. Lange's Genesis, from the editorial hand of Professor Taylor Lewis, we are awaiting with high expectation; but thus far nothing has appeared in this country for half a century on the first two books of the Pentateuch so valuable as the present two volumes. Professor Murphy's scholarship is mature. He is original without eccentricity. His style is lucid, animated, and often eloquent. His pages afford golden suggestions and key thoughts. He is modern in his spirit, and at the time of his writing he seems to have been alive to all the latest utterances of science. Unsolved questions still remain; but we see our way clearly enough, and far enough, to realize the full assurance that the last effort of skepticism founded on science to disturb the ancient foundation of the grand old Book will end in total defeat.

Some of the laws of interpretation are stated with so fresh and natural a clearness and force that they will permanently stand. One of these laws is this: "The usage of common life determines the meaning of a word or phrase; not that of philosophy." "The usage of the time and place determines the meaning; not that of any other time; not modern usage." Commenting on the word

land in Gen. i, 2, he makes the following pregnant remarks: "We have further to bear in mind that the land among the antediluvians, and down far below the time of Moses, meant so much of the surface of our globe as was known by observation, along with an unknown and undetermined region beyond; and observation was not then so extensive as to enable men to ascertain its spherical form or even the curvature of its surface. To their eye it presented merely an irregular surface bounded by the horizon. Hence it appears that, so far as the current significance of this leading term is concerned, the scene of the six days' creation cannot be affirmed on scriptural authority alone to have extended beyond the surface known to man. Nothing can be inferred from the mere words of Scripture concerning America, Australia, the islands of the Pacific, or even the remote parts of Asia, Africa, or Europe, that were yet unexplored by the race of man. We are going beyond the warrant of the sacred narrative, on a flight of imagination, whenever we advance a single step beyond the sober limits of the usage of the day in which it was written."—P. 33. This of course presupposes an obviously limited biblical area. We easily see, then, that the affirmations in regard to the universality of the flood imply but a universality over the ground known to Scripture history. The existence of anthropoid races in other regions, or on other continents, is to be held in the negative until the affirmative is demonstrated either by Scripture text or scientific research.

Upon the first chapter of Genesis, however, when we say that Dr. Murphy advocates the theory of a week of *reconstruction* consisting of seven solar days, our readers who have noted our former utterances upon that subject will, of course, expect us to dissent. By that route no satisfactory results can be attained. We firmly believe in the canonical authority of that chapter, just as we believe in that of the Apocalypse; but we no more believe in the literal seven days of the former, than in the literal seven trumpets of the latter. Both seem symbols of successive stages of advancement in a great process. The six days are the six unfoldings of the created system in the natural order of contemplation, and probably in the natural order of creative development. First the *three* compartments are created, *ether*, *water*, and *land;* and then their *three* occupants, the *luminaries*, the *water tribes*, and the *land inhabitants;* and the sacred *seven* is consummated by the great repose or *permanence* which endures until now. And of that *process* and of that *permanence* every week and every Sabbath are our blessed reminders.

Prof. Murphy's treatment of the Edenic state, the fall, and the flood, furnishes suggestive remarks and luminous discussions. Eden is the center of the human creation. The serpent, possessed by the spirit of evil, is exalted to a supernatural position, from which he is remanded back to his natural degradation. Here Dr. Murphy omits to compare this instance with the cases of demoniac possession. But why not consider the serpent the mere form in which Satan made himself visible, (as he doubtless assumed a human form to our Saviour,) and then consider the divine curse as expressed in symbolical terms, drawn from the serpentine guise in which he is found? Dr. Murphy recognizes the importance of Gen. iii, 22–24, as proving that Adam's immortality of body was not absolute and intrinsic, but dependent upon his use of the tree of life. Thence we understand how he was deathless in spite of the fact that animal tribes had died for ages. Thence, too, Dr. Murphy explains antediluvian longevity, the vital power of the early use of that tree remained unspent for centuries. To this we may add, that connected with the tree of life as its center was the entire bloom of Eden; and by their proximity to Eden, through divine favor, the patriarchal line, from which Christ descended, may have possessed a longevity unknown to the tribes which scattered farthest abroad. Is there any analogy between the intense primitive vitality which produced the gigantic geologic forms and that which produced the antediluvian longevity?

Had man not sinned, by our author's view, the tree of life was so capable of expanding its influence as to vitalize the entire unfallen race. If the flood was local, as Dr. Murphy supposes, the earliest and farthest wandering tribes—the "Turanean"—may have originated earlier than that event; for we cannot believe, with Dr. Murphy, that the antediluvian world was not very populous. It must also result, and is doubtless true, that the earth underwent no great change from the curse at the fall, though it lost the renovating influence of an overspreading Eden. Nor does it seem clear that we can accept the conception of some German theologians, that the disorder of the earth is due to the fall of Satan, for the same mixture of order and disorder reigns, so far as our observation can reach, through the entire material universe.

We heartily recommend these two volumes as the best approximation extant, within our knowledge, to the true ideal of a commentary on the first two books of the canon.

The Resurrection of Life. An Exposition of First Corinthians xv. With a Discourse on our Lord's Resurrection. By JOHN BROWN, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Presbyterian Church. Second Edition. 12mo., pp. 378. Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Co. 1866. [New York: Sold by N. Tibbals & Co.]

Dr. Brown was the author of a number of works considered as standard by the Presbyterians of Scotland. They are evidently marked by ability and learning, and especially by a rich evangelical power. The volume before us contains many paragraphs of vigorous thought, and abounds in striking quotations from the literatures of both ancient and modern times. It is largely, of course, from the very nature of the chapter it discusses, a treatment of the Scripture doctrine of the Resurrection, in which, we regret to say, we find more proofs of the author's ability than of the soundness of his views.

Dr. Brown quotes from Richard Winter Hamilton a disquisition upon the difference between *anastasis* and *egersis*, the two Greek words by which resurrection is expressed in the New Testament, which indicates that both of these gentlemen were better theologians than exegetes. Hamilton tells us that *anastasis* means "the reinstatement of the entire humanity of the individual in his future existence," that it does not usually refer to the body, and that it expresses not so much the *act* of *rising again* as the resurrection *state*. The noun *egersis*, with its verb form, expresses the simple *act;* and he refers to a list of texts as corroborating this interpretation. Now, in our view, this is a most erroneous piece of philology. The comparison of the two words is this: 1. *Anastasis* signifies, intransitively, an *uprising* from a previous lower *state* of the same subject. *Egersis* signifies, transitively, a *raising* of an object by some agent. It is only in its passive form as a verb, *is raised*, that it attains nearly the sense of *rising;* but even then the implication of the action of a causative agent is seldom or ever quite lost; or in its middle form, when its meaning is *a raising of one's self*. 2. Neither *anastasis* nor *egersis* explicitly expresses the risen state, or permanent condition resultant from the rising or raising. Both express simply and explicitly *the act alone;* but both do occasion the idea of the sequent state by the mind's supplying the implication that after the *rising* the *risen state* is permanent. But neither word ever entirely loses its primary designation of the *act*. Thus the passive verb form of *egersis* is repeatedly translated *is risen*, as Matt. xxvii, 64, and xxviii, 6, 7; or *am risen*, xxvi, 32; where the rising being explicitly expressed the permanent risen *state* is implied. A large share of the in-

stances of *egersis*, as well as of *anastasis*, are of this character. 3. Both are normally used of the resurrection act of the body; that is, of the actual rising or raising of the corporeal frame from its former lower state, the subject being the same in its previous fallen and its subsequent risen state.

The most curious part of the matter is, that these two writers construct this cumbrous pseudo-criticism to take away the idea of bodily resurrection from 1 Cor. xv; 12–19, where it does incontestably exist, since the reference there is to Christ's own bodily resurrection. These gentlemen plainly misunderstand the apostle's reasoning, and endeavor to correct misunderstanding by misconstruction. The apostle's reasoning is this: It is dangerous for some of you to say there is no bodily resurrection; for if there be no bodily resurrection Christ has not risen; and if Christ has not [bodily] risen, the foundation of the Christian faith is destroyed, and all our Christian hopes are a dream. We who hoped for justification, resurrection, and eternal salvation through him, are in our sins; and even those who have died in Christ have gone to the perdition of unjustified sinners. They have gone to that perdition, whatever, in this wreck of Christianity, it may truly be; whether the Gehenna, or the annihilation taught by the Jews, or the Tartarus of the pagan poets. And in this whole argument the apostle has no occasion to affirm or deny the immortality of the soul, or even the possible resurrection of the body without Christ. What he does affirm is, that to deny the resurrection of the body is to destroy the foundation of Christianity, and thereby all hope of pardon and eternal life through Christ.

Dr. Brown is, in our estimation, to be numbered among those who say "there is no resurrection;" for his resurrection is not a re-rising of the same body, but the substitution of a new one by a positive new creation. He asserts the real resurrection to be "demonstrably impossible," but does not give us the process by which the impossibility is demonstrated. For a most satisfactory solution of all these *impossibilities*, we refer to Dr. Mattison's able work on the Resurrection.

When the soul appears before the judgment-seat of Christ, it must come furnished with an organized material body. Whence is the substance of that body derived? From what part of the universe are the particles gathered to form in concretion around the naked spirit? We answer, they may just as well be the particles composing the body that died as any other. It is just as easy to Omnipotence. If they are not the same substance, then we have a fresh formation, a new creation, a substitution, and not

a resurrection, and the doctrine of the resurrection is denied. And all the subterfuges and writhing inventions to substitute something else besides the once existing body—some germ, some Swedenborgian phantasm, some outline sketch of a body contained in our present living body—are simply difficult efforts to remove difficulties in the actual doctrine of the resurrection which do not exist. That doctrine is contradicted by nothing in physics or metaphysics. So long as the doctrine of the indestructibility of matter—or, if you please, of "the persistence of force"—is true, so long the identity of matter through all ages is real, the identity of the body, consisting of sameness of substance, is a possibility, and if declared by revelation, is a truth.

The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels. By ANDREWS NORTON. Abridged Edition. 12mo., pp. 584. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1867.

The present volume is an abridgment for popular use of a larger work in three volumes by the same author; a work well known to biblical scholars, and creditable to the biblical scholarship of our country. It treats, as our readers will note, not the subject of Christian evidences generally, but specifically the question of the genuineness of the four Gospel documents; that is, it endeavors to settle the point affirmatively that the Gospels bearing the names of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were really written, certain well-known passages excepted, at the time usually supposed, and by the authors named. Whether they are also true—though in an eloquent peroration the author deduces that inference with great beauty and force—is not the question immediately discussed. The thorough biblical scholar will desiderate the full work where the critical minutiæ of the argument are given in full detail; but for ordinary students and readers, this is a very interesting and very valuable volume.

For the first half century after the death of John, as all antiquity agrees in dating that event, Christian documents are almost totally wanting. Hence a loose and sweeping assertion is often made by adverse pseudo-criticism that there is no evidence of the existence of the four Gospels before the latter half of the second century. This first half century, with its blank of documents, is the battle-ground of evidences.

There are not wanting during this blank period Christian writings that have no occasion to mention the Gospels; writings that really assume the great Gospel facts, and breathe the Gospel spirit, and express the Gospel doctrines. And in the Epistles of Paul,

written probably earlier than some of the Gospels, the Gospel history is assumed, and most of these epistles are admitted by the most unscrupulous criticism to be genuine; so that the religion existed independently of the Gospels, and may be proved even if the Gospels are of doubtful genuineness. Still, the present point is the genuineness of the Gospels.

But the last half of the second century opens upon us a splendid Christian literature. The illustrious names of Irenæus in France, of Clement of Alexandria, of Tertullian of Carthage, and of Theophilus of Antioch, spread a glory over this period. They arise at once in very distant regions of the earth, and write in different languages. Yet these learned and able men recognize the Gospels, with a theory of inspiration that might satisfy Gilbert Haven, as a conclusive authority to settle fact and doctrine. They were all born in the earlier half of the century. But they have no knowledge, no traditional account, no existing record of any doubt that the four Gospels are the four productions of the four reputed authors. This evidence covers, therefore, in reality, the first half century; and it is evidence which would be conclusive as to the authorship of any other books. And these writers testify that these documents have been preserved in the great metropolitan Churches with sacred care from their first publication. Lines of bishops or pastors have handed them down authentically. Translations in different languages have been made. And Mr. Norton logically calculates that at least there were at this period three million Christians and sixty thousand copies of the Gospels extant in different parts of the globe. Nor there are any Gospels or Christian histories that come into anything like what can be called a competition with the standard four.

And now for the first half century. Over this period stretches the life of Justin Martyr, a native of Palestine, a converted philosopher, an eminent Christian writer. He testifies that the *Gospels were read every Sunday as Christian Scripture throughout the Christian world.* Within this period Papias names Matthew and Mark as authors of the Gospels that bear their names; and Tatian made his Harmony of the four. Every probability is, that in this half century the earliest translations into Latin and Syriac were made. Tischendorf has lately shown that there are traces in the earliest versions indicating revisions of the text that must have been made in this first half century, carrying us up nearly to the time of the Apostle John. Thus the blank of this first half century is well filled.

But a peculiarity of Mr. Norton's work is the great prominence which he gives to an evidence from an entirely different quarter, and which commences as early as the year 117. At this time the Gnostics were fairly in recognized existence as a heretical minority in the Christian Church. Their principles rendered the Gospels an obstacle in their way. They would have been gainers could they have invalidated their authority, and the orthodox writers would have promptly charged it upon them had they attempted to repudiate them. Now these Gnostics accepted the Gospels as authentic and authoritative. They never questioned their genuineness, but sought to interpret them in their own way. It was, therefore, by no religious conspiracy, no ecclesiastical compact, that the four sole Gospels were selected or adopted, or attributed to their authors. They were authenticated by evidence compelling admission by those who would have been glad to deny. And the unwilling testimony of these Gnostics demonstrates the existence of the Gospels through the first half century.

It is upon this part of the subject that Mr. Norton is most copious. He expatiates upon the Gnostics as if enamored of his theme, until his work becomes ecclesiastical history, rather than apologetics. His statements are clear and full of interest, and are brought to bear in great force upon the argument. Mr. Norton is free of speech in irrelevantly asserting his trenchant Unitarianism. With that drawback, his work may be well recommended to our readers interested in this department of thought.

Ecce Ecclesia. An Essay, showing the Essential Identity of the Church in all Ages. 8vo., pp. 576. New York: Blelock & Co. 1868.

There never has been but one true Church, the Messianic, in the world. "Christianity is as old as the creation." Adam was a Christian, and every true Jew was justified by faith in the atonement. Such are the truths which Dr. Deems asserts and illustrates in this volume with great clearness and force. But to these propositions there are certain antithetic formulæ, which are equally true. This one true Church has under successive dispensations been several successive Churches. Christianity took its origin at the Christian era. Adam was a patriarch, and not a Christian. And theologians discuss with great and just doubt how far the ancient Israelites understood the great final atonement to be foreshadowed by their sacrificial system. Dr. Deems is a man of genius. Whatever he speaks, writes, or thinks, is spoken, written, or thought with much intensity. But he sees sometimes a part so vividly as to miss the comprehensive whole, and thereby mistakes the an-

tithetic for the contradictory. His book is mainly occupied with assuming or maintaining that of the above two sets of propositions, the former contradicts and excludes the latter.

From the same intensity Dr. Deems brings all the affirmers of the latter propositions to a very sharp issue, and holds them responsible in somewhat peremptory terms for great fallibilities. In studying his table of contents, in order to ascertain the great outline of his volume, we were struck with the summary style in which the most eminent theologians in his way were upset. His running titles are "Error of Watson," "Mistake of Mr. Watson," "Error of Dr. G. Smith," "Very Erroneous and Unguarded Teachings of Dr. A. Clarke," "Marvelous Errors of Dr. Nevin," "Blunder of Mr. Burkett and Others," "Absurdity of Buck's Dictionary," etc., etc. The method by which Dr. Deems annihilates all these errors is by opposing one set of the above propositions to the other, and, assuming the contradictoriness of their nature, to hold the assertors as blunderheads.

Let us take a fair specimen. Mr. Watson is quoted as saying, "The Christian religion was published by its great Author in Judea a short time before the death of Herod," etc. To this Dr. Deems responds, "No, sir; that is not the proper understanding of it. This is the fact, as Mr. Watson himself will not deny. The Christian religion, that is, *the religion* now called by the name of 'Christianity,' was published by its great Author to all mankind in the days of Adam, several thousand years before Herod was born," etc., page 311.

Again, three or four paragraphs are quoted from a published sermon by Bishop Wightman of the Church, South, beginning with this just and true sentence: "The term *New* Testament sets the Gospel dispensation in contradistinction to the Law, which was the Old Testament." The bishop then proceeds to show, with perfect accuracy of thought and language, that the ministers of the New Testament are a new and a very different institute from the priesthood of the Old. Dr. Deems responds, "The Old Testament and the New, then, are in contradistinction to each other; that is to say, they are not only *different*, as a treatise on geography and one on astronomy are different, but they are *contrary*, in opposition to each other. And he tells us further that they 'both proceed from God.' This looks to me impossible. How can any two things coming from God stand *contra* to each other?"

One would suppose that Dr. Deems had learned long since that contraries are not necessarily contradictories, and that contradistinction is not contradiction. The opposite poles are *contra* to

each other, yet both came from God. The entire argument against Bishop Wightman is too extended for our limits. The remainder is just as conclusive as the part we have given. And of the general mode of reasoning these are, we think, average examples. We do not think that the prevalent conception among our best theologians of the relation between the old and new dispensations is incorrect; nevertheless there are frequent careless statements which Dr. Deems's keen criticisms are well calculated to castigate and correct. For that purpose his work is valuable.

The Works of Christ; or, The Atonement, considered in its Influence upon the Intelligent Universe. By ENOCH M. MARVIN, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 24mo., pp. 137. St. Louis: P. M. Pinckard. 1867.

This little volume by Bishop Marvin, of the Church South, is an outline theodicy. It is a concise presentation of the theory of divine justice in the government of the world, as exhibited in the Christian system, including the atonement. The bishop's logic is clear, and his style nervous, and sometimes eloquent. He writes mainly in short, graphic, trenchant sentences, in the first person singular, with a very subjective spirit; so that the reader seems to overhear a series of systematic individual meditations through which the mind passes in attaining a symmetrical view of a just divine government.

The great outline of the bishop's argument is truly Arminian and soundly orthodox. It is standard in its value, and may well be recommended to the study of our young ministry, and our laymen who desire to see a brief fundamental statement of the reasonableness of their own system of faith.

Theological Index. References to the Principal Works in every Department of Religious Literature. Embracing nearly seventy thousand Citations, alphabetically arranged under two thousand Heads. By HOWARD MALCOLM, D. D., LL.D. 8vo., pp. 487. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. London: Trübner & Co. 1868.

Dr. Malcolm's volume is a unique and very valuable book of reference. He thinks truly that it will be a great convenience to authors, students, and purchasers of books for libraries. Perhaps we are not adding a fourth class when we say that reviewers may find it a great aid in "reading up" for an article for our Quarterly. It is a noble achievement that a work commenced by the learned author for his own private convenience, and continued as occasion demanded through the large share of his professional life, should have attained from his single hand so great a magnitude and com-

pleteness. It is drawn up, too, so far as we can see, with an impartiality which renders it equally acceptable to believers in every creed, and which would render it difficult to guess what is the creed of the author.

The Epistle to the Hebrews. With Explanatory Notes. To which are added a Condensed View of the Priesthood of Christ, and a Translation of the Epistle, prepared for this work. By HENRY J. RIPLEY, late Professor in Newton Theological Institute, and Author of "Notes on the Gospels," "Acts of the Apostles," "Epistle to the Romans," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 213. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: Geo. S. Blanchard & Co. 1868.

This is one of a series forming a popular yet scholarly commentary on the New Testament by the learned Baptist professor. It is exegetical rather than theological, the author seldom, if ever, having any particular creed under his attention. He does not apply i, 8, to prove the divinity of Christ as against Unitarianism, nor argue to show that vi, 4–6, does not prove a real and total apostasy from true piety as against Arminianism. He does not decide upon the question of the authorship of the epistle, but recognizing its apostolic character, seems to hold that while Paul may be author of the thoughts, some other hand may have clothed them in language. Such is clearly the problem. Pauline thought in an un-Pauline style.

American Edition of Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Revised and Edited by Professor H. B. HACKETT, D. D. With the co-operation of EZRA ABBOTT, A.M., A.A.S., Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. Parts 7 and 8. 8vo. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867.

The present two numbers of this noble Bible Dictionary extend from the article on Egypt to that on Gennesaret. The principal articles are Elijah, Elisha, Embalming, Book of Enoch, Ephesians, Esdras, Esther, Exodus, Ezekiel, Ezra, Gadara, Galatians, Genealogy, and Genesis. The standard character of this work is, of course, well known to our readers. Hurd & Houghton are rapidly pressing it forward to completion.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Handbuch der neuesten Kirchengeschichte seit der Restauration von 1814. [*Manual of Modern Church History since the Restoration of* 1814.] By F. NIPPOLD, Privatdocent of Theology at the University of Heidelberg. 8vo., pp. xv, 484. Elberfeld. 1867.

The most important work produced by Schenkel's young school. The author attempts to show, by the recent history of the Church itself, that the Church has fallen into a lifeless eccle-

siastical form purely because it has neglected to seize and use the culture of the times. He affirms that he writes independently of every party-standpoint, and yet the bias of the skeptical partisan is perceptible on almost every page. His book is in perfect conformity with the programme of the Protestant Unions, (societies organized by Schenkel within the Church for the real purpose of abolishing all adherence to confessional authority,) and is directed mainly to the intelligent laity, who are assumed to have become perfectly disgusted with the whole mass of confessional ecclesiasticism into which the orthodox Church is claimed to have tumbled. It is lamentable to see such a man as Rothe, whose *Ethik* had justly entitled him to the good name he enjoyed until addled by Schenckel's sophistries, writing a highly commendatory preface to Mr. Nippold's history, and intimating that the orthodox theologians of the present time would make the Church of the nineteenth century cleave to the errors of the sixteenth. And Mr. Nippold himself ignores the whole work of the Reformation and the Protestant Church when he affirms "that it is the Modern State which has triumphed over the Middle Ages." If he is to be believed, then we must give politics, and not Christianity, the credit of having saved us from medieval darkness, and the corruptions of Popery in its worst forms.

After the Introduction, the work is divided into three books, as follows: Book First, the Results of Previous Development, and the Nature of the new Epochs; Book Second, the Latest Church History of Catholicism, (1) History of the Papacy; (2) History of the State Churches outside of Germany; (3) History of German Catholicism; Book Third, the latest Church History of Protestantism, (1) the History of German Theology; (2) History of the German Church; (3) History of the Greek Church, and of Protestantism beyond Germany. In the section on the Orthodox Schools of Theology there is the confession that an orthodox revival has occurred in the English, Swiss, French, and Dutch Churches; but there is coupled with it a sneer at its practical character, as if the theology arising from it were so practical and commonplace as to exclude a really scientific character. The present school of orthodox theologians is unequally described, but this is one of the very best and, generally, most impartial portions of the work. The sketch of Hengstenberg is an exception, however, and is more unfair than any other of Mr. Nippold's portraits.

Having described the evangelical leaders, and grouped them into schools, (following Schwartz throughout, *Geschichte der neuesten Theologie*,) the author arrives at the conclusion that none

of these schools "can effect a regeneration of the crushed theology of Protestantism." As the Church has withdrawn itself from culture, culture has withdrawn itself from the Church; there must be a remarriage, or the Church will inevitably suffer shipwreck and utter ruin. The orthodoxy of the present day is described as a return to the Pietism of Spener's time; it is exclusively private Christianity, and is bent on restoring confessionalism in its strongest character: it is an excessive exaltation of the circumference, and an unpardonable neglect of the center: in a word, it is the wretched legacy we have received from Roman Catholicism. The Church is no more what it once was—the supporter of Christian ideas. It is constantly ceasing to be the center of all religious efforts, while these efforts are now being chiefly made by Humanitarians operating independently of the Church. This assumption might be excused in any writer whose eye is supposed to be closed to the facts of recent ecclesiastical history. In the present instance it betrays Mr. Nippold's unpardonable ignorance of his chosen theme. Exscind the orthodox Church-members from all the charitable associations of Great Britain and the United States, and the Humanitarian treasury would soon be hopelessly empty. It is the evangelical Church which, directly or indirectly, is now conducting the greatest benevolent organization of our century, and Mr. Nippold could see this if he would, from an example near at home, the Gustavus Adolphus Association.

There are features of this Church History which we admire; it is plain-spoken, direct, and aims to reduce the facts of recent date to principles. It shows us just what we did not know before, and what it was important to know as soon as possible, namely, the verdict of the culture-worshipers on the whole evangelical movement foreshadowed by Schleiermacher, marked out by Neander, and followed up by Tholuck and the whole class of evangelical theologians on the continent. To upset this verdict will need effort of stronger men than the author of this work, and their negative success, as with all thrusts against error, will be so much positive gain.

But we cannot close our notice of Mr. Nippold's history without a protest against his misrepresentation of Methodism. He quotes no English or American authorities, and is probably ignorant of the English language. We can excuse him, therefore, only on the ground of being compelled to rely on German authorities, who, almost without exception, have notoriously misrepresented Methodism. He says the divisions among the Wesleyans of England have arisen from "the withdrawal of the more pious from

the less pious," and the Primitive Wesleyans are now the important section! The fact is, the Primitives have scarcely a quarter of a million of members and less than seven hundred preachers, while the Wesleyans have nearly six hundred thousand members, and twenty-eight hundred preachers in the active work. (See *Wesleyan Minutes* for 1866.) The statistics of American Methodism are also underrated, while our camp-meetings are described as "really German Pietism in its grosser form," to which thousands of people stream from different quarters and spend five or six days in "groaning, screaming, howling, and having convulsions." These things must be so, Mr. Nippold concludes, for it is the unanimous testimony of such men as Graul, Gieseler, and Gerstäcker. The only consideration which reconciles us to such outrageous falsehoods is the fact that, in giving a fulsome laudation of Unitarianism, he presents it as the opposite pole to Methodism in the United States, a judgment to which we readily submit, with all proper thanks to the judge.

Apologetische Beiträge. Zweiter Beitrag.—Die göttseligen Geheimnisse: 1. Gott und seine Schöpfung. 2. Der Mensch und seine Sünde. [*Apologetic Contributions. Second Contribution.* 1. *God and his Creation.* 2. *Man and his Sin.*] By Dr. FRIEDRICH DUESTERDIECK. 8vo., pp. 116. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1867.

In the Introduction there is a sharp analysis of the different kinds of knowledge. Faith is just as much knowledge as the knowledge communicated by reason or the senses. The antithesis between faith and reason is the central point of the severe conflict now in progress between orthodoxy and infidelity: formally stated, the person, work, and history of Jesus on the one side, and the actualness, historical development, and moral order of revelation on the other, are the two main subjects about which faith and unbelief have gathered their respective combatants. The skeptics promise a religion of humanity, a promise they can never fulfill. The best way to refute the deistical, pantheistic, and materialistic tendencies of the age is to enforce the Christian idea of God, the personal Spirit and Lord who reveals.

The present work embraces the two general heads: 1. God and his Creation; and, 2. Man and his Sin. All the present false views of man's nature and responsibility, the author holds, arise from false views of God. Human guilt and corruption are clearly taught and enforced by correct conceptions of Deity. In order to understand God sufficiently for our salvation the element of faith is absolutely necessary; the Scriptures nowhere teach that God was

apprehended correctly by a nation or individual who was not in fellowship with him. The absence of communion necessitated the absence of a correct conception of his character. Language is incapable of conveying a sufficient knowledge of him, and the defect must be supplied by the heart's apprehension of him as Saviour and Friend. There is a partial revelation of God's character in the name itself, and the terms which God always used in speaking of himself; but he is most completely revealed by the Son, between whom and the believer there must be a warm, living fellowship. There must be a reception of Christ's life a having of God. 1 John ii, 23; iv, 15. The New Testament representation of God is not opposed to that of the Old, but carries the latter to perfect development; the New Testament is not the abrogation but the fulfillment of the Old; miracles are not peculiar and abnormal methods of God's operation, but in harmony with his laws. The only absolute miracle that ever occurred is creation; all others are subordinate to it, for it was the germ of all. Hence, faith in miracles is not a special faith; he who believes in a personal, divine Creator cannot deny them. He must accept them if he accept the existence and work of the Divine Being. In looking at the great question of sin, its most difficult point is when and how it commenced. Is God good—then he had no part in originating it; for he hates sin and gave his Son to redeem from it. It was man's own act that brought sin into the world and imbedded it in his nature; so must it be by his own act that he can derive advantage from the great remedy provided for its destruction. To know God aright, and to be delivered from our corrupt nature, we must embrace Christ in his historical character as Redeemer and in his present character as Mediator.

The work as a whole is a happy blending of the argumentative and the practical.

Compendium der Dogmatik. [*Compendium of Dogmatic Theology.*] By Dr. Ch. E. LUTHARDT, Consistorial Counselor, Professor of Theology. Second Edition. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke. 1866.

We have here a restatement of Christian faith in reply to certain claims of skepticism. This *compendium*, standing beside Hase's *Hutterus Redivivus* and Schmid's *Ecclesiastical Dogmatics*, is more popular and clear than either of these works; and it is not at all surprising that a second edition has been called for in less than a year after the appearance of the first, a compliment paid by Germany to but few of her multitude of writers. The treatment

is analagous to Hase's work in deriving its dogmatic definitions from present systems; and, in giving a history of dogmatics, is unlike Schmid, who confines himself merely to ecclesiastical dogmatics. Luthardt gives considerable freedom to the doctrine of predestination, and his views have therefore met with the censure of some Calvinistic Lutherans. He adopts the very unpredestinarian method of only treating this dogma after his discussion of the creation, adding, by way of apology, that Lutheran doctrinal writers give this doctrine place after the doctrine of sin, but "as an *actio Dei interna et immanens*, it belongs before the *actiones externæ*." But it is more in the definition than in the place he assigns the doctrine itself that the doctor incurs the displeasure of his predestinarian critics. Of predestination he says, in concluding his examination of the doctrine, "*The fundamental error, from the beginning down to the present time, has been the too intimately connecting it with individuals instead of with humanity*, as God will have it in Christ, into whose communion we can only come by faith as individuals. But then this is not a special and particular revelation, but only the historical revelation of the same." In other words, Luthardt, now one of the leading men in the Lutheran Church of Germany, repudiates the old form of predestination, and modifies it into a general divine purpose, which will not suffer humanity to be divided, but will only regard it as a unit.

Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte. [*Manual of Church History, with Constant Reference to the Development of Doctrine.*] By H. E. F. GUERICKE. 9th Edition. Vol. II. Medieval Church History. Pp. 320. Leipzig: W. Engelmann. 1866.

Guericke's work is already favorably known to the American public through Professor Shedd's translation; but the present part of a new edition (from Gregory the Great, year 590, to the conclusion of the general Lateran Council, in 1517) is a great improvement upon the corresponding one of the American edition. The great value of Guericke's Church History is its constant reference to doctrinal history. In fact, it is a concurrent history of doctrine, and in this respect it stands well nigh alone. The present volume is a treatment of the Church of the Middle Ages, under the two general heads of the Ecclesiastical Middle Age before its bloom, (from the seventh to the eleventh century,) and the Ecclesiastical Middle Age since its bloom, (from the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the sixteenth century.) The final chapter on the doctrinal history of two specific periods furnishes a fair specimen of the method of the work. The subject is, the

Ecclesiastical Development of Single Doctrines. First, the Scholastic Period. Under this head, God, Anthropology, Christology, and Soteriology, the Church and its Sacraments, are treated. Second, the Ante-Reformation Period, under which God, the Church, and the sacraments are treated. The work concludes with a minute chronological table of Church history, in twelve pages.

History, Biography, and Topography.

A Memoir of the Life and Labors of Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D., Late President of Brown University. Including Selections from his Personal Reminiscences and Correspondence. By his sons, FRANCIS WAYLAND and H. L. WAYLAND. In two volumes. Pp. 429, 379. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1867.

These are precious volumes, perpetuating the memory of a good and great man, and, as the dedication to his pupils, parishioners, and friends truly says, confirming the lesson so often taught by him, "that nothing on earth is so divine as a life devoted to the service of God and the welfare of man." The biographies of but few men will be so heartily welcomed, and read with so delighted an interest by all classes, as this. As a minister and prominent leader in the Baptist denomination his name is loved throughout their million of members; as an educator, standing for thirty years at the head of one of the principal colleges in the country, he powerfully aided in forming the intellectual character of many hundreds of students, and in molding prevailing systems of academic and popular education; his text-books, of which "The Elements of Moral Science," with its abridgment, alone, has reached a circulation of nearly one hundred and forty thousand copies, made him a revered but familiar friend in most of our institutions of learning for many years, and gave his name an authority among intelligent youth everywhere; his large heart and philanthropic spirit caused him to be regarded as in sympathy with whatever could promote the welfare of humanity. Few men of his time contributed more than he to the intellectual and moral culture of the nation. This Memoir may, therefore, be regarded as filling an important place in our national biographic literature.

The sons of Dr. Wayland have performed a labor of love in the preparation of these volumes. Their intimate relationship to, and deep affection for him, do not seem to have influenced them in their delineation of his character, except it may be in restraining them, where others might have spoken in terms of eulogy. Indeed, they insert freely, though not too much so, the expressions

of others laudatory of his character, words, and works. Dr. Wayland's autobiographic narrative, his correspondence, and materials furnished by friends, make up the body of the Memoir; the work of the authors being chiefly to select, arrange in proper order, and supply the connecting links. They have, with scarcely an exception, done their task well. They make us acquainted with the Christian, the student, the tutor, the preacher, the pastor, the president, the writer, the citizen, the friend, the father, the patriot, the saint; but we lay down the work with the feeling that of his inner and private life we know too little to give us a just comprehension of him.

Dr. Wayland was born in 1796, and died in 1865. After graduating at Union College in 1813, he pursued the study of medicine; but he had hardly entered upon its practice, when his conversion and call to the ministry of the Gospel changed his entire future life. We find him in 1816 a student at Andover, but, pinched by poverty, at the end of the year he left the seminary for a tutorship in Union College. This post he retained until invited to a pastoral charge in Boston, in 1821. Here for five years he labored, not popular as a preacher, but loved as a pastor, careful, methodical, earnest, and severely studious. His sermon on "The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise," which when published brought him, at the age of twenty-seven, prominently before the public, and marked an era in the history of missions, seems to have fallen nearly dead upon the audience that listened to it. In 1826 he became a professor in Union College, but three months afterward accepted the presidency of Brown University, the duties of which he performed with all fidelity until age and an overtasked brain compelled his resignation in 1855.

Dr. Wayland was not so much a man of brilliant genius, as of large and massy intellect. Few men owe less to adventitious circumstances, or to influential personal friends. He was, with his great powers, a patient, conscientious, plodding, indefatigable worker. What is worth doing at all, he thought worth doing thoroughly. This principle had controlled him in his pastorate; he carried it into the recitation and lecture rooms, and the whole system of the college. Whether the college existed at all or not, he said, was none of his concern. His duty was, so long as it did exist, to make it a *good* college. The vessel might sink, but if so, it should sink with all its colors flying. His personal example illustrated his exhortations to his pupils, to do their work as well as possible, and to make the best use of their powers. Such say-

ings as, "All that I have ever accomplished was by day's works," and, "Nothing can stand before day's works," so frequently uttered by him, could not fail to inspire young men around him to follow his steps. From positions of eminence and usefulness they to-day ascribe their success to such teachings.

For the metaphysics of theology Dr. Wayland had no time, and, perhaps, no taste. As late as 1848 he had never read any of Calvin's works, or anything on controversial theology. He called himself a moderate Calvinist; he dared not assent to the logical conclusions of the system. "The sharp angles of Calvinism," he said, "which need to be filed and hammered out in order to make a system, I desire to hold no opinion about." He was a Baptist, "an old-fashioned Baptist," he was wont to say. He was such from "conscientious and intelligent conviction," his biographers assert; and we should be sorry were it otherwise. But, judging from the two or three passages in the Memoir touching his views of infant baptism, passages which Dr. Wayland would not, were he living, thank the authors for inserting, he seems to have based his convictions upon a very partial study of the subject. It is certainly amusing to note the gravity with which they narrate a little passage between the young theologue in his first year at the seminary and Professor Stuart, the whole point of which is in the pupil's confounding a mental temper passively existing, and the same temper actively exercised. On his views respecting communion, upon which there is a growing disagreement in the denomination, the biography is prudently silent; and, more strangely, perhaps, his "Notes on the Principles and Practices of the Baptist Churches" contains no allusion to the subject. It is understood, however, that he was theoretically and practically an open communionist, as are not a few of the leading ministers and laymen of that Church. He could not well be otherwise. From bigotry he was always singularly free. Many of his most cherished intimacies were found in other Churches than his own; and the longer he lived, the more did his catholic spirit expand and glow.

To the close of his life Dr. Wayland was a man of practice, not of theory. Relieved from the care of the college, he must still work. His soul burned for the salvation of men and the glory of Christ. His "Sermons to the Churches," "Letters on the Ministry," the biographies of Judson and Chalmers, and other publications, exhibit his deep concern in the spiritual work of the Church. Nothing is more touching in his whole history than his laying aside his plans of study, his books, and his pen, when

more than sixty years of age, assuming the pastoral charge of the Church in which he was a member, and for a year and a half discharging its duties with an assiduity, fidelity, and zeal that are seldom witnessed even in the young and vigorous. He considered nothing done unless the people were saved. His fervor was as apostolic in the prison, among the criminal and vile, as in the pulpit. And to the last, his interest was an active one in behalf of every philanthropic institution or cause; in everything that pertained to human welfare he felt a responsibility.

We commend these volumes to the perusal of our readers, assuring them of not only a pleasant entertainment for a few leisure hours, but of a profit which ought to be derived from the survey of a career so excellent and grand. D. A. W.

Life of Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts. By his son, EDMUND QUINCY. 12mo., pp. 552. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1867.

Mr. Quincy's life stretches its long line over the entire length of the constitutional existence of our national government. His recollections at death could tie together the administrations of Washington and Lincoln. We miss all mention of the fact in the present volume; but, unless our recollections are incorrect, De Quincy, the English author, claims the American Quincys as a branch of his family, and that the family can trace its pedigree to the time of the Norman conquest.

Mr. Quincy entered Congress during the presidency of Jefferson, and continued until near the close of the War of 1812. He was the able leader of the Federal party in the House of Representatives while in Congress. Specimens of his oratory are given, which rank high, but not highest in parliamentary eloquence. We miss a passage which we used to admire greatly in our younger days, describing the *liberty* our fathers loved in contrast with the "embargoed liberty" of the Jeffersonian dynasty. Mr. Quincy was a true and conscientious patriot. Yet in a part of his career he not only opposed the declaration of war against England, but in his speech against the invasion of Canada he labored to hamper and defeat the administration in carrying on the war. To oppose the invasion of Canada because, as a province, it was not the author of the war, was not only unstatesmanlike, but factious reasoning. For the time being he was an unequivocal "copperhead;" and even the Hartford Convention men looked upon him as decidedly too ultra. It is no wonder that the Federal party, which at first was the noblest and purest party the country ever saw, after peace returned was never forgiven by the country. Its great rival triumphed until it

was first weakened by its subserviency to slavery, and then ruined by a still deeper copperheadism from which it is little likely ever to recover.

It was a great proof of Mr. Quincy's perspicacity that he early saw that slavery was the key of American politics. And we may here say, that the close of the late civil war is the termination of the great reaction of the two sections of our country in favor of a genuine democracy. Each section in turn has compelled the other to bring its aristocracy to a level. Let us explain our meaning.

At the close of the Revolution there were two dominant classes: the one in the North was an aristocracy of wealth and family overlying an uninstructed and, in a degree, a disfranchised commonalty; that in the South was an oligarchy based upon a system of slavery founded in color. As the very broadest maxims of human equality, borrowed in some degree from the school of revolutionary France, were then current, adopted by Jefferson and his followers, one would have supposed that the oligarchy would have been the first to fall. Quite otherwise. The oligarchy had the skill to stand forth the apostles of broad democracy—to proclaim that all men were born free and equal, and yet to secure that their own slave system should be at least a temporary exception. Then, as in our own day, all allusion to the dark, "damned spot," was prohibited under pain of a violent silencer. The maxim that all men are free and equal, as proclaimed by these apostles, meant in the North that the pauper was as good for a voter as the millionaire; in the South it meant that each slaveholder was to have as good a vote as any other slaveholder. The Northern commonalty gladly, and very unanimously, accepted the doctrine in both of its antithetic meanings. It accepted the support of slavery, or enforced silence on that subject, on condition of its own complete enfranchisement. Hence, when Mr. Jefferson came into power the Federalists found their foundations rapidly giving way, and even had the mortification to lose Massachusetts herself. When Mr. Quincy entered Congress his party was bankrupt in power, and soon, by its factious course, became bankrupt in honor. For almost a generation the country reposed under the sway of democracy and slavery. But at last came the terrible reaction.

Prescient men began to realize that the oligarchy of a section was fast becoming the oligarchy over the nation. While the inhumanity of the system, proclaiming its purpose of perpetuating itself, awakened the earnest opposition of conscientious men, its dictatorial and despotic character alarmed true patriots at the North. Southern menaces of disunion for a while deterred, but finally

roused the Northern feeling. Yet to the last the political North dreamed of compromise, and never dreamed of sectional war. The first long-prepared blow from the South found the North not only unarmed, but disarmed by her democratic administration, and weighed down by the incubus of her democratic president; and shameful defeat not only attested her past insensibility to danger, but revealed to her the magnitude of the contest, and fixed her purpose to prosecute it to the bitter end. Not until compelled by stress of war did she give the blow which took the Southern "democracy" at its ancient word, and broke the chains of slavery. Not even then did the "radical" political party purpose the enfranchisement of the negro. That final measure is still in process, and was never adopted until the North was convinced by the massacres of New Orleans and Memphis that the only method to save the negro race from extermination was enfranchisement. The completion of that work is the completion of the double revolution by which the two sections have mutually "democratized" each other.

There are two pictures of Mr. Quincy in the book, a younger and an elder, the latter presenting the more noble-looking manhood. His character in age reminds us of the noble Roman examples quoted by Cicero in his *De Senectute*. As to his religious character, the account given by his son is blank and bleak enough. He attended Dr. Channing's Church and admired his eloquence; but he ostentatiously declined, in a public speech before the Harvard Corporation, being called a Unitarian, as too sectarian. This was not liberality, but—a very different thing—*liberalism*. It was a hit at all organized Christianity. In that sense not only Paul but Jesus was sectarian. In the same way, had Mr. Quincy been as true an indifferentist in politics as in religion, he ought to have declined the name of Federalist as being partisan. Even in his closing days we infer that he communed more with pagan than with Christian antiquity. We apprehend that in religion Mr. Quincy far more nearly approximated the *virtus*, the Roman integrity, of Cicero than the Christianity of Wayland. When the Christian makes his exit in triumphant faith we rejoice with calm assurance. But the problem of mere pagan integrity in a Christian age and land we leave, in the individual case, to be solved by the final Judge.

The American Ecclesiastical Almanac for Ministers and Laymen for 1868. By Prof. ALEXANDER J. SCHEM. 12mo., pp. 80. New York: Frederick Gerhard.

The external material and execution of this almanac is an offense to all esthetic sensibility and a crucifixion to weak eyes. But did the patronage sustain the accomplished author in constructing his

plan upon a scale commensurate with the matter and style of which our readers are aware he is capable, he would furnish to the public a valuable work increasing in value from year to year, until, from an ecclesiastical almanac it would grow to an ecclesiastical history. We earnestly wish him the means of fully realizing his noblest conception.

The leading topic at our next General Conference is justly said to be lay representation. And here we may say that we think that the excellent spirit, and the absence of partisanship which, thus far, (with some exceptions in our hebdomadals,) has characterized the movement, is a matter of just congratulation. The lay speeches, especially at our great meetings east and west, are certainly so loyal, so genial toward our ministry, so entirely non-partisan, that we think they justly go far to soothe the fears of the doubtful. The Church need feel it no inauspicious day when such true sons take seats in her highest legislation.

Yet we deprecate movements of haste and doubtful constitutionality. Should the reference again to the people's vote be refused, there is great danger that the annual conferences (whose approval has largely been conditioned on the Church's expression of wish) would reject the movement by a most disastrous vote. Should the General Conference assume to pass the measure without reference to either people or annual conference it would be considered an unequivocal *coup d'etat.* If brought before the courts of law it would probably be pronounced a nullity. Slow and sure is the word. Give the Church time for thought to work; take the calm, unquestionable course, and the measure will be adopted with the ease of a natural process in a healthy body.

Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands, from 1848 *to* 1861; To which are prefixed and added Extracts from the same Journal giving an Account of Earlier Visits to Scotland, and Tours in England and Ireland, and Yatching Excursions. Edited by ARTHUR HELPS. 12mo., pp. 287. New York: Harper & Brothers. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1868.

Mr. Helps, on one of his official visits to Balmoral, as clerk of the Privy Council, was shown some extracts from Queen Victoria's Journal, in which he expressed so much interest that her Majesty conceived the purpose of printing them privately for her family and intimate friends. She finally yielded to the urgent solicitations of those around her and consented to their publication, in the hope of affording a gratification to her loving people. The plan was enlarged after the printing was commenced, and extracts added describing her tours in England, Ireland, and the Channel Islands.

Were we disposed to a rigid criticism of this volume, the candid

objection urged by Queen Victoria to its publication, namely, that she had no skill whatever in authorship, and her reluctance to publish anything written by her own pen, would surely disarm us. It is better to take it in the spirit in which it is given us. Royal personages are not wont to lay open their private life to the inspection of the people, or to desire their sympathy in the pursuits and pleasures of their leisure hours; but Queen Victoria spreads before them the records of her home life and joys, written freely and from the heart, and never designed for publicity. That she was more than willing to present the virtues of the Prince Consort in private life to the admiration of her subjects, and thus embalm his memory in their hearts, is doubtless true; and in this the loving woman and wife commands our admiration.

The constant references to him with not unfrequent affectionate adjectives; the record of his sayings and doings, as though he was her law; her love for Balmoral, because it was "his own creation;" the pet names, as "Bertie," "Vicky," and "Affie," by which the children were called; the kindly feeling pervading the entire household, exhibit the private life of a royal family controlled by virtue, goodness, and love. The volume is a very fitting continuation of the Memoir of the Prince Consort, giving us not a few glimpses of the subsequent career, the opening chapters of which are there recorded.

One of the most touching incidents in these Leaves occurred in 1854, in the Kirk service at Balmoral. "Mr. M'Leod," the Journal says, "showed in the sermon how we *all* tried to please *self*, and live for *that*, and in so doing found no rest. Christ had come not only to die for us, but to show how we were to live. The second prayer was very touching; his allusions to us were so simple, saying, after his mention of us, 'bless their children;' it gave me a lump in my throat, as also when he prayed for 'the dying, the wounded, the widow, and the orphans.' Every one came back delighted; and how satisfactory it is to come back from church with such feelings!" Few persons can read these simple words without a sympathetic "lump in the throat." Very human are queens and princes, but doubly to be honored when piety and love are among their most resplendent qualities. D. A. W.

Military History of U. S. Grant from April, 1861, to April, 1865. By Adam Badeau, Colonel and Aide-de-camp to the General-in-chief, Brevet Brigadier-General United States Army. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 683. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868.

As Mr. Badeau has for some years been a member of General Grant's personal staff, and has had full access to General Grant's

private correspondence and personal converse, it must be considered, although its opinions have never been submitted to General Grant, as essentially official. The author has had the free use of the archives of the State Department, and has consulted the originals of all the reports of the rebel generals of every battle described except two. It claims, therefore, to be the most authentic and unquestionable *history* of the entire ground it covers. It is written in a calm, historic tone, and does candid justice to the heroism and talent of the South. The present volume closes at the appointment of General Grant to the command of the national army.

The pages exhibit some leading characters in no favorable light, but the views are sustained at every step by documentary testimony. The western career of Grant, from the capture of Fort Henry until its culmination in the amazing victory at Chattanooga, though detailed without the slightest parade, is intrinsically Napoleonic. He disgraces every general that opposes him. Yet the whole is done with so plain and business-like an air, with such a freedom from fuss and feathers, that all so-called chivalry is doubly worsted: first, by the contrast of style; and, second, by the result of the fighting. It is refreshing in this age of shams to have one eminent specimen of absolutely simple reality.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

A Treatise on the Cause of Exhausted Vitality; or Abuse of the Sexual Function. By E. P. MILLER, M. D., Physician to the Hygienic Institute and Turkish Baths, 13 and 15 Laight-street, New York City. 12mo., pp. 131. New York: John A. Gray & Green. 1867.

As the characteristic vice of savagism is cruelty, so the leading vice of over-civilization is voluptuousness. And whenever civilization, unchastened by principle, advances, both vices blend together until, as in the Byzantine empire, so powerfully described by Gibbon, we have the extremes of sensual refinement and of bloody savagism united in absolute perfection. It is becoming fast forced upon the attention of our moral and Christian public that this is the consummation toward which we are fast traveling. Sensational literature of the most abandoned description is overspreading our land. Sensational pictorials display before the public the foulest haunts of murder and debauchery. The tide rises perceptibly and constantly higher and higher, and threatens us with a deluge of licentiousness. And a main difficulty is, that such is the nature of the various forms of sexual vice that delicacy and decency seem to forbid a free and public display of their

nature. The apostle describes the difficulty when he says it is a shame to speak of the things done in secret. And it is wonderful to note that as refined voluptuousness advances this fastidiousness of speech increases. Our holy old book, with a divine purity which the pruriency of our age can hardly understand, calls things by their own names. Dr. Miller, in the volume before us, recommends that ministers boldly preach upon the subject; and we truly believe that the pulpit needs to wake, and deal with it in a judicious but efficient manner. But at any rate the silent page can speak. Our periodicals may utter the truth. And volumes like this of Dr. Miller's may be circulated in the proper places with valuable results.

Dr. Miller's volume is written with much point, faithfulness, and purity of style. Those who have not examined the subject will think he is ultra in some of the principles he enounces. Perhaps he is so. But we think he does not overdraw the darkness of his pictures. His delineation of our present social condition is not exaggerated. And his work is eminently Christian and practical. In particular he gives specific directions how, with proper delicacy, the ignorant victim of the vice designated may be taught its heinousness and deterred from its practice. Externally the book is beautifully executed, and well merits to be put to the uses for which it is wisely and humanely prepared.

Educational.

Mayhew's University Book-keeping. A Treatise on Business and Accounts. Designed as a Text-book for Commercial Colleges and Seminaries of Learning, for Use in the Counting Room, and for Private Study. By IRA MAYHEW, A.M., Author of "Mayhew's Practical Book-keeping," and "Means and Ends of Universal Education," and for Eight Years Superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan. 8vo., pp. 318. Boston: Samuel F. Nichols. Chicago: W. B. Keen & Co. 1868.

Mr. Mayhew was for some years superintendent of Public Instruction in the state of Michigan, later principal of the Albion Seminary, and is now proprietor and conductor of a very successful commercial college at Albion. He published some time since a more elementary system of book-keeping, noticed in our *Review*, of which sixty editions were sold in ten years. The present volume is calculated to finish the pupil in all the knowledge preparatory to commercial practice. It begins with the simplest elements, and leads the learner, in the spirit of a genial teacher, yet with complete practical thoroughness, into all the branches of our complex business life. For transparent clearness of development and

illustration it probably has no rival; a fact which eminently fits it not only for the highest institutions of commercial instruction, but for the use of the teacher who has himself never been taught, or for the pupil without a teacher.

Belles-Lettres, Classical, and Philological.

Kathrina: Her Life and Mine. In a Poem. By J. G. Holland, Author of "Bitter-Sweet." 12mo., pp. 287. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867.

The issue of the "twenty-seventh thousand" of Dr. Holland's new poem attests the great popularity of the author with our countrymen, and whether it was won by "Timothy Titcomb" or the poet is immaterial. He has spoken to the heart of the people with a clear discernment of their character, and in a lively, sensible style. If greatness consists in such a use of the abilities given us as widely and beneficially influences human life, Dr. Holland must be pronounced a great man, even though the abilities may not be of the highest order. Judged by critical tests, "Kathrina" cannot rank with the great poems of the age. It contains brilliant passages, and not a few dull ones; some glowing conceptions, and some that are exceedingly hard and prosaic. The poetic stream flows, like his own Connecticut, unevenly; with smoothness and depth through beautiful fields, and again with difficulty, and as if forcing its way. Its homely character and its simple lessons constitute its great charm. The purpose of the author sanctifies his work. He has a reverence, almost an idolatry, for woman; and he would place before us his ideal of the noblest form of earthly life, "half human, half divine," a perfect Christian woman. Such is "Kathrina," beautiful in form, more beautiful in soul. The native graces of her character, trained and polished by education, are more highly refined by religion. The story tells us how she won her poet husband, first, to work, and then from his worldliness of motive to a pure religious faith, and a working for the sake of duty and usefulness. But it is only in her dying hour that he first kneels and prays. The domestic life portrayed touches the heart with its natural simplicity. The description of it is perfectly commonplace, and for that very reason may prove refining to many homes. Dr. Holland will, we doubt not, be far better satisfied with such a result of his labor, namely, the infusion of a pure religious element into our home-life through the influence of the Christian wife who presides over it, than with any measure of fame which professional critics might award him for a work of another character. D. A. W.

Miscellaneous.

Life of Oliver Cromwell. By CHARLES ADAMS, D.D. With four illustrations. 16mo., pp. 268. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1868.

A Catechism of the Ancient Schools, Religious and Moral; with Parallel References taken from Holy Scripture. Compiled by HOBART BERRIAN. 16mo., pp. 96. New York: John P. Prall. 1867.

A Suggestive Commentary on the New Testament: St. Luke. By Rev. W. H. VAN DOREN. 2 vols. 12mo. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868.

The Turk and the Greek; or, Creeds, Races, Society, and Scenery in Turkey, Greece, and the Isles of Greece. By S. J. W. BENJAMIN. 12mo., pp. 268. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867.

Life among the Mormons, and A March to their Zion. To which is added a Chapter on the Indians of the Plains and Mountains of the West. By an Officer of the U. S. Army. 12mo., pp. 219. New York: Moorhead, Simpson, & Bond. 1868.

Two Thousand Miles on Horseback. Santa Fé and back. A Summer Tour through Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and New Mexico, in the year 1866. By JAMES F. MELINE. 12mo., pp. 317. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867.

Italian Journeys. By W. D. HOWELLS, author of "Venetian Life." 12mo., pp. 320. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1867.

The Elements of Physiology and Hygiene; a Text-book for Educational Institutions. By THOS. H. HUXLEY, LL.D., F.R.S.; and WM. JAY YOUMANS, M.D. 12mo., pp. 420. New York: Appleton & Co. 1868.

History of the United Netherlands. From the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce, 1609. By JNO. LATHROP MOTLEY, D.C.L. In four vols., 8vo. Vols. 3 and 4. Pp. 599 and 632. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

The Clifford Household. By J. F. MOORE. 16mo., pp. 308. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1868.

Golden Truths. Square 12mo., pp. 243. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868.

A Manual of the Art of Prose Composition, for the Use of Colleges and Schools. By J. M. BONNELL, D.D., President of the Wesleyan Female College, Macon, Ga. 12mo., pp. 357. Louisville, Ky.: J. P. Morton & Co. 1867.

The Duty and the Discipline of Extempore Preaching. By F. BARHAM ZINCKE, Vicar of Wherstead, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. 12mo., pp. 262. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1867.

A Smaller History of England, from the Earliest Times to the Year 1862. Edited by WM. SMITH, LL.D. 16mo., pp. 357. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

A French Family. By MADAME DE WITT, née Guizot. Translated by DINAH MULOCH CRAIK, Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 216. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

Stories of the Gorilla Country. Narrated for Young People. By PAUL DU CHAILLU, Author of "Discoveries in Equatorial Africa," etc. With numerous Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 292. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—GREEK TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament; with Remarks on its Revision upon Critical Principles. Together with a Collation of the Critical Texts of Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, with that in common use. By SAMUEL PRIDEAUX TREGELLES, LL.D. London. 1854.

Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum cum Lectionibus Variantibus MSS. Exemplarium, Versionum, Editionum, SS Patrum et Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum; et in Easdem Notis. Studio et Labore JOANNIS MILLII, S. T. P. Oxonii: MDCCVII.

Novum Testamentum Græce. Ad antiquos testes denuo recensuit apparatum criticum omni studio perfectum apposuit commentationem isagogicam prætexuit A. F. CONST. TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ. 1859.

A Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D. Article, "New Testament." Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1863.

Notitia Editionis Bibliorum Sinaitici Auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II., susceptæ edidit A. F. CONST. TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ, 1860.

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BIBLICAL criticism aims at ascertaining the precise words of Holy Scripture as they stood in the original autographs of the sacred writers. Those words were true, authoritative, inspired. Were those autographs producible, they would at once settle the whole question of the text to which the lives of some of the noblest scholars of the last three centuries have been given; but they long since perished. Copies made directly from them would be received with nearly the same confidence which would be given to the originals, a confidence which evidently must diminish as the remoteness of the copy increases. For transcriptions without error are next to the impossible, even with the utmost care; and in cases of documents much multi-

plied they naturally become, in the course of centuries, very numerous. Now, about twelve hundred Greek MSS. of the New Testament, including fragments, are known to be in existence, none of which is older than the fourth century, and but few older than the tenth. Several translations were made in the second and third centuries from copies which have perished; and extracts are found in the writings of the early Christian fathers. These have also suffered from transmission through the hands of transcribers. Such are the documents which must be employed to ascertain the Scriptures read by the early Christians.

Were but a single MS. known it could be received only as approximatively correct by those who are familiar with the fate of all ancient books, and he would deem himself happy who might be able, by newly-discovered documents, to verify or correct its readings. Our printed text was formed almost as if but one MS. were in existence; while the researches of scholars have discovered variations in MSS. since examined, amounting to at least a hundred and twenty thousand. They confirm the common text as a whole, so that infidelity long since ceased its assaults upon it; they also show some errors, and furnish the means of correcting them.

All questions of theology are outside of the operations of textual criticism. Christianity in its facts and doctrines must rest upon the naked language employed by the original writers. The labor is to ascertain that exact language, even to the insertion of an article, the orthography of a word, the inflection of a noun, the mood and tense of a verb, so that we shall have "the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth." Whatever has since become incorporated into the text is of no account, and should be cast aside. No important fact, no essential doctrine of Christianity, as received by us, has been as yet touched. That the account of the woman taken in adultery (John viii, 3–11) was not written by John, does not affect the fact of the wisdom and tenderness of Jesus. If it be found necessary to substitute ὃς for Θεὸς in 1 Tim. iii, 16, the doctrine of the essential divinity of our blessed Lord will not be in the least shaken any more than is the doctrine of the Trinity by the rejection of 1 John v, 7, 8, the *experimentum crucis* of an orthodox text from the time of Erasmus down for more than two centuries.

Were it otherwise, and were we receiving as true doctrines which the genuine text does not teach, only the wildest fanaticism would refuse the most rigid investigation. While no rash hand should be allowed to touch the sacred text, no fears of the timid or wails of the bigot should deter honest Christians from studious and diligent search to know in what words God has clothed his speech to men. It is a matter of regret that the steps of scholars in this study have been watched with a jealousy and prejudice that linger to the present day; while it is reasonable that they whose faith rests upon the word of God should desire to know beyond a doubt what that word really is.

We propose to sketch briefly the progress of these studies as connected with the printed text of the Greek New Testament.

The history is divisible, with a tolerable distinctness, into THREE PERIODS. The FIRST may be called that of the formation of the received text; the SECOND, that of investigation and collection of materials for criticism; and the THIRD, that of the employment of these materials in the reconstruction of the text.

I. More than half a century had elapsed after the invention of the art of printing, the ancient learning had revived, the Greek language and literature were fast winning their way through Western Europe, when Cardinal XIMENES DE CISNEROS, Archbishop of Toledo, conceived the plan of the Complutensian Polyglot, with which he intended to celebrate the birth of the prince known to history as the Emperor Charles V. The Jews, who had both money and skill, had for twenty years possessed their printed Hebrew Scriptures; but for Christians, who had for centuries depended on the Vulgate, the Latin had become a sacred language. Theologians were content with it, and only a few scholars scattered here and there pretended to feel any interest in the original Greek. A few fragments only had been printed. The first, so far as now known, was the hymns of Mary and Zacharias, (Luke i, 46–55, 68–80,) in 1456; the next, eighteen years later, consisted of the first six chapters of St. John's Gospel; and a third, in 1514, contained the first fourteen verses of the same Gospel.

Cardinal Ximenes, the renowned and powerful ecclesiastic and statesman, the founder and builder of the University of

Alcala, attained an honorable immortality from the preparation of his Polyglot, the title of which was taken from *Complutum*, the Latin name of Alcala. The announcement of his plan, in 1502, produced great alarm in not a few minds, lest the innovation might do harm to the Church. But the man who could point the haughty grandees of Spain to a park of artillery for his "credentials" to the regency of the kingdom, would not be readily dismayed by any opposition to his project, or disturbed by the apprehensions of the timid. The fifth volume, which contained the New Testament, and was the first one printed, was finished January 10, 1514, though the whole work was not completed until three years and a half later.

Of the four editors employed on the New Testament, Lopez de Stunica was the one particularly intrusted with the preparation of the Greek text, but under the direction and at the expense of Ximenes himself. What MSS. were used is not known, notwithstanding the great inquiry made for them in subsequent years. Both Ximenes and the editors agreed in saying that they were sent to Alcala by Pope Leo X.; but the preface also asserted that they were "very ancient and correct, and of such antiquity that it would be utterly wrong not to own their authority." It was, not unnaturally, inferred that the celebrated Codex Vaticanus was among them, and that the Complutensian might therefore be relied on almost as if it were the MS. itself. As investigation proceeded, however, it was found that where MSS. of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries differed from those of most ancient date, and from the citations of the early Greek fathers, the Complutensian usually agreed with the former, thus proving its text to have been formed from modern MSS. alone. The competency of the editors to judge of the antiquity and value of their authorities may be easily doubted; but they are credible as to their source. It is now known that Ximenes possessed no Greek MSS. whatever of the New Testament, and it is believed that only modern MSS. were employed, and that they were procured from Leo, but returned as soon as the Polyglot was completed. The question became an important one only from the part borne by the Complutensian in the formation of the received text.

The standard of this edition was the Vulgate, which the editors had in so high veneration, that in preparing the Old Testament they placed it in the central column, between the Hebrew and the LXX., "between the synagogue and the Oriental Church." Such a veneration accounts for several changes of the Greek text to suit the Vulgate, among which is the alteration in 1 John v, 7, 8, interpolating the testimony of the heavenly witnesses, and omitting the concluding words of the eighth verse. From the Complutensian it has found its way into our Bibles, where it still stands. "You must know," wrote Stunica to Erasmus, "that the copies of the Greeks are corrupt; that *ours*, however, contain the very truth." The Vulgate was the only version employed, and even that as it had come from the hands of transcribers for over a thousand years. Any comparison of the text with existing quotations from the fathers does not appear to have been thought of. The time for such labor, or even for a perception of its necessity, had not come. The science of biblical criticism was not yet born. But notwithstanding its defects as measured by the critical standard of a later day, the work performed by Ximenes was truly great, and a wonderful achievement for the age in which he lived. The Complutensian text never came into general use, for, although printed in 1514, it was not published till 1520, more than two years after the Cardinal's death, and even then only six hundred copies were issued. But previous to that date, two editions of Erasmus, amounting to thirty-three hundred copies, had been put in circulation; and a third was issued before the Complutensian made its way across the Pyrenees.

Froben, the printer of Basle, having heard of the work in preparation in Spain, resolved to anticipate it by the publication of the Greek Testament in Germany. It was, on his part, a purely publishing speculation, which promised to be a successful one if he could secure the services of the right man as editor. His mind at once turned to ERASMUS, who had, in the midst of vast literary labors, given some attention to the Greek text, and had also prepared a revised Latin translation with annotations. Erasmus was at the time in England. The proposition, made him through a friend, asking his editorial care not only for this but for other works, reached him in

April, 1515, and was at first refused; but on a repetition by the determined Froben was accepted. Erasmus arrived at Basle in the summer, but the details of the printing were not settled until September, and yet the work was published in February, 1516. Such was the haste in which the work was executed: "*precipitatum verius quam editum*," says Erasmus. Severely taxed as he already was with an edition of the works of Jerome, besides other literary labors, not much time could have been given to a scrutiny of the text, which if at all rigid would have been of itself a sufficient task for the five months of its progress through the press. The work was dedicated to Pope Leo X., to whom a copy was sent, and from whom a letter of thanks was received in return. Many theologians and scholars gladly welcomed its appearance, while others assailed it in unmeasured terms and on every possible ground. Side by side, in parallel columns, stood the Greek and his revised Latin translation. Had it contained the Greek alone, or even with the unamended Vulgate, it would have escaped with little opposition; but the substitution of his own version in place of the Vulgate was an offense of unpardonable magnitude. The cry of presumption and heresy was raised; while his subjoined notes in justification of his proceedings only added to the displeasure of his critics. Stunica was exceedingly bitter. A copy had reached Alcala before the death of Ximenes, showing both patron and editor that their edition had been forestalled, but producing very different effects upon their minds. Stunica sought to disparage the work of Erasmus; but the Cardinal, though aware that a share of his deserved glory was gone, nobly checked him, exclaiming, "I would that all might thus prophesy; produce what is better if thou canst; do not condemn the industry of another." In the controversies which followed, Stunica attacked Erasmus with some reason, pointing out some things which really needed correction. Lee, afterward Archbishop of York, exhibited ignorance as well as impertinence, insisting that he should have condemned his MSS. as worthless for not containing texts which they *ought* to have contained.

As this work is the foundation of our commonly-received text, it is important to note its history with some care. Scholars are able to judge of the value of the MSS. employed by

Erasmus, as, with a single exception, they are now to be seen at Basle, and among them the two (one of the Gospels, and the other of the Acts and the Epistles) used by the compositors, still bearing his corrections, and the printers' marks. "The MS. of the Gospels," says Tregelles, "is of exceedingly little value." Of two others, one of the Gospels and another of the Epistles, the first agrees with the ancient MSS., and is pronounced to be of "great value;" but Erasmus made little use of it, because its readings differed so greatly from those of the other copies that he suspected it to have been changed from the Latin. Distrusting the Vulgate, he naturally distrusted this, and therein made two mistakes. For the Apocalypse he had but a single MS., badly mutilated, often unintelligible from the intermixture of the text with the commentary upon it, and entirely deficient in the last six verses. Taking the Vulgate for a guide rather than a helper, he amended his text in accordance with it, or translated from it to supply deficiencies, as the Complutensian editors had done, only more freely. His own notes afford sufficient evidence of these interpolations. He found Acts viii, 37 only in the margin of a single MS., but concluding it to have been omitted through carelessness in transcription, he inserted it in full as if undoubtedly genuine; and so to this day we read, "And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." So also Acts ix, 5, 6, "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he, trembling and astonished, said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? and the Lord said unto him," which is found in no Greek MS. whatsoever, and has no claim to be considered part of Holy Scripture, was inserted from the Vulgate on mere conjecture, and has been perpetuated in our Bibles as genuine. But he did not insert 1 John v, 7, 8; and this was the ground of some of the severest attacks upon his edition. He was accused of omitting it from the text; and to his reply that his MSS. did not contain it, that it was not found in some Latin copies, and that Cyril of Alexandria knew nothing of it, as was manifest from his citation of the context, the retort was ready that the words *ought* to have been there. The doctrine was surely true, and, therefore, the passage must be genuine. Erasmus at length promised to insert it in the text whenever a

single Greek MS. containing it should be produced. In 1518, the Aldine edition, a reprint of this work, appeared at Venice, with about two hundred changes, partly from error, and partly from MS. authority. Erasmus, unaware that it was a reprint, although it was dedicated to himself, employed it in preparing his next edition, restoring from it the last verses of the Revelation. His second edition was published in March, 1519. The text is changed in about four hundred places, including errata arising from the haste in which the first was executed. With comparative leisure for its preparation, it was much more perfect than the former, though a large part of the labor expended was upon the Latin version. The third edition appeared in 1522. The text was corrected in one hundred and eighteen places, thirty-six of which were taken from the Aldine reprint. 1 John v, 7, is inserted, not from conviction, but in redemption of his promise, and to remove all handle for calumny, on the authority of a MS. found in England, known as the Codex Montfortianus. It was manifestly translated from the Latin, as had been done by the editors of the Complutensian, but by a person not skillful enough to insert the article before πατὴρ, λόγος, and πνεῦμα. In subsequent editions it took on a grammatical form, which it retains to this day.*

Soon after the appearance of this third edition Erasmus obtained a copy of the Complutensian, from which he corrected the text for the fourth edition in one hundred places, ninety of which were in the Apocalypse alone. The fourth edition differed further from its predecessors in publishing the Vulgate in connection with the Greek, and the Latin version of Erasmus. The fifth edition was published in 1535, the year before his death, differing only in four places from the fourth, which had been issued in 1527.

Thus was laid the basis of the received text. The New Testament was printed as were other ancient works; the MSS. in possession of the editor, or which he could most readily procure, were employed. The materials used were few and comparatively modern, and in a more critical age a better use would have been made of them; but it was a great work to give to the world this portion of Holy Scripture in its original

*The reader may see a fac-simile of the passage as it stands in the Cod. Mont., and also in the Complutensian, in Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary, *in loco*.

language. Erasmus ardently desired its translation for the common people, "such as the Scots and Irish," and its wide diffusion among all Christians as the only sure foundation of their faith.

It is to Paris that we must look for the next steps in our history. In 1543 Colinæus (Simon de Colines) issued a Greek Testament, in which the Erasmian text was amended in about one hundred and fifty places on the authority of MSS. which he had himself examined; but no pretense was made to a thorough collation. It seems to have never attained any wide influence. But in 1546 and 1549 ROBERT STEPHENS published two editions, substantially the same, and known as the "*O mirificam* edition," from the first words of the preface: "O mirificam regis nostri optimi et præstantissimi principis liberalitatem." The king had furnished a new font of type for the work. The text was made from the Complutensian and Erasmus, with a strong leaning to the latter, while fresh MS. authority was followed in only thirty-seven places. Stephens's great edition, the third in order, was a folio, issued in 1550, known as the *Regia*. The fifth of Erasmus was made the basis of the text, while his authorities consisted of the Complutensian and fifteen distinct MSS., of which the Codex Bezæ (D) was the only important one. The changes in the text on any MS. authority were less than thirty; and, except in the Apocalypse, where it follows the Complutensian, "it hardly ever deserts the last edition of Erasmus." To adhere to it, Stephens not unfrequently abandons his former readings and all his MSS., many examples of which have passed into our common text. No critical use, therefore, was made of the two thousand one hundred and ninety-four various readings collected by his son, HENRY STEPHENS, and published in the margin. The collations were far from exact, for the various readings of D alone in the Gospels and Acts exceed Stephens's whole list; and, according to Mill, the Complutensian readings given amount to five hundred and ninety-eight, while more than seven hundred are omitted. Tregelles suspects that he refrained from correcting the text from a fear of provoking the doctors of the Sorbonne, who had ten years before caused him some trouble on account of his amended Vulgate. But their sharp eyes detected the readings of the margin. "Græcum est, legi non potest," was a

good maxim, and they prohibited the edition because of the "annotations." Learning that the dreaded annotations were simply various readings, they demanded the copy from which they had been taken; but to their surprise were informed that they were from many copies, and that they were mostly in the Royal Library at Paris. Stephens then went to Geneva, beyond the jurisdiction of the censors, and there, in 1551, published a fourth edition, with precisely the same text as the third, but giving for the first time the division into verses as they now appear, a plan devised for convenient reference in the Concordance which he had in contemplation.

The next editor in order was THEODORE BEZA, who published five editions, in 1565, 1576, 1582, 1589, and 1598, each containing his own Latin translation and the Vulgate, together with the Greek. He adopted Stephens's text, with a few alterations from such MSS. as were at his command. For his third edition, which was the chief one, he had, besides the collations made for the use of Stephens, two MSS. of the seventh or eighth century, the Codices Bezæ, (D) and Claromontanus, (D Epp.) The changes introduced by him into the text were few in number, and for even them, so far at least as he differs from Stephens, but little reason can be found. He mentions various readings with considerable frequency, but values them more for their bearings on dogmatic questions than for their critical value. Nevertheless, his notes clearly show that a passage which ancient authorities rejected or were ignorant of, he regarded as to be suspected. Beza's Testament was, while he yet lived, generally accepted among Protestants. They seemed to feel that the text was sufficiently established, and for a quarter of a century they received traditionally what printers put into their hands. The word of God received a different treatment from that bestowed upon Terence and Ovid.

The ELZEVIRS, printers at Leyden, brought out their first edition in 1624, twenty-six years after the last of Beza. But it is to be especially noted that for the basis of the text they adopted the third edition of Stephens, issued seventy-four years previously, and scarcely differing at all from the fifth of Erasmus, changing it in only two hundred and seventy-eight places, including every minute variation in orthography. Most

of these changes were introduced from Beza; in a few instances, including typographical errors as well as, perhaps, corrections upon MS. authority, neither Stephens nor Beza was followed. Who the editor was is not known; indeed, there seems to have been little done that rendered an editor necessary. The second edition, published in 1633, is considered their best, great care having been taken to give it a beauty of execution, and to remove all typographical errors. In this edition the preface tells the reader that he has now the universally-received text, in which nothing is altered or corrupted: Textum, ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum; in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus.

Hence arose the phrase "*Textus Receptus*," which has from that time been employed to denote the Elzevir text, the text usually reprinted upon the Continent; while Stephens's, substantially the same, has been that in current use in England. The words just quoted, which simply assert that the text was appealed to by Catholics and Protestants alike, came ere long to be understood as claiming for it a conceded correctness which it never had. Inexpressibly great as is its value, it must be confessed that no reliance can be placed upon it as a critical text. It had never passed the ordeal of criticism.

II. The SECOND PERIOD of our history, *the period of collection of materials for criticism*, opens with a change of the scene from the Continent to England. In 1657, more than a century after Stephens issued his last edition of the New Testament, WALTON gave to the world in his Polyglot the first important collection of various readings, consisting of those gathered by Stephens, and those of the Codices Alexandrinus, Bezæ, and Claromontanus, together with the collations made under the care of Archbishop Usher. Some of these ultimately proved to be worthless, but the work was a great one for the age. Equally important was his exhibition by the side of the Greek text of the Syriac, Arabic, Æthiopic, and Persian versions, now brought together for the first time. An alarm at once arose lest confidence in the Scriptures should in some way be destroyed, and their authority undermined. Curcellæus in 1658, only one year after the publication of the Polyglot, issued an edition with various readings mingled with theological speculations, which did not tend to diminish the

alarm. With the hope of correcting erroneous notions on the subject, Bishop Fell, of Oxford, published an edition in 1675, giving for the first time the readings of the Coptic and Gothic versions, together with those of various MSS., some of which had not been previously collated. A more important and lasting service, however, was the encouragement which he rendered to the labors of Dr. JOHN MILL.

At about the time of the issue of this work of Fell, the mind of Mill was directed by Dr. Bernard, mathematical professor at Oxford, to the subject of sacred criticism with such force that he devoted himself with ardor to its study, not, however, then proposing any definite use of the results of his labors. Thirty years of severe toil were consecrated to it, accomplishing, as Wetstein afterward testified, "more than all those who had preceded him." It was very much like attempting to sail upon an unexplored, unknown, sea without rudder or compass. A keen eye, a ready hand, a quick brain, he had; but his methods of procedure were to be first invented and then tested; the materials were to be gathered; the principles of most successfully using them were to be discovered. Experience and frequent failures taught him much that, known at the outset, would have facilitated his labors, and saved him from great perplexities. He early found that the Stephanic text differed from the ancient authorities. Walton's Polyglot gave him the opportunity of observing the discrepancies between the Alexandrian MS. and the received text. That document, containing, with some chasms, the entire Greek text of the Old and New Testaments, was presented by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, to King Charles I. It is supposed to have been written in the first half of the fifth century. Another remarkable document, the Codex Bezæ, containing the Gospels and the Acts, had been found by Beza at the sack of Lyons in the Monastery of St. Irenæus, in 1562, a short time before Mill entered upon these studies. Beza gave it to the University of Cambridge in 1581. Its exact age has been a matter of some dispute, but it is now commonly assigned to the sixth century. This text also varied greatly from the Stephanic, which had been formed from authorities not so old by six or seven hundred years. A similar variation was found in the oldest Latin versions. So faithful

are their renderings from the Greek that the readings of the copy which the translator used may often be discovered with absolute certainty. It was found that the older were the MSS. of these translations the more did they agree with the Alexandrian Codex in those passages in which it differs from the text of Stephens. The same result was obtained from an examination of other ancient versions. Quotations from the New Testament made by the early Greek fathers, as Clement of Alexandria and Origen, gave the same testimony. This surprising concurrence led Mill to conceive a plan for the recovery of the primitive Greek text. He supposed the old Latin version, the root of the many copies existing prior to Jerome, still to exist in those MSS., which would agree with the citations of Scripture found in the writings of the Latin fathers of the same period. From these the "Vetus Itala" might be restored. A comparison of the oldest Greek MSS. with the quotations of Clement and Origen would give approximatively the correct Greek text; and from these critical Latin and Greek texts the text of the first ages of the Church might be constructed, or at least one differing from it in no important respect. Several serious obstacles interposed to the execution of this idea, some of which were at the time insuperable; but it is worthy of notice that the first really critical editor of the Greek New Testament held that the original text was to be sought in the earliest documents, and that those documents consisted of MSS., versions, and quotations of the fathers. Mill, therefore, determined to print the text of Stephens with no intentional changes, except in the correction of manifest errata, placing his various readings in the margin. He attempted to bring together all possible materials that could aid in ascertaining the correct text. He not only collected all the various readings which previous study had discovered, but he personally collated such MSS. as were within his reach, and procured the collation of others by his friends. He was the first to habitually use for critical purposes the ancient versions and the writings of the fathers. Of the former he had only the Latin translations in Walton's Polyglot; the latter were not then so readily examined as is made possible by their publication since that day.

When Bishop Fell saw the extended scale upon which Mill had pursued his investigations, he strongly urged him to publish an edition of the New Testament on the full plan of his studies, promising to defray its expense. Mill finally consented; but the printing, which was not commenced until after considerable delay, progressed slowly, and was not completed until 1707, only two weeks before his death. The work had grown upon his hands. Point after point required reinvestigation; new and various materials were continually coming into his possession, some too late for their proper places in the body of the work. Besides this, a more thorough acquaintance with his materials and a greater experience in their use taught him better principles of judgment upon them than he had at the outset, and often compelled him to change opinions previously expressed. In the Prolegomena, therefore, we find some corrections of conclusions elsewhere given, and his most mature opinions upon the evidence before him. The result of his vast labors may be briefly stated: he showed the sources from which the means for a reconstruction of the text might be derived, and gathered the materials from which the biblical student might form his own judgment in cases of various readings. Still, much of his ground had to be traversed again in subsequent years, for the method of thorough collation that notices the most minute variations, as was found necessary at a later day, had in his time never been practiced. It was in his plan to publish the exact text of some of the most important MSS., a work which would have been of immense value to biblical scholarship. His death prevented its execution, and a century and a half elapsed before it was fully accomplished. His analysis and comparison of previously printed texts, and his accounts of their origin and history, have not been superseded by anything of more recent times.

It seems strange to scholars of the present day that the results of Mill's labors should not have been more gratefully received by men of learning. Many in both England and Germany, among whom were the generality of the clergy, and not a few university professors, condemned the work as hostile to Christianity. His collection of no less than thirty thousand various readings was the foundation of the charge against him of "rendering the canon of Scripture uncertain." None took

it up with greater zeal than Dr. Whitby, whose learning and genius were capable of better things. He undertook the task, a bold one with Mill's volume before him, of defending the Stephanic text against change in all important cases without exception, and of showing that it was very seldom to be altered even in passages of lighter moment. He must have known the manner in which that text originated, and also that Stephens himself in some cases preferred the readings in the margin to the text which he printed. He even stooped to accuse Mill of numerous contradictions of himself in the different opinions expressed in the Prolegomena upon the value of certain readings, from those given perhaps twenty years previously in the margin; in other words, of having changed his mind upon new and satisfactory evidence.

The charge of unsettling the text of Scripture, and making it uncertain, was a revival of the old declamation against Walton, (in which none was louder than the celebrated John Owen,) and a clamorous appeal to the ignorant against critical inquiries. It was at once seized by the enemies of Christianity and turned against its supporters, Whitby as well as Mill. They could easily and truly say that Mill did not *make* the variations, but simply stated them as he found them: their inference was that the Christian documents were thoroughly corrupt, and no reliance whatever could be placed upon them. "No profane author," it was said, "has suffered so much by the hand of time as the New Testament has done." Textual criticism had a double battle upon its hands; it must reply with an argument that would satisfy the lover of the word of God, and at the same time silence the skeptic. By none was it given more to the point than by "the British Aristarchus," RICHARD BENTLEY, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, the greatest Greek scholar that England has ever produced. "Surely," said he, "these various readings existed before in the several exemplars; Dr. Mill did not make and coin them; he only exhibited them to our view. If religion, therefore, was true before, though such various readings were in being, it will be as true, and consequently as safe still, though every body sees them. No truth, no matter of fact fairly laid open, can ever subvert true religion. If there had been but one MS. of the Greek Testament at the restoration of learning about two

centuries ago, then we had had no various readings at all. And would the text be in a better condition then than now we have thirty thousand? So far from that, that in the best single copy extant we should have had some hundreds of faults, and some omissions irreparable. Besides that, the suspicion of fraud and foul play would have been increased immensely." He proceeds to explain how, from numerous copies with their abundant variations, a greater certainty exists of arriving at the true text, just as the twenty thousand various readings of Terence had placed his text in good condition. That no errors, he argues, should have occurred in the transcription of MSS. through so many ages before the art of printing was known, by men whose livelihood was thus obtained, is simply impossible, unless we suppose that a perpetual miracle was wrought by which the pens of the copyists were supernaturally guided, which is contrary to plain matter of fact; and even then the New Testament has only shared the fate of all ancient writings.

No person in England was equally qualified with Bentley for taking up the work of presenting a correct text of the New Testament at the point where Mill had left it. He had given early attention to the subject, and his prominence in the controversies of which we have spoken turned the minds of many eminent scholars to him as peculiarly competent to undertake such an edition. It was never published, but his labors were of such a character that no history of the text can be complete without a notice of them. The exact time of the commencement of his preparations cannot be told with certainty. WETSTEIN, whose labors we shall hereafter detail, was mistaken in supposing that the scheme was not contemplated until a conference with himself early in 1716. That scholar, then but twenty-three years of age, had brought to England some collations made by himself at Paris, which he showed to Bentley. Among them were about two hundred readings from the Codex Ephræmi, (C) a MS. of the first half of the fifth century, which seven hundred years afterward was used as old parchment, and written over again with the works of Ephraem Syrus. Bentley was greatly interested in these extracts, and urged Wetstein to publish them; but finally purchased them, and employed him to return to Paris and make a complete

collation of the Codex. He also took great pains to secure accurate collations of the oldest MSS., both Greek and Latin, even sending an agent to Paris for that purpose. He personally collated the Alexandrian Codex; but the most valuable of his materials was a collation of the Codex Vaticanus, (B) by Mico, an Italian, some parts of which were afterward reviewed by his nephew, Dr. Thomas Bentley.

Bentley's letter to Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, dated April 16, 1716, and written while Wetstein was still in England, exhibits his views so clearly that we would gladly give it a full insertion, but must be content with brief extracts. He fully believed himself "able to give an edition of the Greek Testament exactly as it was in the best exemplars at the time of the Council of Nice, so that there shall not be twenty words, nor even particles, difference." He found a wonderful agreement in the ancient Greek and Latin copies, even to the collocation and order of words, a point of which no preceding collator had taken notice; while modern copies likewise greatly agreed among themselves, but at the expense of a difference with those which were six or eight hundred years older. He says:

> The New Testament has been under a hard fate since the invention of printing. After the Complutenses and Erasmus, who had but very ordinary MSS., it has become the property of booksellers. Robert Stephens's edition, set out and regulated by himself alone, is now become the standard. That text stands as if an apostle was his compositor. No heathen author has had such ill fortune. Terence, Ovid, etc., for the first century after printing, went about with twenty thousand errors in them. But when learned men undertook them, and from the oldest MSS. set out correct editions, those errors fell and vanished. But if they had kept to the first published text, and set the various lections only in the margin, those classic authors would be as clogged with variations as Dr. Mill's Testament is. . . . To conclude in a word, I find that by taking two thousand errors out of the Pope's Vulgate, and as many out of the Protestant Pope Stephens's, I can set out an edition of each in columns, without using any book under nine hundred years old, that shall so exactly agree, word for word, and, what at first amazed me, order for order, that no two tallies nor two indentures can agree better. I affirm that these so placed will prove each other to a demonstration; for I alter not a letter of my own head without the authority of these old witnesses.

In 1720 he issued his proposals for his Greek and Latin Testament, explaining fully his system, and giving a specimen

chapter. The important features of his plan may be briefly stated: he would revise the two texts "on the authority of MSS. of more than a thousand years old;" as confirmatory witnesses to the text thus adopted, he would use the readings of "the old versions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic, and Æthiopic, and of all the fathers, Greek and Latin, within the first five centuries . . . so that the reader has under one view what the first ages of the Church knew of the text, and what has crept into any copies since is of no value or authority;" nothing was to be inserted into the text upon conjecture, and the entire evidence for every word was to be given. This was a capital plan for harmonizing the Greek and Latin texts, and would have resulted in furnishing the text current in the West in the third and fourth centuries; whereas what was wanted was the text of the whole body of Christians of that time.

The proposed work was immediately assailed with severity, introducing long and bitter controversies, which greatly retarded its execution. It was further hindered by the personal quarrels in which he became involved, which, together with his imprudence and unamiability, aroused an intense prejudice against his qualifications for the task he had undertaken. The work was completed, however, and laid aside to be published after his death, but it never appeared.

We must now turn our eyes again to the Continent, where, after the lapse of a century, another critical scholar had arisen. While Bentley was prosecuting these studies in England, JOHN ALBERT BENGEL, at Tübingen, was led to similar pursuits from a desire to know the precise words in which the word of God, which he had early learned to love, was given. The collections of various readings known to him in 1703, four years previous to the appearance of Mill's New Testament, were so few and incomplete, that a feeling of anxious doubt arose in his mind respecting the accuracy of the sacred text. Patient study removed it, and convinced him that the variations not only affected no important doctrine, but are really less numerous than might have been expected. The materials gathered by him were at first designed solely for his own use, and it was only at the earnest solicitations of others that he continued his investigations for purposes of publication.

It was not until 1734 that his New Testament was issued,

nine years after its commencement, and thirty years after his investigations began while a student at the University. He had delayed it for a time, hoping to see Bentley's promised edition, and, when that became hopeless, the appearance of Wetstein's Prolegomena rendered advisable a complete re-examination of his authorities, and, indeed, of his entire work. It was, in fact, only a partial revision of the text, nothing being inserted into it except in the Revelation, which had not previously appeared in some printed edition, although in the margin were given numerous readings which he judged better attested than those in the text. But for all the readings which he gave he presented the evidence both *for* and *against*, the first who had done so, thus enabling the student to make the best possible use of his labors. He also distinctly announced the now generally admitted principle, *Proclivi scriptioni præstat ardua* —the difficult reading is preferable to the easy one—holding very properly that the tendency of a transcriber would be to the smooth and elegant rather than to the provincial or rough. In his attempt to solve the problem of the characteristic differences of MSS., Bengel conferred a benefit upon all his successors in this field. He was the first to suggest the affinity of certain groups of documents, the primary sources of which were as early as the second century, but are now undiscoverable, except through the copies that have proceeded from them. Though at one time he divided them into three families, his final conclusion was that they should be distinguished into two, which he styled the Asiatic and the African. In the latter were included the Alexandrian Codex, the Græco-Latin MSS., the Æthiopic, Coptic, [Memphitic,] and Latin versions, which happen also to be substantially those upon which Bentley most relied. It was an assertion of the general agreement of the most ancient witnesses against those of later times.

The spirit in which Bengel prosecuted his work was full of reverence and piety. The author of "*Gnomon Novi Testamenti*," a work so highly valued by John Wesley that he translated and incorporated* large portions of it into his "Explan-

* "Many of his excellent notes I have therefore translated; many more I have abridged; omitting that part which was purely critical, and giving the substance of the rest. Those various readings, likewise, which he has shown to have a vast majority of ancient copies and translations on their side, I have without

atory Notes upon the New Testament," could not be accused of impiety or heresy, but during the remaining eighteen years of his life he was compelled to encounter the severest opposition from ignorance and bigotry, not untinged sometimes, we fear, by malice. It is even recorded that he was "publicly challenged to hush the enemies of criticism by admitting that even the various lections were given by inspiration, in order to meet the necessities of various readers." On the other hand, his labors were by large numbers fully appreciated. His text was used by Count Zinzendorf for his German translation; it was by order of the king made the standard for the Danish revision in 1745; and, as we have seen, it was adopted by Wesley in his revised English translation in 1755.

We have already seen WETSTEIN engaged in making collations for Bentley as early as 1716. After thirty-five years of additional labor he produced his edition of the Greek Testament in two folio volumes. When only twenty years of age he wrote and defended a dissertation on its various readings with such success that he was advised by a relative, Mr. J. L. Frey, to undertake a more accurate examination of MSS. in different libraries than they had previously received. Following this counsel he went to Paris, where he made the collations which he afterward sold to Bentley. It was Frey who also suggested to him to prepare a selection of such readings as he deemed preferable to those of the received text, which was done. Frey was so impressed with the apparent value of a text thus revised that he strongly urged him to undertake such an edition. Until this time Wetstein had contemplated nothing more than the editing of the various readings which he had collected. Four years later, the publishing firm of Wetstein & Smith, at Amsterdam, to the former of whom he was related, desiring to anticipate the expected work of Bengel, made him such propositions that his hesitations vanished, and he earnestly set about the work. No long time had elapsed, when for some cause Frey began to oppose him in all possible ways; and then, in 1729, the theological faculty of the University and the parochial clergy presented a petition to the town-council of

scruple incorporated with the text."—*Wesley's Works*, vol. vii, page 535. This quotation not only shows Mr. Wesley's opinion of the "Gnomon," but indicates his judgment of the value of the earliest documents.

Basle, "that J. J. Wetstein, Deacon of St. Leonard's, be prohibited from publishing his criticisms on the Greek Testament, as it is a useless, needless, and dangerous work." The town-council had too much sense to grant the petition; yet the opposition to him caused its issue to be delayed for nearly twenty years. His adoption of Socianianism, and his attempt to propagate its tenets in his lectures, afforded doubtless a valid ground for those disciplinary proceedings which resulted in his leaving Basle and removing to Amsterdam; but they were very poor reasons for preventing the publication of a work of textual criticism.

The Prolegomena was published at Amsterdam in 1730, but the plan was afterward greatly changed, as were his critical principles. His original purpose was to use the Alexandrian Codex as a basis, with which all other authorities were to be compared. Subsequently, he contemplated a text formed upon what he deemed the best evidence at his command. But finally, at the suggestion of some of the Remonstrants, it is said he concluded not to change the received text at all, and to place below it the readings which, in his opinion, should be adopted, and lower still on the page the mass of readings gathered by himself and his predecessors. Wetstein himself collated only about twenty MSS. of the Gospels, and as many more of other parts of the New Testament; but he also re-examined many of the collations of the versions and fathers which had been made by others, and brought together all the results of previous investigations, so that he was able to present the entire body of critical materials known at that time. In this consists the great value of his work.

It is perhaps well that Wetstein did not attempt to revise the text. The peculiar constitution of his mind unfitted him for an impartial weighing of evidence and a correct estimate of the value of his materials. Some of his principles of criticism were undoubtedly correct; but his judgment of principles seems sometimes to have been influenced by his piques and prejudices. When he found that Bentley wished no more collations from him, the ancient MSS. that agree with the Vulgate of Jerome began to fall under his suspicion. His opposition to Bengel resulted in his total rejection of that class of authorities. The resemblance between the early Greek and Latin

MSS., which led Bentley and Bengel to place great reliance upon them, led him to the belief that the Greek text had been altered to conform to the Latin, and finally, that everything, including versions and fathers, that agreed with the Latin had been interpolated from it, and was guilty of "Latinizing." He never explained how the Syriac version and the Greek fathers came to adopt a text that was formed two or three centuries later. The rejection of the mass of ancient documents was with him therefore a necessity. Relying upon modern witnesses, and incapable of acting the part of a judge, it is difficult to see how he could have avoided the conclusion to which he came, namely, that the majority of MSS. must decide the question of a contested reading.

We have thus followed the history of the printed text from its first conception by Cardinal Ximenes for more than two hundred years. It had become so stereotyped, and had attained so prescriptive a right, that it was deemed almost sacrilege to touch it even upon the strongest evidence. The labor of many years had been bestowed upon the collection and examination of documents. A huge mass of materials for criticism had been gathered at the middle of the eighteenth century, Wetstein increasing it as much as Mill had done, and leaving it an unintelligible chaos. Here properly closes our *second* period.

The *third* period is one of critical judgment.

Art. II.—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN CANADA.

[ARTICLE SECOND.]

In 1824 an Annual Conference was established in Upper Canada, the following resolutions having been adopted by the General Conference:

Resolved, 1. That there shall be a Canada Conference under our superintendency, bounded by the boundary line of Upper Canada.

2. That a circular shall be addressed to our preachers and members included within the bounds of the Canada Conference, expressive of our zeal for their prosperity, and urging the importance of their maintaining union among themselves.

The first session of the Canada Conference was appointed to be held at Hallowell, August 25, 1824, and was accordingly organized in due form, being presided over in turn by both Bishops George and Hedding. The strong attachment of the American brethren to Canada was manifested by the two bishops coming at that day to the country at the same time. Bishop George entered the province in the eastern district, and traveled west, preaching as he had opportunity, till he reached Hallowell; while Bishop Hedding, accompanied by Dr. Bangs, crossed at Niagara, going east to the seat of conference. In this way they could better than in any other learn the views of the societies concerning Mr. Ryan's scheme of separation. Finding that a majority of the preachers, with the members, were drifting with the tide, anxious for a separation from the American Methodists, the bishops consented to favor the plan at the next General Conference, which concession gave general satisfaction. Mr. Ryan, however, only yielded for a time, and having at this conference been removed from the presiding eldership, and appointed to a mission, he the next year took a superannuated relation, and finally, in 1827, withdrew altogether from the Connection.

Notwithstanding the turmoil of those years, the success attending the preaching of the word was truly surprising. Afflicted with internal dissension, and despised and opposed by the government, one would have thought that Methodism must have fallen in the province. This was not so, however, for many seals were given to the ministry of those who attended to their appropriate work. Extensive revivals attended the efforts made at the camp-meetings and quarterly meetings held throughout the country. To these gatherings the people came for miles, expecting that souls would be awakened and converted, and they proved to be, as a general thing, times of refreshing on every charge.

In 1828 there were in connection with the Church in Canada three districts, thirty-three circuits, forty-eight preachers, and nine thousand six hundred and seventy-eight members.

At the General Conference of 1828, which was convened at Pittsburgh, there were five delegates from Canada. These delegates favored a separation from the Methodist body in the United States, not because they were dissatisfied with their

American brethren, but because it was deemed advisable by a majority of the preachers and people in Canada, as it was thought that certain civil rights, heretofore denied to Methodists by the government, might thus be secured, and the General Conference kindly, but regretfully, consented to the separation.

The following are the first, third, and fourth resolutions, adopted by the General Conference on this question:

Resolved, therefore, by the Delegates of the Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, 1. That the compact existing between the Canada Annual Conference and the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States be and hereby is dissolved by mutual consent.

3. That we do hereby recommend to our brethren in Canada to adopt the form of government of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, with such modifications as their peculiar relations shall render necessary.

4. That we do hereby express to our Canadian brethren our sincere desire that the most friendly feeling may exist between them and the connection of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.

With this request the Canadian delegates complied, and Bishop Hedding came to Earnesttown, Canada, October, 1828, and was present at the conference when the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada was organized. The following is an extract of the proceedings of the Canada Conference:

Whereas the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America has heretofore extended over the ministers and members in connection with the said Church in the Province of Upper Canada by mutual consent of our brethren in this province; and whereas it has been and is the general wish of the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada to be organized into a separate and independent body, in friendly relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States;

Resolved, 1. That it is expedient and necessary, and that the Canada Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church do now organize itself into an independent Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada.

2. That we adopt the present Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church as the basis of our constitution and Discipline, except such alterations as may appear necessary from our local circumstances.

The question very naturally arises, Was there any actual necessity for a separation of the Canadian from the American Church? Evidently there was none. The provincial laws authorizing Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and others, to solemnize matrimony, and hold Church property, were not passed one day sooner because of the separation. The truth is, that public opinion had set in so strongly in favor of equal religious privileges that the government could no longer withhold from the people their just rights. The provincial Parliament had already vindicated the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church from the charge of disloyalty brought against them by Dr. Strachn; and the assembly had sent an address to the king on the subject, pointing out the uprightness, zeal, and integrity of the American ministers. But the missionaries, Mr. Ryan, and the government officials, had kept up such an incessant cry of Yankee preachers, disloyalty, foreign ecclesiastical control, etc., that a large majority of the societies thought a peaceable separation would save them from these embarrassing influences. In this, however, they were mistaken; the High-Church party, and Mr. Ryan, who acted with them, disliked the Methodist Episcopal Church as much after the separation as before.

The principle upon which the proposition for a separation was based was questionable. The division was sought for on purely *political* grounds, and failed to answer the purpose for which it was designed, proving conclusively how wrong it is for the Christian Church to yield in such matters, directly or indirectly, to the civil government. The very idea is preposterous. Was the Church of Christ in the days of the apostles divided by political boundaries? Has even the Church of Rome, claiming, as she does, both a temporal and spiritual foreign control, been confined through her own action by political lines? She has never consented to divide up into sections to please any civil government. Indeed, when the ministers and members of a Church are obedient to the laws of the country, and loyal to the civil government, that is all that should be required by it, or granted by the Church. The inconsistency of these very politicians is proved from the fact that at the very time they were raising such an outcry against the Methodists for being under foreign ecclesiastical influence

they were pampering the Romanists, who acknowledged a foreign control both temporal and ecclesiastical; and the British missionaries themselves were pushing their way into every foreign country where there was an opening for them. In looking back over the history of those times it is very evident to the impartial mind that there was no necessity, political or otherwise, for the separation from the original body; but under the circumstances in which Methodists were placed, and with the views then entertained by the Canadian people, such a course seemed expedient, and gave very general satisfaction, and for five years the Church prospered in a remarkable manner. There were no ordinations at the conference of 1829, but in 1830 Bishop Hedding kindly came over and ordained the candidates.

Notwithstanding all the concessions which had been made by the Church for peace' sake, it was very soon found that the desired object had not been obtained. Dr. Strachn, Mr. Ryan, and their coadjutors still kept up as violent an opposition as before, and in 1829 the adherents of Mr. Ryan formed a separate connection, called the "Canadian Wesleyans."

In the personal conflicts which Mr. Ryan had had with his brethren, he had become completely alienated from them and the Church for which he had toiled and triumphed. His influence, however, had for some time been on the wane, and when he and his party seceded from the Church, and organized their new body, they did not succeed in inflicting the anticipated measure of injury upon the old body, as a comparison of statistics will show. In 1828, as before stated, there were in connection with the Church three districts, thirty-three circuits, forty-eight preachers, and a membership of nine thousand six hundred and seventy-eight. In 1833 there were five districts, forty-nine circuits, seventy-one preachers, and a membership of sixteen thousand and thirty-nine, making an increase during the five years, though they had been years of trouble and commotion, of two districts, sixteen circuits, twenty-three preachers, and six thousand three hundred and sixty-one members. For seven or eight years after it became independent the unparalleled prosperity of the Church continued; thousands were awakened and converted; the camp-meetings were times of power, quarterly meetings were crowded, the Indian mis-

sions yielded the fruits of righteousness, and the work of God moved vigorously forward.

At this time the English Conference once more decided to interfere in Upper Canadian matters by sending their missionaries into the field in direct violation of the treaty of 1820.

The provincial government of those days was ruled by an oligarchy, known familiarly as the "Family Compact," in consequence of the frequent intermarriages between the families composing it. At the head of this hopeful "compact" was one Dr. Strachn, a Scotchman, but a bigoted "High-Churchman." He had been brought up a Presbyterian, and had come to Canada in the capacity of a school-teacher; but having left the denomination in which he had been brought up to join the Church of England, and having entered its ministry, he, like many others similarly situated, entertained a more bitter dislike to those who opposed the unfounded pretensions of that Church than did many who had been nurtured within her pale; and this dislike extended more especially to the Methodist Episcopal Church than any other.

The success of Methodism in the colony had provoked this individual's jealousy, and was a source of annoyance to the party in power, who wished to monopolize one seventh of the lands of the province for the purpose of endowing a state-paid priesthood, thus establishing the Church of England in Canada.

To this the great majority of the people were opposed, and the Methodists, with other religious denominations, co-operated with the House of Assembly that they might secure equal civil and religious privileges. A crisis in the government of the country had nearly arrived; there was a determined struggle for mastery, a trial of strength between the "compact" and the House of Assembly.

At this juncture it occurred to Dr. Strachn and Sir Peregrine Maitland that as the Wesleyan missionaries were advocates for Church and State connection in the colonies, as well as in England, that the English Conference might be induced, by a liberal grant of public money, to send out their agents to this country, and thereby split up and divide the Methodist societies into sections, and by thus engendering ill-will among the people retard the progress of Methodism. A

dispatch was therefore sent by Governor Maitland to the colonial secretary, urging the home government to try to induce the Wesleyan Conference to send their missionaries into Upper Canada. The colonial secretary did as he was requested; the bait took, and Dr. Strachn's plot was successful. Dr. Alder, at that time a prominent Wesleyan minister, was called before a committee of the House of Commons, July 1, 1828, and made the following statements in answer to their questions:

Committee. Is there any point of difference, either in doctrine or discipline, between the British and American Conference?

Dr. Alder. Not any of importance. We consider ourselves to be one body; but we do not deem it right that the Methodists of Upper Canada should be under the jurisdiction of a foreign ecclesiastical authority.

Committee. Do you conceive that the colonial government of Upper Canada has manifested any desire for the extension of the British Wesleyan Methodists in that province?

Dr. Alder. I believe there are documents in the colonial office, addressed to Earl Bathurst and to Mr. Huskisson, from Sir Peregrine Maitland, which will show that his excellency is very anxious that the number of British Methodist ministers should be increased as far as possible in Upper Canada; and I understand that he wrote home a short time ago recommending that pecuniary aid might be allowed us for that purpose. I should wish to state that we consider ourselves as a branch of the Church of England, both at home and abroad.

Dr. Alder was not content to reflect in an indirect manner upon the American Church before the committee, but in a subsequent letter to Lord John Russell on Canadian affairs, dated Wesleyan Mission House, 77 Hatton Garden, April 29, 1840, he makes the following incorrect and ungenerous statement respecting the American General Conference, trying, it is apparent, to convey the idea to the British government that the bishops and the conferences in the United States held on to the Church in Canada till 1828 for political purposes. Dr. Alder's words are:

It is not correct, as stated by Mr. Ryerson, that the late Rev. John Wesley recommended the formation of the Methodist societies in America into a distinct and independent body with the attributes and style of a Church. Hence, at the present time all Wesleyan ministers and members of the society in Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and Newfoundland, as well as in all her majesty's colonial possessions, with

one exception, are integral parts of the great religious community under the care of the British Conference, and subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of that body. . . . The one exception I have referred to is that of Upper Canada, which province, in consequence of its contiguity to the United States, was first supplied with Methodist ministers from thence, and the societies organized in the colony were regarded as forming a part of the Methodist Church in the neighboring republic, and as such were placed under foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This was felt to be a very undesirable state of things. The General Conference of the United States endeavored with great tenacity to retain their hold on the Methodist societies in Upper Canada.

Why Mr. Alder, on behalf of the Wesleyan Conference, should have declared that Mr. Wesley did not design that the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States should have the "attributes and style of a Church," is passing strange; unless it was to flatter High-Church dignitaries for the sake of patronage. He says that Mr. Wesley, after the close of the Revolutionary War, "formed the Methodist societies in the United States into a distinct religious community," but denies that Mr. Wesley designed that the societies should have the "attributes and style of a Church," and urges that it was not the design of the man who claimed the world as his parish, that the preachers of the Church he had formed in America should preach to British subjects, or form societies in a British colony. The insinuation of Mr. Alder, that the American Church was induced by political motives to try to retain their hold of the Methodist societies in Upper Canada, is also inexcusable in a Wesleyan minister who well knew the origin and history of the Methodist Church in this country. Still, in justice to the American preachers, it is perhaps as well to give the testimony of the House of Assembly on the subject at a time when they were being misrepresented by Mr. Alder and his friends.

The Upper Canada House of Assembly appointed a select committee to examine into the allegations of Dr. Strachn's letter against Methodists and other Christian Churches in the country. The following is an extract from the report of that committee:

The insinuations in the letter against the Methodist clergymen the committee have noticed with peculiar regret. To the disinter-

ested and indefatigable exertions of these pious men this province owes much. At an early period of its history, when it was thinly settled, and its inhabitants were scattered through the wilderness and destitute of all other means of religious instruction, these ministers of the Gospel, animated by Christian zeal and benevolence, at the sacrifice of health and interest and comfort, carried among the people the blessings and consolations and sanctions of our holy religion. Their ministry and instruction, far from having, as represented in the letter, a tendency hostile to our institutions, have been conducive, in a degree which cannot be easily estimated, to the reformation of their hearers from licentiousness, and the diffusion of correct morals, the foundation of all sound loyalty and social order.

And again, in an address to the king dated March 20, 1828, the provincial assembly observes:

We humbly beg leave to assure your majesty that the insinuations in the letter against the Methodist preachers in this province do much injustice to a body of pious and deserving men, who justly enjoy the confidence, and are the spiritual instructors, of a large portion of your majesty's subjects in this province. We are convinced that the tendency of their influence and instruction is not hostile to our institutions; but, on the contrary, is eminently favorable to religion and morality, and their labors are calculated to make their people better men and better subjects, and have already produced in this province the happiest effects.

Be it remembered, all this testimony was given *before* the separation, and therefore applies to the American ministers; but such testimony had no weight with Dr. Alder or the British Conference. Dr. Strachn's plan, indorsed as it was by the governor, was too powerful for the principle that "Methodism is one throughout the world," so Dr. Alder was sent out in 1832 to re-establish the missionaries in this country, at a time when there was not even the excuse of *foreign ecclesiastical control*, as the Methodist Episcopal Church had been entirely independent of any foreign jurisdiction whatever for four years.

Upon his arrival Mr. Alder at once hastened to the governor's residence, and with him matured their schemes. In this state of affairs a prominent member of the Canada Conference proposed a union of the Canadian and English bodies, and Dr. Alder, keeping out of sight his arrangements with the government, attended the conference of 1832, held at Hallowell. The proposition for union sounded pleasantly to some of the

members of the Canadian Conference, but others saw mischief concealed under this union cover.

Propositions were made by both parties, but the doctor writes exultantly in his report to the governor that he had in due time brought the advocates of union to his own terms. The following is an extract from his letter, written August 27, 1832:

SIR:. I beg permission to inform your excellency that I have attended the conference of the Methodist Church of Upper Canada, and to state confidentially, for your information, the result of the interview with that body, a result much more favorable than I allowed myself to contemplate. They have resolved that their disciplinary system shall be altered, so that it shall agree in all its parts with British Methodism as speedily as prudence and a due regard to the safety of their chapel property will allow. The conference has already agreed to the abolition of episcopacy, which was a great barrier in the way of the entire union. They have consented to place the whole of their Indian Missions under the exclusive management of our Missionary Committee . . . that the British Conference shall send to Canada such ministers as it may see fit to appoint; that no preacher shall be taken out in Canada without the consent of that body.

That the scheme of Mr. Alder was a purely political one, carried on under the direct dictation of the government, which had for years striven to destroy the Methodist Church, was not discovered until many were committed to it; but some, more far-seeing than the others, perceived the evil it was likely to bring upon the Connection, and regretted it, and hundreds of the membership refused to give the scheme the least countenance or sanction.

The union, as it was called, was consummated on the part of the conference October, 1833; but as the societies had no voice in the matter, not having been consulted, the action of the conference, as a matter of course, could only legally affect the consenting ministers and those of the members who chose to go with them. The new Church on its part renounced episcopacy, abolished the order of deacons, annihilated the General Conference, and called themselves the "Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America." They published a new Discipline, containing a different constitution and different regulations from the old one of 1829; and though now Presbyterian in their form of Church government, they per-

sisted in declaring that they were still the Methodist *Episcopal* Church as established in 1828. All this they affirmed, notwithstanding that they had abolished, with others, the second restrictive rule, which as a conference they had no constitutional power to do, and thereby had broken faith with the membership, as will be seen from the reading of the rule, which is as follows, namely: "The General Conference shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away with episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." The proviso in the seventh restriction gave the conference no authority to do away with this rule, or to abolish the General Conference. With regard to the restrictive rules Dr. Bangs says: "Call these rules, therefore, restrictive regulations, or a constitution of the Church; for we contend not about names merely, they have ever since been considered as sacredly binding upon all succeeding General Conferences, limiting them in all their legislative acts; and prohibiting them from making inroads upon the doctrines, general rules, and government of the Church." It is very evident, then, from the above and following considerations, that the resolutions and transactions of the new organization were only binding upon those who chose to fall in with the measure.

1. The Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada was in 1833, as it is now, a religious association of persons, voluntarily united under certain established and admitted disciplinary laws, by means of which the rights of the membership as well as the ministry were equally protected. The conference, therefore, had no more authority, either human or divine, to abolish the episcopal form of Church government, do away with the General Conference, abrogate the orders of the ministry, give up the independence of the body, and transfer the societies to the British connection, without their consent, than the membership would have had to have called a convention, and without the consent of the preachers to have passed an ordinance to abolish the government of the Church, assume a new name and new disciplinary laws, and transfer their ministers with themselves to the Irish, or any other Methodist, conference.

2. If the Methodists are one body, as the British Conference has admitted, there was no necessity, either civil or religious, for sending Wesleyan missionaries to Canada, because Method-

ism had been regularly established in this country since 1791. The Canadian Methodists were quite as good British subjects as were the English Methodists. Canadian soil on every battle-ground in the province had been dyed with the rich blood of Canadian Methodists during the lamentable war of 1812. The Canadians were fully as intelligent, laborious, and talented as the English were, and much better qualified to manage their own business than any members of the British Conference who were not residents of the country, having little or no interest at stake in it, and consequently not knowing what were its wants or necessities.

3. The Canada Conference had power under certain restrictive regulations to make rules for the Methodist Episcopal Church, as established in 1828, but the constitution or Discipline of the Connection gave the preachers no authority upon their own mere motion to thus revolutionize the Church, adopting an altogether different Church polity; nor had it any power, civil or ecclesiastical, to hand over its private members, with its local preachers, without their individual consent, to a foreign ecclesiastical body. The action of the Canadian and British Conferences was this:

> That episcopacy be superseded by an annual presidency, and that in order to effect this object the discipline, economy, and form of Church government in general of the Wesleyan Methodists in England be introduced into the societies in Upper Canada, and that in particular an annual presidency be adopted. That the English Conference shall have authority to send from year to year one of its own body to preside over the Canada Conference . . . and that the missions among the Indian tribes and destitute settlers which are now or may be hereafter established in Upper Canada shall be regarded as missions of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

That the Canada Conference could only act for itself in such a case, or for those who voluntarily consented to such an arrangement, is apparent. But those who refused to acquiesce in this matter remained as before members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, and were no more bound by the action of that conference than would be the citizens of the United States if, without consent of the people, Congress passed an act superseding the republican constitution, and adopting in its place the British constitution and form of government, placing the people of the United States under the direction of

the English House of Lords, and stipulating that one of the royal family should be received as chief ruler.

4. The conditions of the union, as insisted upon by Dr. Alder, and accepted by the Canada Conference, were deeply humiliating to the latter body. The Canadians were required to give up all control of the Indian missions and destitute settlements, to resign their own independence, and to become subject to the English Conference, a body to which the Canadians were not allowed even to send a representative, but were required to accept a president from the English Connection to preside over and direct the affairs of the Canada Conference. It was designed that the Canadian Church should become a dependency of the English Conference in a still fuller and much less liberal sense than the colonies are dependencies of the British crown.

Degrading, however, as these Church relations were to American and Canadian Methodism, the exactions of the reunion are still more so. The Canada Conference is so closely bound that it cannot receive a young man on trial, a preacher into full connection, remove a delinquent, or pass a solitary act, or even a resolution of any kind whatever, without submitting all to the English Conference for approval or rejection. Could servile dependence be more complete? Is it surprising, then, that thinking people in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, who loved the Church in which they had had their spiritual birth and nurture, had no desire to be transferred from the Church of their choice to a body placed in such a position of ecclesiastical vassalage?

The latter part of 1833 and the early portion of 1834 were periods of intense excitement and sorrow in the Methodist Church. The preachers, with few exceptions, having united with the English body, the people were at a loss to know what course to take. To abandon the old Church and fall in with the new combination was a surrender of cherished institutions and of individual rights which many could not think of making. To expect that the shattered ranks of the Methodist Episcopal Church would be able to rally again and successfully hold out against the combined forces of the Canadian and English Conferences, backed up as they were by the civil government, and aided by large grants from the provincial

revenue, was more than could be reasonably expected; and especially so as the parent connection in the United States at that time, not understanding the real position of affairs, with but individual exceptions, gave their children in Canada very little sympathy.

The Methodist societies saw dark days during the war of 1812, and darker yet when the English missionaries were sent out to divide the classes; but during the latter months of 1833, and the greater part of 1834, it appeared to the Methodist Episcopal Church as though the hour and power of darkness had come.

The union having been consummated, the Wesleyan Conference now pushed every point to take and retain possession of the circuits and Church property, assuring the people that no particular change had been effected, and that the membership throughout the province were very much pleased with the new state of things, except a few dissatisfied local preachers, and an occasional Yankee Methodist.

The adherents of the old Church commenced also immediately to move and hold meetings in various parts of the province in order to ascertain the remaining strength of the body, and to supply the societies as far as possible with preaching.

The conference met on Young-street, ten miles from Toronto, June 25, 1834. There were present three elders and one deacon, all of whom had been members of the old Genesee Conference, and had been ordained by the American bishops. The elders were Joseph Gatchell, David Culp, and Daniel Pickett; the deacon was John W. Byam. These brethren proceeded to reorganize the annual conference, and after due deliberation stationed fourteen preachers, who were offered for the work. The conference then adjourned, to meet at Belleville on the 10th of February, 1835. The Church having no bishop, it was deemed expedient and necessary for the annual conference, now assembled, to call a meeting of the General Conference, agreeable to the following clause of Discipline of 1829, p. 20: "If there be no general superintendent, the annual conference or conferences respectively shall have power to call a General Conference, if they judge it necessary at any time."

The General Conference was duly called, according to the above provision of the Discipline, and the Rev. John Reynolds, an old located elder, who had been readmitted to the annual conference, was elected general superintendent *pro tem.*

The annual conference met again in Cummer's Chapel, Young-street, on June 10, 1835. No minutes of the June or February conference having been published, the Eastern preachers had mistaken the date and were not present, therefore the conference adjourned, to meet again on the 25th of the same month in the Trafalgar Meeting-house.

Conference met according to adjournment in the Trafalgar Meeting-house, June 25, 1835. J. Reynolds, general superintendent *pro tem.*, in the chair, and Arnon C. Seaver, secretary.

On Friday, June 26, the necessity of obtaining a bishop, and having him duly appointed and consecrated according to the provisions of the Discipline, was carefully considered. The same subject was resumed on Saturday, June 27, and the annual conference recommended the general superintendent to call a meeting of the General Conference.

The general superintendent then called the General Conference in accordance with the rule already quoted. The General Conference met the same day, elders present, John Reynolds, Daniel Pickett, Joseph Gatchell, David Culp, and John H. Huston.

The General Conference elected John Reynolds bishop, in strict conformity with the fourth section of the book of Discipline, page 23, which is as follows:

Quest. 2. If by death, expulsion, or otherwise, there be no bishop remaining in our Church, what shall we do?

Ans. The General Conference shall elect a bishop, and the elders, or any three of them, who shall be appointed by the General Conference for that purpose shall ordain him according to our form of ordination.

See also American Discipline on these subjects.

The Rev. John Reynolds, having been duly elected by the General Conference, was on Sabbath, the 28th day of June, 1835, ordained a bishop in the regular way by the laying on of the hands of Joseph Gatchell, Daniel Pickett, and David Culp, according to the consecration services of the Methodist Epis-

copal Church in Canada, as contained in the Discipline of 1829, which is a true copy of the consecration service in the American Discipline.

With regard to the ordination of bishops by elders or presbyters Dr. Bangs makes the following observation. He says:

> That very section of our ecclesiastical economy which provides for the episcopal office, and prescribes its duties and responsibilities, provides for the consecration of a bishop by the hands of the eldership, thereby clearly recognizing the principle for which I have contended. Thus we read, "If by death, expulsion, or otherwise, there be no bishop remaining in our Church, the General Conference shall elect a bishop, and the elders, or any three of them, who shall be appointed by the General Conference for that purpose, shall ordain him according to our form of ordination." This is one case of necessity, which we as a Church recognize as justifying episcopal ordination by the hands of elders or presbyters.—*Original Church of Christ*, pp. 179, 180.

Dr. Bangs in another place, speaking of the local preachers who were ordained elders in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, asks:

> But will any man in his senses say that because these local presbyters have no special oversight in the Church they are of an inferior order? Or that because a man is a traveling presbyter he is of an order superior to a presbyter? He is superior in office, but not in order.—*Original Church of Christ*, p. 48.

At the conference of June, 1834, eight months after the Canada Conference had renounced episcopacy, and gone with the English party, the Methodist Episcopal Church could return only about one thousand one hundred members and fourteen preachers. This was not, however, the strength of the Connection. Many of the classes had been caught by guile, the new party having placed the names of the members on the new Wesleyan class books, hundreds of whom they afterward read out of their societies because that when they became acquainted with the innovations that had been made they ventured to remonstrate; while others, as they came to understand the position of things, took their departure without waiting for dismissal. Members of these classes rallied joyfully around the standard of their old Church as fast as preachers could be sent to them.

The property of the Church was, however, nearly all lost. This included the printing establishment at Toronto, the educational institution at Cobourg, and most of the meeting-houses.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was able to retain only three chapels; but the people threw open their private dwellings, barns, and the school-houses to the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and hailed them as the bearers of the old standard of Methodism in the province. Amid all their discouragements the Lord was with them, and blessed their faithful labors with many gracious revivals.

Wherever the Wesleyans had secured the keys, and that was generally the case, the churches were locked against the old members, and they were thus obliged to be at a great disadvantage till able to build again.

Some time after the union a suit was brought by the trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church to recover possession of the Waterloo Church. This was a place of worship near Kingston. The case was tried in the Court of Queen's Bench, and the suit was decided in favor of the plaintiffs, the old trustees. The Wesleyans appealed to the Bench of Judges, and two out of the three judges sustained the verdict of the jury; thus deciding that the property rightfully belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church, Judge Robinson standing alone in favoring the claims of the Wesleyans. Here the matter rested for a time, the Methodist Episcopal trustees having been put in possession of the church.

Soon after this the Methodist Episcopal trustees brought a suit for the recovery of the Belleville Church. In this case also the jury rendered a verdict for the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Wesleyans again appealed to the judges, and this time with good hope of success, one of the old judges having retired from the bench since the decision in the case of the Waterloo Church, and new judges having been appointed, who had been violent political partisans, and therefore likely to appreciate the marked change which, since the union, had been effected in the political affinities of a large portion of those who constituted the new body. Scarcely a doubt was entertained by any one as to the decision to be expected from the bench when Judge Robinson* had such colleagues associ-

* The same Judge Robinson whose decision in the case of the fugitive slave Anderson startled the antislavery mind of Europe and America, and aroused the imperial government to interpose its strong arm between the colonial judge and the once slave but now free man as he stood upon our soil.

ated with him. The decision of the remodeled bench being, as had been anticipated, in favor of the Wesleyans, they kept possession of the Belleville Church, and a new suit was also granted them in the matter of the Waterloo Church.

This latter case came on again at Kingston before Judge Macaulay, one of the old judges. He, after reverting to his former decision in this case, and stating that he had not in the least changed his opinion as to the merits of the case, remarked that as his brother judges differed from him, and they being the majority, had so decided in the case of the Belleville Church, he would advise the jury to give the Wesleyans *one shilling damages*, and then the defendants could appeal to England for a final decision, there being at that time no Court of Chancery in Canada. And just here the question of title remains until this day. The truth is, that the Methodist Episcopal Church had not the means to carry the matter to England. The people, however, soon more than replaced all the property that had been lost. Churches and parsonages have been built throughout the length and breadth of the country. A printing office under the direction of the General Conference has been in operation for more than twenty years. A college at Belleville, with university powers, has been successfully established by the Methodist Episcopal Church, over which Rev. A. Carman, M.A., has for years presided. He is deservedly popular, and is supported by an excellent staff of professors. Our ladies' college is also doing a great and good work in the education of the young females of our rising country.

Delegates were sent to the American General Conference of 1836 from the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada. The address was presented and referred to a special committee; but by some strange means it was stated in the report of that committee that the first conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church after the union was held in June, 1835, and that it was a General Conference. Both of the statements are incorrect, as may be seen by reference to the preceding pages. Their finding their way into a report of the American General Conference gave the enemies of the Methodist Episcopal Church a great advantage, for they urged that all parties had consented to the union for more than a year after its consum-

mation. This misstatement of facts, although evidently not designedly so, did great injustice to the Canada Methodist Episcopal Church, and left an incorrect impression on the minds of the American brethren, which was not removed till the General Conferences of 1860 and 1864. The General Conference of 1836 having the above erroneous understanding of the case, very naturally decided not to interfere, and therefore left the matter an open question. The report alluded to above concludes as follows:

> In view of all the circumstances, as far as your committee has been able to ascertain and understand them, they are unanimously of the opinion that the case requires no interference of this General Conference.

The Black River Conference of 1842 was held at Watertown, N. Y., and certain ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada went thither, having been invited by individual members of the conference to be present at its session. Several Wesleyan preachers went over also, and through representations made by them, charging the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada with schism, etc., the ministers of that body were not only not *officially* invited to take seats in the conference, but they were not allowed to reply to a violent attack made on them in open conference by one of the Wesleyan preachers.

This unfair proceeding was afterward deeply regretted by many members of the Black River Conference, and as soon as possible they made the *amende honorable*. The brethren of that conference were evidently misled, as had been the members of the General Conference of 1836. This circumstance, though exceedingly painful at the time to the Methodist Episcopal ministers from Canada, and to the whole Church, yet resulted in good, for it stirred up a spirit of inquiry that continued until the recognition of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada by the American General Conferences of 1860 and 1864. Had the situation of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada been as well understood by the American brethren in 1836 and 1844 as it was in 1860 and 1864, the reports of 1836 and 1844 would doubtless have been altogether different. The Christian courtesy extended to our delegates at Buffalo and Philadelphia, and the act of placing the Methodist Episco-

pal Church of Canada in its proper relation to the parent body, afforded great satisfaction to our people. This latter, though a measure of simple justice, was particularly gratifying to those who had so long suffered odium on account of their unyielding adherence to "the form of sound words" which they had received from their fathers and brethren in the United States.

When the union agitation commenced, the Methodist Episcopal Church was in a very prosperous condition spiritually and numerically. This may be seen by the increase for the seven years immediately preceding that event, which was eight thousand five hundred and thirty-eight. The increase in the Wesleyan body during the next seven years was only three hundred and fifteen; while the shattered remnant of the Methodist Episcopal Church had, during the same period, added to the few hundreds who had stood firm when the leaders of the host proved recreant, and drew away the greater part, an increase of five thousand three hundred and twenty-five. That it was not much larger was chiefly owing to the unsettled state of the country, which caused very many of the members and friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church to emigrate to the Western states. Emigration to the neighboring states is a continual drain upon the population of Canada; but no single denomination loses so many members proportionately as the Methodist Episcopal Church; while, on the other hand, she has gained but little strength from emigration to the province.

Great efforts have been and are still being made to prejudice persons coming into the country against the old Connection because of its, as they say to old country people, American character and tendencies; asserting that the episcopal form of Church government among Methodists is not suited to a British colony, and was designed by Mr. Wesley only for *republican* America, ignoring the idea that it was the Church of England, of which Mr. Wesley was a minister, having ceased in consequence of the old colonies having gained their independence, to be the established Church therein, which caused Mr. Wesley to feel himself at liberty to ordain Dr. Coke to the episcopal office, and to authorize him to organize the Methodists of America into a Church with that form of Church government, rather than the change in the civil government of that country. The Church of England was not the established

Church of Canada, and even if it had been so, the position of the early Methodists in Canada would not of necessity have been the same with regard to it as that occupied by Mr. Wesley and his societies in England. In consequence of incorrect statements in reference to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and appeals to early prejudices, those who came to Canada from Europe generally united with some one of the bodies of Methodists who are under the jurisdiction of conferences in England. Therefore, the Methodist Episcopal Church has almost its only increase from among the people converted to God by the labors of its own ministers, and large numbers of these converts are frequently leaving the province to seek homes for themselves and their families on the immense and fertile prairies of the great West. Another cause of loss to the Methodist Episcopal Church has been, that the members and adherents of that body very generally sympathized with the North in the late struggle of the United States government with the slave power of the South, and as a natural result many of our young men and adherents joined the Northern forces, and have, since the termination of the war, settled in the West.

Notwithstanding all the discouragements and drawbacks with which the Methodist Episcopal Church has had to contend, she has steadily adhered to her first principles; and it has pleased the great Head of the Church to grant a good degree of prosperity to her institutions, and to crown with success her efforts for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom.

The present strength of the Connection is three annual conferences, with a delegated General Conference which meets once in four years, eleven districts, one hundred and forty-two circuits and stations, two hundred and fifteen preachers, eighteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven members, two hundred and two local preachers, one university and ladies' college, three hundred and fifty-four thousand eight hundred and twenty-two dollars' worth of Church property, two hundred and eight Sunday-schools, with one thousand five hundred and eighty officers and teachers, and eleven thousand two hundred and seventy-eight scholars, besides a large number of members and children of the Church who are embraced in the Union Sabbath-schools in neighborhoods where it is judged advisable to unite with other denominations in Sabbath-school work.

These statistics are small when compared with the work being done by the parent body; but when it is remembered that in 1833 the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada was completely stripped, being left with only fourteen preachers traveling and local, three small meeting-houses, and only one thousand one hundred of a membership, it is evident that the Lord has been with his people and blessed them. The day of religious prosperity is but dawning, we trust, upon our fair and peaceful land, and more glorious results may be anticipated in the future.

In addition to the two bodies of Methodists to which this article has been chiefly devoted, there exist several other bodies of Methodists in Canada.

The CANADIAN WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH, the body with the origin of which Mr. Ryan was identified, in 1840 formed a union with the English New Connection Methodists. It has a theological institution, publishes a religious periodical, has an earnest ministry, and a membership of about eight thousand.

Missionaries were sent out to this country many years since by the ENGLISH PRIMITIVE METHODISTS, at the solicitation of members of their societies, who had emigrated to Canada. These were successful in raising many societies, and were several years ago organized into a conference. In numbers they are about equal to the New Connection, and, like that body, have their head in England. They are pious and laborious, publish a religious periodical, and are preparing to establish an educational institution.

The BIBLE CHRISTIANS are also a scion of an English stock, essentially Methodist, and known as such, though the word does not appear in their cognomen. They are somewhat similar in character to the Primitives, and are perhaps not very far behind them in numbers.

The Evangelists, or GERMAN METHODISTS, as they are called by their Canadian neighbors, confine their labors generally to the German-speaking population, among whom they are doing a good work. There are two branches of these.

There are a considerable number of colored Methodists having distinct Church organizations of their own, chiefly in the cities and towns.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist upon minor

points between these various branches of the great Methodist family, they are all laboring, each in its own way, to "spread scriptural holiness throughout the land." The influence of the Methodists in the country may be judged of from the fact that in the statistics given of the new Dominion they are set down altogether as constituting twenty-five per cent. of the population of the Province of Ontario, formerly Upper Canada.

ART. III.—GUIZOT ON THE STATE OF RELIGION IN FRANCE.

Meditations on the Actual State of Christianity, and on the Attacks which are now being made upon it. By M. GUIZOT. Translated under the Superintendence of the Author. 12mo., pp. 390. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1867.

ANOTHER volume from M. Guizot! The literary world cannot afford to ignore the fact, and in the present case the Church will not be so disposed. After having signalized his earlier years by brilliant scholastic successes, and his vigorous manhood by brave battling on the field of politics, M. Guizot has for the last twenty years been devoting his matured powers to a more special study of the great problems of human destiny—morals, religion, Christianity. Nor is there the least room for the possible sneer, that religion comes in for the most worthless share of his life; for, to pass over in silence the fact that during the whole of his professional and political career M. Guizot maintained an unblemished Christian reputation, it is not very common that the latter years of long lives present a different moral tinge from the earlier. Voltaire persisted in his bitterness and scorn, and Rousseau in his misanthropy and uncleanness, not only through youth and manhood, but also, and with increasing violence, as hoary age advanced. These later years of Guizot are but the natural outgrowth and fit crowning of the earlier. As the study of the facts and principles of history and philosophy prepared for their practical application in legislation and politics, so a thorough familiarity with the wants of society and the difficulties of governing men, led to the consideration of the great truths that underlie all history, should inspire all legislation, and would, to a large

degree, alleviate all the ills of humanity—the truths of religion. The first specifically religious book of M. Guizot appeared in 1851. Since then other similar works have been published; but the final and crowning effort of his life will doubtless be the fourfold work, "Meditations on the Christian Religion," which was announced in 1864, and of which the volume now under consideration is a second installment.

The first volume* treated of the essential dogmas of Christianity, and was, therefore, of general interest. The present volume, though entitled "Meditations on the Actual State of Christianity," is, more strictly speaking, rather a survey of the efforts that have been made since the advent of the first Napoleon for the advancement of Christianity in France, and of the special forms of infidelity that have there been opposed to that movement. Nor does this limitation detract from its worth: in respect of clearness and fullness it even adds thereto. And surely the religious condition of one of the great European nations is a topic of sufficient moment to interest Christians every-where. Moreover, the principles here defended, the arguments adduced, are valid universally; while the special forms of error that are combated are ever reappearing along the whole course of history, and even at the doors of our own hearts. So that this second volume, no less than the first, may well claim the attention of the whole Christian Church. It is clothed in the same classic form, treats of the same lofty principles, and breathes the same reverential spirit. It reveals the same freedom from narrow sectarianism, the same catholicity and generousness of sentiment, and, withal, the same unswerving fidelity where the cause of essential truth is involved.

The present volume falls into two nearly equal general divisions: the first sketching the awakening of Christianity in France in the nineteenth century; the second attacking the different foes of the Church under the heads of Spiritualism, Rationalism, Positivism, Pantheism, Materialism, Skepticism, and general Impiety. The first division is quite fully treated, abounds in rare and curious facts, and is highly flavored with piquant semi-autobiographical incidents, the long life of M. Guizot having brought him into intimate relations with most

* See Dr. Stevens's Recension in the Methodist Quarterly Review, Oct. 1865.

of the great actors, both for and against the Church, during this whole period. The second consists of short essays, which for their brevity are all the more pointed, resuming and enforcing great central truths, avoiding details, and appealing, not to abstruse metaphysical reasonings, but to the universal intuitions, to the common sense, of mankind. By the Church M. Guizot understands, not Protestantism alone, but Christianity under all its forms. As, therefore, Romanism is largely the predominant Church in France, the first third of his book is devoted to a survey of French Catholicism. It shall be the design of this paper to give a general notion of the spirit and contents of the work.

When at the opening of this century the storms and madness of the French Revolution had abated their violence, and men could again cast a calm glance over the troubled surface of society, it was found that the external organism of religion had been almost entirely swept away. Cathedrals, parish churches, and Protestant temples were every-where to be seen in neglect, profanation, or ruin. In outward appearance religion had really been abolished, and banished from the land. But the bitter experience of the effects of Atheism had wrought conviction in the minds of all thoughtful men, even speculative Atheists themselves, that religion of some sort is indispensably necessary to civil order. To meet this felt want in his own way, one of the five Directors actually attempted, in 1797, to invent and inaugurate a new religion, Theophilanthropism. Consulting Talleyrand as to the best mode of procedure, the wily diplomatist sarcastically replied: "I have but a single observation to make: Jesus Christ, to found his religion, suffered himself to be crucified, and he rose again. You should try to do as much." The sarcasm was based on profound insight. Four years sufficed to dissipate both the new religion and its high priest from the minds of men.

But there was a better remedy at hand. Though the visible ministrations of Christianity had been banished from the public eye, still its inward essence, its hidden power, its secret comfortings of the hearts of a mourning, war-wasted, poverty-stricken people had continued their effectual working; and vast multitudes, both Catholic and Protestant, had persisted, even when the terror was at the highest, in assembling for

Christian communion, either openly, in defiance of atheistic law, or secretly, under the cover of night or in the solitude of the desert. Under a common ban, pastors and priests drew nearer to the center of religion, felt more like brethren serving a common Lord, and gave in some cases truly edifying examples of apostolic faith and virtue. Christianity, however imperfectly held by any of the great modern nations, has a vastly firmer grasp on the hearts of the people than many are disposed to believe. It only needed the slacking of external pressure for Christianity in France to rise out of the obscurity of hearts and deserts, reconstruct its external organism, and again take triumphant possession of public sentiment. And, in fact, before the conclusion of the Concordat between Bonaparte and the Pope in 1802, by which both the Catholic and Protestant Churches were chained to the car of state, thousands of societies had spontaneously reorganized in all parts of the land, and were quietly proceeding, on the voluntary system, to support their own pastors and prosecute their divine mission. This interference of Bonaparte—which is too favorably viewed by Guizot—wrought hinderingly and blightingly on the happily-begun movement, introducing into it a political element, and imposing upon it police regulations, the dwarfing effects of which are suffered to this day by the whole Church of France. Christian spontaneity was checked; and all self-regenerative or aggressively-evangelizing activities of the Church were henceforth to be permitted only in specifically legalized channels. Little wonder, then, that the Church could but half fulfill her mission—that France is to-day but a half-Christian nation. The comfortable civil salaries settled upon both priests and pastors tempted them to worldliness, chilled their ardor, paralyzed the flocks, and, as the despot had foreseen, prepared the nation for tamely stooping under the yoke of despotism. But there were not wanting noble spirits whose energetic efforts broke through all obstacles, and stamped a healing influence on the slumbering nation.

The year 1802 found an offset to the Concordat in the appearance of the *Génie du Christianisme*, a work which, by clothing the relative and intrinsic beauties of Christianity in the seductive charms of mystic poesy and overpowering eloquence, called away the godless from the vapid literature of

the day, and evoked in the hearts both of believers and of the indifferent the enchanting visions of chivalric virtue and martyr heroism. This happy impulse was seconded by the two powerful writers De Bonald and De Maistre, who, however, damagingly compromised the cause of religion by blending it with politics, and by being unable to "discover any other remedy for anarchy than absolutism." Of a different spirit was the celebrated Abbé de la Mennais, a man inspired at first with the noblest Christian impulses, but who, when thwarted in his cherished scheme of reforming the Church, turned his powerful weapons against the same, and became the apostle of an impracticable and impossible democracy. Placing the grounds of authority, not in revelation, but in the general consent or reason of mankind, he "was at the same time the proudest worshiper of his own reason." Though thus finally deserting the cause himself, it is due to his name that he be placed among the defenders of religion; for "he thundered to purpose against the gross and vulgar forgetfulness of the great moral interests of humanity."

The Revolution of 1830 inflicted a rude blow on the reactionary politics which, for some time, had been so encouraged by the Jesuits, and created in the Catholic camp a new and powerful party—Liberals and at the same time Ultramontanists—who undertook the Herculean task of reconciling the claims of Catholicism with the principles of modern political liberty. The priests Lacordaire, La Mennais, and Gerbet, and the statesman Montalembert, stood prominently at the head of the party. A journal, the *Avenir*, was established for the defense of public liberty, the largest independency of the Church on the State, and the most unquestioning submission of the Church to its spiritual head, the Pope. Its novel tone, its passionate audacity, stirred Europe, and disquieted both the civil government and the Roman See. After two years of sincere and ardent struggle "to reconcile Catholicism with the world," the chiefs of the party, Lacordaire, La Mennais, and Montalembert, repaired to Rome and insisted that the Pope should decisively pronounce himself either for or against them. An adverse encyclical of August, 1832, condemned their principles, and threw the three champions into momentary despair. The proud spirit of La Mennais could not renounce its liberal

convictions, and from this moment dates the beginning of his revolt, not only against Romanism, but against essential Christianity. The other two yielded for the time, but hoped for a better-advised Pope in the future, and continued to labor for the reconciliation of Catholicism with modern liberty —the one as an eloquent preacher, the other as a brilliant politician; the one by his powerful defenses of Christianity from the pulpit of Notre Dame winning the hearts of thousands of the young and wavering, the other by his upright statesmanship persistently laboring to imbue with Christian principles the legislation of his country.

M. Guizot regrets that the Pope saw fit to condemn and check their more specifically ecclesiastical efforts. It retarded the reformatory transformation which must and will, sooner or later, take place in the Catholic Church, and put it in harmony with modern ideas. He maintains that the government of Louis Philippe, in which himself had so large a share, earnestly strove in this direction: "I affirm, that from 1830 to 1848 the prince whom I had the honor to serve, and the cabinets to which I had the honor to belong, not only always had at heart the maintenance, however difficult, of the principle of religious liberty, but that they always felicitated themselves upon the progress made by the Christian faith, even when the manner of that progress was for them a source of serious embarrassment." Among the embarrassments alluded to were the efforts made to introduce various monastic orders, the unpopularity of which occasioned political commotions. In 1841 Lacordaire returned from Rome in the costume of a Dominican monk, and began the imprudent work of resuscitating that ill-omened order in France. But M. Guizot regards the prejudice against them as without just ground: "To what pretensions of ambition have these monks laid claim? what turbulent disposition have they manifested? They have paced meekly along our streets; they have preached eloquently in our churches; they have founded some houses of education; they have made use of their rights as freemen, without offering in any way to infringe the liberty of any other class of citizens." And what were the fruits of Lacordaire's efforts? Other priests, like him, "scrupled not to devote themselves to a common life and a common rule, 'to work together,' accord-

ing to their own expressions, 'to secure the triumph of Christian truth, and its triumph by means of philosophy and science.'" Among the re-established brotherhoods is the congregation of the *Oratoire*, an order which, though yet small and poor, and desirous of remaining so, already numbers some of the first modern Christian scholars, such as Gratry and Valvolger.

But what part have the higher French clergy taken in this great work of regenerating the nation? Occupied at first in reorganizing the shattered organism of the Church, and influenced by the fear of a possible return of the horrors of the Reign of Terror, "the clergy of this epoch have been justly reproached with their uniform obsequiousness to the Emperor Napoleon. No doubt it was a shameful spectacle, in 1811, which those docile bishops afforded, when they assembled in council, and were never weary of lavishing caresses upon the despot who had not only stripped the chief of their Church, Pius VII., of his dominions, but was then detaining him a prisoner at Savona, denying his natural counselors, the cardinals, all access to him, refusing him even a secretary to write his letters, and charging an officer of the *gendarmerie* to watch by day and by night all his movements." Still, the violent measures of Napoleon did not fail to meet with some episcopal rebukes.

Under the Restoration it was no longer fear but hope—an ill-grounded hope—of regaining the civil position held by them before 1789, that misled the French clergy and checked the progress of roused Christianity. On the whole, however, the clergy were even less reactionary, "more resigned to the new state of society than King Charles X. and his intimate friends."

Prominent and worthy of honorable mention among the French clergy are: Bishop Frayssinous, who, "while remaining the faithful servant of the Church, showed himself also rather the friend of Christian peace than the jealous advocate of ecclesiastical power;" the Jesuit Ravignan, who as a "pious Christian and a stranger to every mental reservation," held society for years entranced with the accents of a seraphic and awakening eloquence; the able professors, Lenormant and Bautain; and the judicious and liberal authors, Gerbet and Dupanloup.

A passing glance at the Catholic charities. Between 1820 and 1848 there were established in France no less than one hundred and seven charitable societies. "In the year 1822 the idea struck two poor servants at Lyons to make the rounds of their parish and collect weekly one *sou* from each person, in aid of the conversion of infidels." This gave rise to an association the receipts of which in the year 1864 amounted to 5,090,041 francs. In 1833 eight young men, "wishing," said Lacordaire, "to give one more proof of what Christianity can effect in behalf of the poor, began to ascend to those upper stories which were the hidden haunts of the misery of their quarter. Men saw youths in the flower of their age and fresh from school regularly visiting, without any feeling of repulsion, the most abject habitations, and conveying to their unknown and suffering tenants a passing vision of charity." The eight soon grew to thousands, and girded the globe with benefactions. In 1862 when the government, unwisely thinks M. Guizot, dissolved the central bond of the society, "it consisted of about thirty thousand members, who visited in their homes more than one hundred thousand indigent families." Under Louis Philippe the Sisters of Charity increased from a few hundred to sixteen thousand. The Society of Little Sisters of the Poor, founded in 1845, "receives and succors in their establishment nearly twenty thousand aged men." A single monkish brotherhood maintained in 1865 nine hundred and twenty schools, with three hundred and thirty-five thousand three hundred and eighty-two pupils. During the last fifty years no less than ten thousand churches have been built, rebuilt, or adapted to the Romish service. All these facts are regarded by M. Guizot as so many signs of really Christian advancement.

When the Revolution of 1848 was giving to the state a new framework the Romish clergy "did not aspire to exert any influence for or against any party; they sought only to purify the republic by securing in it a place for religion, . . . planting the cross of Jesus by the side of the tree of liberty. Though a liberal system of public instruction was now installed, the Catholics entered into active competition with the state schools." "The Jesuits since the year 1850 have opened twenty colleges for secondary instruction, and have founded at Paris, for

courses of study preparatory to the special schools, an establishment whose successes have attracted the attention of the government and of the public; for it sends every year to the military schools—the Polytechnic, Naval, or Central—an extraordinary number of successful candidates, who have passed with honor, although the competition has been extensive and the examinations severe." And these active efforts have not been uncalled for. A formidable enemy is in the field, and dealing against the Church terrible blows. The work of reconciling the Church to modern science is felt to be more than ever an imperative necessity; and leading Catholic liberals—Dupanloup, Montalembert, Broglie, Cochin, Laboulaye—are manfully laboring to render Romanism less vulnerable to the Protean forms of infidelity which are now so widely poisoning all classes of French society.

In passing from the Catholics to the Protestants of France, M. Guizot finds himself in narrow and humbler quarters. So great is the tendency to centralization, to unity in Church and State, in French society, that it has ever proved for Protestantism an unsafe or an unsalubrious soil. The history of the Reformed Church in France is a sad chronicle of a feeble, persecuted, outlawed, banished, or at best despised, sect. Governmental opposition may account for their insignificance before the Revolution of 1789. For the last seventy-five years, however, they have enjoyed the same favors, stood on the same legal footing, as the Catholics, and yet their condition to-day is only too much like their puny, discouraging past. Special reasons for this there may be. So long as the ban of outlawry hung over them, there arose here and there among them heroic prophets, zeal-consumed pastors, who, bearing from hearth to hearth, from hamlet to desert, the blazing truth-torch, kept freshly glowing in the little, scattered flock, the primitive faith. But when the age of Voltaire came and flooded the land with frivolity and doubt—when the waves of the godless Revolution swept away all the landmarks of the past—the faith of many was shaken, and pastors, abandoning their flocks, plunged into the bloody career of politics, in some cases openly apostatizing from the religion of their fathers. After the Revolution, when men had returned to their senses, the Protestant Church would doubtless have arisen with re-

newed youth from her ashes, and begun a glorious future, had not even a greater evil than persecution now befallen her—her being transformed by Napoleon into a state religion coordinate with Romanism, and her pastors into salaried public functionaries. The system effected a moral paralysis. Many pastors lacked in evangelical zeal, the worship was perfunctorily celebrated, and the flocks fell into formalism and indifference. As early as 1812 a professor of the Protestant faculty at Montauban attacked the dogma of the Trinity, and inaugurated the Rationalistic movement, which has culminated in the Deism of Athanase Coquerel, Junior. But the true faith was worthily championed by Daniel Encontre and Samuel Vincent, the former an able scholar and of the primitive Huguenot type, the latter a profound metaphysician and imbued with the spirit of German Pietism.

At the beginning of this century the Reformed Church of Geneva was in the lowest stage of Rationalism. Between 1810 and 1817 an evangelical reaction was inaugurated by a few native pastors, Gaussen, Malan, Gonthier, Merle d'Aubigné, seconded by the zeal of a few English missionaries, Robert Haldane, Mark Wilks, etc. "Certain young pastors who had at first shared in the evangelical movement at Geneva, Neff, Pyt, Bost, Gonthier, scattered themselves over France, some assuming functions as local pastors, others as traveling missionaries, attracting to their proximity groups of zealous Protestants, animating the lukewarm, and erecting in every place where they made any stay little centers of Christianity, which radiated to the neighboring country around." At one time as many as sixty colporteurs were engaged in distributing the Scriptures. Relatively to the past the state of Protestantism had greatly improved.

On the death of Encontre, in 1818, the evangelical cause was happily led on by Alexandre Vinet and Adolphe Monod. The former, an able theologian, elegant critic, and convicting preacher, gave shape and impulse to a movement which has already borne abundant fruit, and is destined indirectly to regenerate the whole French Church. He clearly saw that the curse of French Protestantism was its union with the state, and under his inspiration a Free Church was formed, which, after attaining to considerable strength in Switzerland, and be-

neficently reacting on the frigid State Churches, has spread itself throughout France with equally cheering results. Though less numerous than the Reformed Church, it far surpasses it in literary and evangelical life, and is ably represented at Paris by the theologian Pressensé, the pastor Bersier, and the historian Rosseeuw Saint Hilaire. M. Adolphe Monod, who was less profound than Vinet, but surpassed him in religious fervor and popular power, actively promoted the Free Church cause in France, first at Lyons, then at Montauban and Paris. Both of these men were approved of God, Christians of the noblest stamp, whose names remain a perennial sweet fragrance in all the French Churches.

M. Guizot passes over almost in silence the deadly conflict between Rationalism and Orthodoxy which is now rending to its center the Reformed Church of France, and from which, because of its union with the state, it is utterly powerless to free itself. Governed by laws not of its own making, it has no remedy against a pastor who, once settled over an Orthodox Church, may afterward apostatize to Rationalism or Deism. Hence such anomalies as that of the *Oratoire*, the chief Church of Paris, where, of the several pastors who alternately officiate, some are warmly evangelical while others are ultra-rationalistic. For years several notorious pastors have been, on a relatively larger scale, playing the Colenso in France, and the state Church there is even more helpless than is that of England.

M. Guizot terminates his survey of French Protestantism with the same cheering words that he had previously applied to Catholicism. "Under the influence of the causes which I have pointed out, Christian faith has evidently made progress; Christian science, progress; Christian charity, as shown by works, progress; Christian force, progress; progress incomplete and insufficient, but still progress, real, and full of fruit, symptomatic of vital energy and future promise."

Having devoted so much of this paper to the historical part of M. Guizot's book, we can touch but lightly on the charming chapters in which, in a descending series, he examines and judges the various systems which are now, and have for some time been, opposed to Christianity in France.

Spiritualism, a philosophical school, which, displacing the

sensualism of Condillac, and basing itself on the higher principles of Reid as modified by the criticism of Kant, received shape at the beginning of this century from the minds of Royer-Collard, Maine de Biran, Cousin, and Jouffroy, and in our own day has numbered among its disciples some of the best minds of France, such as Rémusat, Damiron, Franck, Saisset, Caro, Janet, and Jules Simon, has, in one respect, rendered eminent service to the cause of truth. It has given psychology a place "among the positive sciences;" it has "set in the broad light of day the real and fundamental principles of morals, the distinction as to the essentials of moral good and evil, as well as the law of obligation, that 'categorical imperative,' the sole refuge which Kant found against Skepticism;" and it has the honor of having firmly established and rendered plain the psychological fact of the freedom of the human will—laying in man's liberty and in man's responsibility the legitimate foundation of political liberty, as well as that of the personal morality of man and of man's future.

But the defects of Spiritualism are only too evident. It has been "at once too timid and too proud." It has refused to follow out its own principles to their legitimate results, and, "not having succeeded in advancing the torch of science into the regions where access to it is denied, it has refused to accept the light descending upon man by another way than that of science." Saisset and Jules Simon have even striven to construct a natural religion independently of all revelation, but with poor success. "For other things than such drops of science are required to appease the thirst of humanity for religion." The errors of Spiritualism led naturally to something worse.

The chapter on Rationalism, though brief, contains some pertinent observations. "Philosophy, like poetry, is full of personifications that mislead; the one personified by images, the other by abstractions." "Condillac and his disciples had set apart [abstracted] and specially studied in man the faculty of sensation, and they were thereby led to make out of this faculty, and out of it alone, man himself and the whole man. Kant and his school considered particularly in man the faculty of reason and judgment, and very soon reason came with them to constitute the whole man. . . . It became in his school, and

in the schools akin to it, pre-eminently the intellectual substance, the basis of man and of philosophy; and the human being himself, in his personal unity, with all his life and free will, entirely disappeared from their teaching." This method necessarily leads to error. Man is a unit, and must be studied in his entirety. His instincts, his innate thirsts, the universal longings of his heart, are as essential and as significant elements of his nature as his reason. A system that ignores any of these elements is faulty. A sufficient condemnation of Rationalism is its blighting effects on the more generous impulses of the soul. Ages of Christian heroism and remarkable self-sacrifice, of religious as well as of poetic enthusiasm, are ages of faith—of belief in the supernatural and in dogmas which the reason cannot fully comprehend. Professor Scherer expresses thus his fears as to the tendencies of a rationalism in which he himself is entangled:

> When Christianity is rendered translucent to man's mind, conformable to man's reason and man's moral appreciation of things, does it still possess any great virtue? Does it not very much resemble Deism, and is it not equally lean and sterile? Does not the potent influence of religious belief reside in its dogmatic formulas and marvelous legends just as much as in any thing more essentially religious that it possesses? Is there not even somewhat of superstition in genuine piety, and is it possible for piety to dispense with that popular system of metaphysics, that attractive mythology, which men strive to eliminate from it? Do not the elements which you pretend to extract from religion constitute the alloy, without which the precious metal becomes unsuitable for the rough usages of life? In short, when criticism shall have succeeded in overthrowing the supernatural as useless, and dogmas as irrational; when the religious sentiment on the one side, and a scrupulous reason on the other, shall have penetrated man's belief, assimilated and transformed it; when no other authority shall remain standing save that of the personal conscience of each individual; when, in a word, man, having torn away every vail, and penetrated every mystery, shall behold that God face to face to whom he aspires, will it not be discovered that God is, after all, nothing else than man himself, the conscience and the reason of humanity personified?

The fundamental errors of Rationalism are, that it mutilates man, ignoring some of the essential elements of his nature, and that it pushes the pretensions of science beyond their legitimate limits. Spiritualism "is inconsequent and timid, although respectful and modest. Rationalism, on the contrary, is pre-

sumptuous and audacious; its ambition is to see clearly, to touch what is in the center of the sanctuary, as it sees and touches what is on its outside. Its pretension is that it may study and know, by its ordinary processes, as well the invisible world, its sovereign and its laws, as the visible world in which man is now placed; and it wars upon Christianity because Christianity admits no such pretension."

Positivism, the next antichristian system examined, created much noise some twenty years ago, and is yet ably represented by Littré at Paris, and Mill in England. M. Guizot, who was intimately acquainted with its founder, Comte, speaks of him thus: "He was a man, single-minded, honest, of profound convictions, devoted to his own ideas, in appearance modest, although at heart prodigiously vain; he sincerely believed that it was his calling to open a new era for the mind of man and for human society." Of a mind vigorous and yet narrow, he was subject to paroxysms of profound melancholy, and had more than once attempted suicide, though generally his one conviction, that it was his destiny to revolutionize science, and inaugurate the golden age of the world, held triumphant sway. Conceiving of human history as consisting of three ascending stages of development, the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive, he felt it high time that a prophet should arise to lead forth mankind out of the bondage of superstition and speculation, and triumphantly domiciliate them in the promised green pastures of positive science. Each of these stages was the negation, the abolition, of the preceding. "My positive philosophy," said Comte, "is incompatible with every theological or metaphysical philosophy, and consequently equally so with every corresponding system of policy." The fundamental idea of Positivism is, that matter, its forces and laws, are the sole objects of human knowledge, the sole domain of the human mind. "Every religious belief, every spiritual doctrine, God and the human soul, are discarded by Positivism, and treated as arbitrary and transitory hypotheses, which, however they may have conduced to the development of humanity, ought now to be rejected by human reason, just as the foot may throw down the ladder which has enabled it to mount to the summit." Properly speaking, Positivism is simply materialistic Atheism. Its vices lie on the surface.

Like the Rationalists, "M. Comte mutilates the human mind, because he fails to observe it. and to recognize it in its entirety." Serious among its vices is the fact that it annihilates the freedom of the human will, has no place for moral or civil liberty. Fatalism is the dire inexorable law which dominates man no less than the world in which he lives.

M. Comte's threefold dissection of history is artificial and arbitrary. The theological, metaphysical, and positive states do not succeed and negative each other, but exist concomitantly, with periods of relative preponderancy, in every cultured nation, in every enlightened individual. Plato, Cicero, Augustine, Leibnitz—all harmoniously great minds, unite in themselves all three states—are at once theologians, metaphysicians, and scientists. The three directions of inquiry are but the legitimate expressions of primitive and essential elements of the soul. The desire for theologic truth is even a more deeply implanted, more universal, more unquenchable thirst of humanity than that for physical truth.

The whole system of Positivism rests on a curious compound of dogmatic assumption and radical misconception of anthropological truth. Its one-sidedness, its utter inadequacy to meet the deeper cravings of humanity, seems finally to have dawned on the mind of its author. And to meet this defect, he attempted toward the close of his career —some say in a period of insanity—to transform Positivism into a religion. Personifying humanity into a God, he constituted himself a high pontiff, and framed a positivist catechism, with a calendar all teeming with positivist saints.

Emerging from the stifling godless gloom of Positivism, M. Guizot turns his eyes to the giddy heights of Pantheism. "Do we wish," says he, "to behold a spectacle of how weak the human mind really is in the midst of all its grandeur, and of the limits which must finally and abruptly check its progress, however high its flight, we will read Plotinus, Spinoza, and Hegel, three martyrs to intellectual ambition, differing very much according to the difference of the eras and the nations to which they respectively belong, but similar in this point at least, that they ignore the visible world, and leave it behind them, to enter that world which dazzles their sight, where they

plunge into a void in quest of what they call *being*." Two passions have tempted to Pantheism men of eminent powers: the desire for universal science, and the passion for unity, "both noble feelings, but illegitimate and incapable of satisfaction." But even if they were realizable they would not work human happiness. Man hungers for more than knowledge; and Spinoza is wrong when he places "the highest degree of human felicity in the highest degree of human knowledge." "There are," says Scherer, "more things in heaven and upon earth than philosophy—than even the philosophy 'of the Absolute'—can explain. . . . To comprehend God, it needs to be God. A child might have said as much to Hegel." The clew to the errors of Pantheism is its unscientific method. The only true method, the exact study of facts and their relations, "was formerly, and remains still, strange to the Pantheists; to Spinoza as to Plotinus, to Hegel as to Spinoza." "For observation of facts and their laws, they substitute the affirmation and the definition of an axiom, and the deduction, logical, it is true, of its consequences. They disdain and set aside all study of the realities of the universe, believing themselves to be in possession of a key to open its secrets." But their key is a deception, and their inferences fallacious.

Psychology clearly establishes three facts: that man universally and intuitively believes in his own personality, in the freedom of his will, and in the existence of good and evil. These facts Pantheism ignores, or omits, or formally denies. Spinoza denies them openly. The acts of man, like the facts of nature, result from fatal laws and causes. "Free will is a chimera." "Nothing is bad in itself." Hegel was less blind, more cautious. "Of a mind large, and from its greatness naturally just, he escaped at moments the yoke of his system. Struck by the particular truths, moral, historical, esthetic, that offered themselves to his view in the theater of the universe, he admitted them without very well knowing what place he should assign to them." But the offshoots, the fruits, of his system have been bitter enough—Idealism, Humanism, Atheism, Skepticism. For the worship of God it has substituted self-adoration; for theology, anthropology; for prayer, self-contemplation; for divine law, the human will.

"Such is the inevitable result at which Pantheism, even that kind termed Idealistic Pantheism, ultimately arrives, whatever the elevation of mind and the morality of intent in its first authors. This is no scientific doctrine founded upon the observation of facts and their laws; it is an hypothesis framed by dint of violent abstractions, verbal commutations and reasoning, in the blindness of a thought drunk with itself. Under the breath of Pantheism all beings—real and personal beings—vanish and are replaced by an abstraction. . . . Was there ever, in the conceptions of mythology, or in the mystical dreams of the human imagination, any thing so artificial, any thing so vain, as this hypothesis, which at its very beginning, as well as throughout its entire course, loses sight of the best-attested facts respecting man and the world; and, shocking equally science and common sense, departs as much from the method of philosophy as from the spontaneous instincts of mankind?"

But another and more dangerous, because more popular, foe of religion is that form of Materialism which now, to such an alarming extent, prevails among the teachers of physical science. It is atheistic. "It sees God neither in the universe nor in man; the eternal world and ephemeral individuals are, in its eyes, only combinations and different forms of matter."

"Two things strike me in the actual state of men's minds: the progress that Materialism is making, and its constant timidity in that very progress." Its progress is undeniable. Tacitly admitted and hesitatingly defended by many sober, studious men, by a few it is openly professed and defiantly proclaimed with all its terrible consequences; though "the most distinguished of its adepts struggle to give explanations that look like disavowals, and many repudiate the charge of being Materialists as if it were an insult." This general hesitation is full of significance. It is the voice of humanity making itself felt in spite of theorists, and proclaiming that neither the universe nor man is exclusively matter; that man is a spiritual, moral being. The soul will not resolve itself into sensations, nor be quenched in the crucible. Though acting in and through the body, it is something higher than brain, or nervous fluid, or light, or electricity, or impersonal force. To explain its separate entity and its union with the

body into one complex being, is one of the great problems of philosophy. Materialism is an hypothesis that explains the problem by suppressing it, by denying that this complexity is a fact. "Man is only a product and an ephemeral form of matter."

"Nothing," says Vacherot, "proves that the hypothesis of Materialism is true; on the contrary, positive facts evidence its falsity. . . . If the soul be only the result of the play of the organs, how is it that the soul is able to resist the impressions and appetites of the body, to direct, concentrate, and govern its faculties? If the will be but the instinct in a different form, how explain its empire over the instinct? This fact is an irresistible argument; it is the rock upon which Materialism has always wrecked itself, and upon which it will continue to do so." The system has been refuted times without number. Socrates and Plato did it in a masterly manner more than two thousand years ago.

Under a sense of the weakness of their old hypothesis, modern naturalists have added to it a second. Unable to explain facts by matter alone, they imagine it as endowed from eternity with a certain active power—force—and set up as a maxim, "No force without matter, no matter without force." But what is this blind, impersonal, and yet wonder-working *force?* Is it not a mere empty name invented as a substitute for the disliked terms, Supreme Reason, or God? Weighed in the balance of sound reason, Materialism is found to be a mere hypothesis, resting, like Pantheism, on purely verbal assertions.

Passing over M. Guizot's pertinent essay on Skepticism, we notice some of his concluding remarks as to the temper now manifested toward religion by French society in general.

"Three dispositions of mind are very observable and very general—impiety, recklessness as to religion, and religious perplexity. . . . Impiety is spreading and assuming serious development, more especially among the operative classes, and in that young generation that issues from the middle classes, and is destined to follow the liberal professions." But "recklessness in religion is, in our days, a more widely-spread evil than impiety." Under its influence men neither give any attention to the problem of their higher destiny, nor imagine

that there is any ground for so doing. It is among the most formidable obstacles that now confront the Church.

But there is another evil that deserves more gentle treatment—honest religious perplexity. It troubles not only many deep thinkers and profound scholars, "it causes agitation, and spreads desolation among multitudes of single-minded, modest, and silent men, who suffer from the antichristian *malaria* spread around them. What framer of statistics shall count their number? what philosopher minister successfully to their disease?"

Of remarkable instances of this perplexity among profound thinkers, M. Guizot cites two—Vacherot and Scherer. The former, a believer in supernatural absolute truth, a valiant antagonist of Materialism, Positivism, and Pantheism, comes finally, under the fatal guidance of a system that ignores the true limits of human inquiry, to be a Pantheist in spite of himself. "And these incoherences, these contradictions, these relapses of M. Vacherot into systems that he disavows, and that he has just combated, what are they but striking evidences of the vanity of his efforts, like those of so many others, to explain, unaided by God, God and the universe?"

M. Scherer's perplexities are not those of the metaphysician, but those of the critic. From being a zealous Christian believer he was thrown into doubt by the examination of systems and dogmas, and is now lurking in the mazes of a dark labyrinth, searching for the truth, but unable to find it. Though inquiring for a remedy for the moral ailments of humanity, of which he has a profound sentiment, he is doubtless destined to long disappointment, for his is a mind hard to please; demanding overpowering or mathematical, and not content with moral, evidence.

Such is a general outline of the plan and method of the work of M. Guizot.

It is a book well worthy of a place in the study of the minister and at the fireside of the family—worthy because of the position of the philosopher and statesman, who honors Christianity not less by his pen than by his noble life and unsullied name; worthy because of the healthful, generous, catholic spirit that pervades it; worthy because of the intrinsic interest and able treatment of the matter it contains.

Art. IV.—THE REFORMATION OF CRIMINALS.

Our Convicts. By Mary Carpenter. 2 vols., 8vo. London: Longman. Boston: Roberts.

Report on the Prisons and Reformatories of the United States and Canada. By E. C. Wines, D.D., LL.D., and Theodore W. Dwight, LL.D., Commissioners of the Prison Association of New York. 1867.

Twenty-second Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York.

Reports of Massachusetts' Board of Charities. 1864–67.

Special Report on Prisons and Prison Discipline. Made under the authority of the Board of State Charities, Massachusetts, by the Secretary of the Board, F. B. Sanborn, Esq.

Dr. Wayland, who was for a number of years the President of the Prison Discipline Society of Rhode Island, and in this period effected economical and moral changes in the State Prison of the most gratifying character, to which we shall allude hereafter, once remarked, "If the Saviour were to visit the city of Providence, I do not know any place where he would be more likely to be found than here." (In the prison.) At another time he said, "I love to present the Gospel to these poor fellows in all its precious promises. How adapted it is to meet the wants of just such men!"*

Prisons themselves, during the last half century, have felt the benign charity and power of Christianity. Howard, the devoted Gurney family, and the Prison Discipline Societies of Europe and America, have not labored in vain. Damp and miasmatic dungeons, unwholesome and insufficient food, the indiscriminate herding of different ages, characters, and sexes, (except in the instances of local jails and places of detention, which to this hour remain a blot upon our Christian civilization,) have given way to costly structures, erected with regard to all the natural wants of man, as to ventilation, heat, exercise, labor, and care in sickness, and classified, to a degree, as to age, sex, and moral condition. The tendency in some of our States is to extreme expense in the architectural design and execution of the prison. A very considerable proportion of this, without abating in any degree the sanitary, humane, or industrial conveniences of the prison, might be diverted to preventive measures for the cure of crime, to moral appliances for the reformation of the criminal, or to his aid and super-

* Memoir of the Life and Labors of Dr. Wayland, vol. ii, page 347.

vision when he enters society afresh to struggle with temptation. When the late Senator Douglas visited Augusta, Maine, a few years before his death, the carriage in which he was driven through the city was stopped in front of an imposing granite building in the heart of the town. "This, I presume," he said, glancing over the stately proportions of the edifice, "is your State-house?" "No," was the answer, "it is our county jail." The error was natural, for in point of fact the prison was a handsomer and more costly structure than the state capitol, a half mile distant upon the same street.* In his own adopted state, at Joliet, Illinois, the Senator could have found an even more imposing castellated Gothic structure, of immense proportions, and erected at an expense of a million of dollars, devoted to the restraint and punishment of state criminals.† A Christian temper toward the criminal does not require such an outlay upon the outside of the cell, nor suggest that the deterrent character of the place of punishment should be shorn of any of its proper appendages of shame. Severely simple should be the style of its architecture; and while it should, in no measure, be an offense to the eye, it certainly should not attract by its elegance or stateliness. Thousands for reformation, but not a dollar for show, should be the motto of prison Commissioners in the erection of such buildings.

Great and wholesome changes in the criminal laws of the Christian world, and in their administration, have also been made. One of the most eloquent and efficient agents in the early movements in this direction, Lord Brougham,‡ still lingers, alone of his peers, at an advanced age, preserving a remarkable interest in this and other provinces of social science, which he has done so much to develop. Severe and cruel punishments have been discarded, capital punishment has been limited to the willful taking of human life, and the measure of imprisonment has been made to conform in a degree to the heinousness of the offense. Every precaution that Christian wisdom and charity can suggest is taken to give an accused person sufficient opportunity to defend himself from a false accusation, even at the cost of allowing many guilty persons to go free. The chief desideratum at present in this province of

* Wines's and Dwight's Report, page 108. † Ibid., page 109.

‡ Deceased after this paper was in type, May 12, in the ninetieth year of his age.

reform is to secure greater uniformity in the administration of criminal law. A maximum and minimum period of imprisonment, often permitting a very broad interval between the extremes, in order that the Court in its discretion may distinguish between the different shades of criminality involved in the act—as committed by young or old offenders, whether a first offense or otherwise, whether exhibiting malice or not—in practical operation, involves much comparative injustice to prisoners. The different Courts having different standards of judgment as to the measure of punishment to be allotted to given crimes, it happens that in the same prison persons who have been guilty of minor offenses find themselves sentenced for a longer period than those who have committed graver acts of trespass.

The report of Drs. Wines and Dwight mentions this extreme case upon the testimony of an eminent member of the bar of Baltimore. He had known, he said, "a man to be sentenced to the Maryland Penitentiary ten years for stealing a piece of calico not worth more than ten dollars, and another man to be sentenced for only ten years to the same prison who had committed an atrocious murder." * Mr. Haynes, the intelligent Warden of the Massachusetts State Prison, referring to this inequality of sentences and its effect upon prisoners, remarks, "We have one man here who plead guilty to passing three counterfeit five dollar bills, who was sentenced to fifteen years; another, who plead guilty to passing four twenty dollar bills, who was sentenced to but four years. One man, for having in his possession ten counterfeit bank bills, was sentenced to one year; another, for the same offense, to twelve years. These men may work near each other, and, of course, learn the facts; and it can be easily imagined that great dissatisfaction would be engendered, and our discipline suffer in consequence. No logic can convince a man that justice requires him to serve fifteen years here for passing fifteen dollars in bad money, when his neighbor serves but four for passing eighty, everything else being equal." † The most experienced Wardens in the country bear unanimous testimony to the evil influence upon the character of prisoners of this inequality in the terms of the sentences.

In the economy of the prison, and in the profitable applica-

* Report on Prisons and Reformatories, page 270. † Report, page 271.

tion of the labor of prisoners to the support of the institution, very successful experiments have demonstrated that what has been heretofore a heavy burden upon the community may be made self-supporting, and even capable of returning a considerable revenue. And this, it has been shown, can be secured, not only without calling the inmates to the performance of excessive labor, but with decided advantage to the physical and moral well-being of the prisoners. In 1848 the expenses of the Rhode Island State Prison exceeded the income by over five thousand dollars, and the sanitary and moral condition of the prisoners was miserable in the extreme. Dr. Wayland became President of the Board of Inspectors in 1851; in 1854, under his very efficient management, the income of the prison exceeded its outlay, the health of the prisoners had improved, and the inspectors report that they "spend most of their leisure in reading, their moral character is manifestly elevated, and a large portion of them leave the prison better prepared to become useful members of society than when they entered the prison."*

The State Prison of Connecticut, under the management of that remarkable man, Amos Pilsbury, now Warden of the Albany Penitentiary, and his father—a period of twenty years—realized a clear profit, in round numbers, of one hundred thousand dollars.† In his present position as Warden of the Albany County Penitentiary, Mr. Pilsbury, while he has secured without great severity of discipline the most unexampled order and a high moral tone among his prisoners, has, by their labor, greatly enlarged and improved the penitentiary buildings, and paid all the incidental expenses of the establishment. In 1866 the earnings of the prisoners exceeded the expenses of the prison by the large sum of $24,412 49. In no public prison in the country can there be found a milder discipline, or more attention paid to the physical wants of prisoners, than in the Massachusetts State Prison at Charlestown. Its earnings, above expenses, during the last year were $21,000.

While such marked progress has been made in these departments of criminal administration, much less advancement has been made in the more important work of lessening the crim-

* Memoir of Life and Labors of Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D., vol. ii, p. 341.

† Report of Prisons, page 268.

inal class, and of reforming and saving the criminal himself. The records of our criminal courts exhibit a constant and startling increase of crime; and the criminals are, the majority of them, young persons. They enter, apparently, upon a regular course of training. Commencing with petty larceny, and visiting the Penitentiary upon short sentences, they advance in the audacity of crime to midnight burglaries and acts of violence, varying their life with limited periods of prison discipline, and perhaps dropping into the grave from the scaffold.

A very small proportion, except of those who may be called accidental criminals—well-educated and heretofore respectable persons who, in the pressure of powerful temptation, yield to crime, and after the shame of imprisonment return humbled to a forgiving and welcoming social circle again—re-enter society again as wholesome members, to add to its capital rather than to prey upon its resources.

One cannot rise from the reading of the very instructive and, in many respects, sad volumes of Miss Carpenter, or from the examination of the exhaustive and able reports of Drs. Wines and Dwight upon the prisons of our country and Canada, and particularly upon the jails and penitentiaries of our State, or from the thoughtful observations of the Massachusetts State Board of Charities, without being impressed with the truth that while prisons have been reformed to a great degree, prisoners have not. Lord Stanley well remarked that the "reformation of men can never become a mechanical process." Good, healthy prisons, just laws equally administered, wholesome discipline, honest industry, are all admirable means through which the erring, vicious, enslaved man may be approached; but all these do not, and cannot save him. They are "weak through the flesh." The individual man must be personally solicited, by all wise endeavors, to lay hold of a Divine Hand to raise him from the depths of his wretchedness. No thoughtful person can read these volumes without seeing that the active managers of our penitentiaries do not aim, as a primary object, at the reformation of the prisoner. Moral men are not at the head of many of them; depraved under-officers and employes of contractors are in constant contact with them; the discipline is often unjust; educational and religious instruction is made entirely subordinate to other interests, and the chief aim seems

to be to get as much service out of the man as possible with as little inconvenience as may be to his overseer. To many persons the contents of these works afford no very lively or entertaining reading; but however reluctant we are to investigate these subjects, they are constantly forced upon us by very unpleasant experiences. Our personal safety and comfort are seriously imperiled by these, our vicious and criminal brethren; and Christ, their Saviour and ours, is ever waiting in the cell to pronounce upon us the benediction, "I was in prison and ye visited me." We are not yet prepared to hold, with some, that the prison should be in no sense penal, but purely reformatory; that all *punishment* should be left to God. The idea of punishment for crime need not be lost sight of in the most vigorous efforts for the recovery of the criminal. The prison may continue to be as dreaded on account of its proper shame, its separation from social life, its very simple food, its hard work; and at the same time the community may be defended, by the restoration of the prisoner, from further sufferings at his hands, his family from the utter loss of his protection, and himself from ruin. Society holds the criminal at wonderful advantage to secure this end, if all available opportunities are employed. Says James Freeman Clarke, in his late sermon before the Massachusetts Legislature:

> You have complete control over them. No parents, no teachers have such an entire influence as you have. The moment a man goes into one of your prisons you can decide just what influences he shall be under, and what not. You can shut out what you will, and let in what you will. Now, the old plan of a prison was to shut out all good influences and to let in all bad ones. The present plan of shutting out all kinds of influence, good and bad, is better; but the best plan is to shut out bad influences and let in good ones.

We fall into a grievous error in permitting the first crimes of street children to go unpunished. These little vagrant thieves should be gathered out of the highways and placed in wholesome schools of reform, or be deported into the country. If these perennial springs of crime could be dried, the rivers of vice would soon be lessened in their volume. It may seem to be an advanced doctrine for the present hour; but it is only anticipating a near future to suggest that sentences for crime, instead of being limited by a definite period in the case of often offenders and confirmed criminals, must be, under proper super-

vision, made to depend upon the probable reformation of the prisoner. We place insane persons under restraint for their own benefit, and for the defense of their friends and the community; why should we not restrain those whose reason and will have been undermined or depraved by insane appetites and vicious habits, and who will certainly prey upon the community if permitted to be at large, until we are satisfied that they have come to themselves and can be safely trusted as wholesome members of society? Many thoughtful men in Europe and America have, as the result of their investigations and reflections upon this subject, reached the conclusion "that time sentences are wrong in principle, that they should be abandoned, and that reformation sentences should be substituted in their place." Among others, Mr. Commissioner Matthew Davenport Hill, one of the ablest criminal judges of Great Britain, and for thirty years Recorder of Birmingham, thus enlarges upon this topic in a charge before a grand jury of that city:

> You must be prepared to strengthen the hands of government by advocating such a change in the law as will enable those who administer the criminal justice of the country to retain in custody all such as are convicted of crime until they have, by reliable tests, demonstrated that they have the will and the power to gain an honest livelihood at large. You must be content that they shall be retained until habits of industry are formed; until moderate skill in some useful occupation is acquired; until the great lesson of self-control is mastered; in short, until the convict ceases to be a criminal, resolves to fulfill his duties both to God and to man, and has surmounted all obstacles against carrying such resolutions into successful action. But as no training, however enlightened and vigilant, will produce its intended effects on every individual subjected to its discipline, what are we to do with the incurable? Gentlemen, we must face this question; we must not flinch from answering that we propose to detain them in prison until they are released by death. You keep the maniac in a prison which you call an asylum, under similar conditions; you guard against his escape until he is taken from you, either because he is restored to sanity or has departed to another world. If, gentlemen, innocent misfortune may and must be so treated, why not thus deal with incorrigible depravity?*

Upon this charge, only a short extract of which is quoted above, a general discussion naturally enough arose in England.

* Report on Prisons, page 275.

The London "Times" concludes in this manner its judgment of the merit of the argument:

> We believe it will be found the cheapest and most politic course, as well as the most humane, to leave no stone unturned to bring about the reformation of the criminals, and not to discharge them upon society until they are reformed. In desperate cases we must even acquiesce in the conclusion of imprisonment for life.*

How may our prisons be rendered more reformatory? We are never to forget, as Edward Livingston wrote forty years ago, that, after all,

> Convicts are men. The most depraved and degraded are men; their minds are moved by the same springs that give activity to those of others; they avoid pain with the same care, and pursue pleasure with the same avidity that actuate their fellow-mortals. It is the false direction only of these great motives that produces the criminal actions which they prompt. To turn them into a course that will promote the true happiness of the individual by making him cease to injure that of society should be the great object of penal jurisprudence.

Several interesting local and national experiments have been tried to secure this great end. In the immense ill-arranged public prison in the old city of Valencia, in Spain, Colonel Montesinos undertook the government of the convicts, and won for himself a European reputation by his success. Recorder Hill makes the following statement in reference to his plan and success:

> He acted upon the prisoners by urging them to self-reformation. He excited them to industry by allowing them a small portion of their earnings for their own immediate expenditure, under due regulations to prevent abuse. He enabled them to raise their position, stage after stage, by their perseverance in good conduct. When they had acquired his confidence, he intrusted them with commissions which carried them beyond the walls of their prison, relying upon his moral influence which he had acquired over them to prevent their desertion; and finally he discharged them before the expiration of their sentences, when he had satisfied himself that they desired to do well, had acquired habits of patient labor, so much of skill in some useful occupation as would insure employment, the inestimable faculty of self-denial, the power of saying No to the tempter; and, in short, such a general control over the infirmities of their minds and hearts as should enable them to deserve and maintain the liberty which they had earned.†

* Report on Prisons, page 276. † Special Reports on Prisons, page 47.

The result of this remarkable experiment in a prison containing an average of one thousand prisoners, where heretofore the annual recommitments had amounted to thirty-five per cent., was that they were diminished to two per cent., and during three successive years there were *no* recommittals. Another interesting and suggestive experiment in the direction of reforming the most abandoned prisoners was partially worked out by Captain Alexander Machonochie, an intelligent and benevolent Scotch sea-captain, at the English penal colony upon Norfolk Island, near Van Dieman's Land. The striking details of his four years' labors, from 1840 to 1844, are given in Miss Carpenter's valuable volumes entitled "Our Convicts." When he reached the island he found fourteen hundred of the hardest and vilest convicts, the refuse of the other penal colonies—dangerous and almost demoniacal. He says of them, it was "the most formidable sight I ever beheld when the sea of faces upturned to me when I first addressed them." They had been subjected to the most rigorous, and even brutal discipline; their feelings had been habitually outraged, and their self-respect destroyed. Without the hearty support of his subordinate officers, by moral and intellectual measures almost wholly, he sought by every means to restore to these fallen men their lost self-respect, to awaken hope and wholesome ambition, and to win them to a life of honest industry and virtue. By a system of marks representing higher and lower grades of character and standing, he caused them to feel that, criminals as they were, in a state of utter poverty, destitution, and bondage to appetite, nothing could save them but "their own steady, persevering, unflinching exertion, with God's blessing." They were made to look upon themselves as at the bottom of a well, but "with a ladder provided by which they might ascend if they would, without bolstering or dragging up by other than their own efforts." The result was such as might be expected. A disinterested witness, the author of "Recollections of Sixteen Years in Australia," testifies:

> Captain Machonochie did more for the reformation of these unhappy wretches than the most sanguine practical mind could beforehand have ventured even to hope." He says himself, with very natural enthusiasm, "I found the island a turbulent, brutal hell; I left it a peaceful, well-ordered community. The most complete

security, alike of person and property, prevailed. Officers, women, and children traversed the island everywhere without fear; and huts, gardens, stock-yards, and growing crops, many of them—as of fruit—most tempting, were scattered in every corner without molestation.

But an experiment upon a larger scale has been going on for the last twelve or fourteen years, in the administration of the Irish prisons, which has been attended with the most gratifying results. It was inaugurated under the administration of Sir Walter Crofton, who, in 1854, was appointed Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland. The great subordinating idea of the system is the thorough reformation of the prisoner, and his return again, as a safe member, to society. There are four stages in the process. He is first received into a prison in Dublin, arranged upon the Pennsylvania or separate system. Here, for eight months if his conduct is good, longer if he resists the discipline, (that at the opening of his penitentiary career he may be impressed with the truth that the way of the transgressor is hard,) he passes his time in separate confinement. His food is of the simplest character, his discipline severe, his labor, oakum-picking, shoemaking or tailoring, is carried on by himself. He is here carefully instructed as to the nature of the discipline to which he is to be submitted, and shown how his condition will be constantly improved, and the time of his imprisonment shortened, by his own good conduct and diligence. An hour every day is devoted to school, and instruction is afforded by oral lectures. Through all the course, prisoners have divine worship twice a day and upon the Sabbath, Chaplains of three different persuasions being provided, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic. At the end of this period, if he has done well, he is removed to another prison, upon Spike Island, in Cork Harbor, conducted on the Auburn or congregate plan. Here he is associated in labor and life with others, and exposed to such temptations as will be likely to reveal the actual moral condition of the man. Here, also, his food is improved, and his social privileges are increased. His detention in this prison depends upon the grade he secures, growing out of his submission to discipline, his progress in school, and his industry at his work. Idlers and dangerous men are kept in distinct

classes, separate from the other prisoners, subjected to a low diet, and otherwise punished. Here, also, great attention is paid to intellectual and moral instruction.

Such of the prisoners as reach the high grade of character and progress required (said to be about seventy-five per cent. of the whole number) are removed to one of the Intermediate Prisons, at Smithfield, Dublin, or Lusk; reference being had to the form of labor to which they are adapted, whether mechanics or farmers. Lusk is simply an open common, where the convicts are encamped without any other surveillance than overseers of their work. Here they are employed, working as free from restraint as any day laborers, reclaiming waste lands. They have already transformed worthless bogs and barrens into fine farms and beautiful gardens—happy emblems of the nobler recovery which has been going on in themselves. At the other Intermediate Prisons they go freely out with their overseers to their various mechanical labors. Should they yield to temptation, back again they go to prison walls and severe discipline. In the second and third stages gratuities of money are allowed, determined by their grade, which is paid to them at their discharge from prison. In the latter stage, a portion of this they are permitted to expend upon their own comfort. In the last stage valuable practical lectures upon life and business, upon morals, and many branches of science, are given after work in the evening, and the intellectual life of the men is developed by discussions. A man of singular facility in this work, full of zeal and benevolence, Mr. Organ, has providentially offered himself to this service, and acquired an almost unbounded influence over the prisoners.

In the fourth stage, having merited discharge by good conduct before the limit of the sentence has been reached, the prisoner is dismissed upon a "ticket of leave," to be forfeited upon the commission of an offense. Having been engaged in working freely in the city or in the country, and thus demonstrated his reformation under the eyes of observers, Mr. Organ, who is the agent in this most important province of the work of reformation, has now little difficulty in securing remunerative labor for the discharged men; and he also states, that *not more than five per cent.* of those discharged from the Inter-

mediate Prisons have relapsed! This is certainly a most remarkable result. A few modifications of this system adapt it to the discipline and redemption of criminal and fallen women.

It is not necessary to copy all the details of this elaborate series of penal institutions to secure the same results in this country. Our system requires only to be revised (and this revision must be radical) so far as to subordinate every thing to the one grand idea of reforming the criminal man. Its management must be entirely withdrawn from political interference. At this moment one of the most serious obstacles to moral progress in the New York prisons is the constant liability to change in the inspection and superintendence of these penal establishments. Our venerable and respected chaplain, Luckey, for eighteen years the religious teacher and pastor at Sing Sing, says under oath, referring to the great moral improvements instituted by one Warden and thrust disdainfully aside in a short time by his successor:

A great change was made by him (the former). New officers were appointed, and with them came an entirely new order of things. Mr. S. required of his assistants a humane, forbearing, and just intercourse with the convict; and, as a consequence, he exercised over the latter, both while in prison and after their discharge, a corresponding moral control. Some of the old officers were amazed at Mr. S.'s commencement; others stood aghast as they saw him enter the hospital and take part in the religious exercises. Where will this end? was a question in many a mouth, as he went from cell to cell on the Sabbath, delivering tracts, exhorting the convicts to duty, and especially when he commenced a Sabbath-school, taking charge of it himself, and employing the better class of convicts for teachers when he could get no others. But the prison records show conclusively that all this was done without detriment to the good order of the prison or the safe keeping of the convicts; nay, to the decided advantage of both these interests. The punishments were not only less severe, but less frequent; very few attempts at escape were made; work was more cheerfully performed, and more of it done; and numerous instances of moral and religious reforms took place, as was conclusively shown by the continued good conduct of the convicts after their liberation. Some who had predicted revolt and rebellion on the part of the convicts as the consequence of this humane treatment of them, on witnessing the results just stated, and the complete falsification of their own prophecies, candidly and with emphasis declared, "Mr. S. is right."

Now what a terrible misfortune to the State, and above all to these unhappy men, that such a man, in the very hour of his success, should be removed! Few men have this magnetic reformatory power. It is given of God. Wardens are "born, not made." Our beloved chaplain sadly continues,

> By a turn in the political wheel a new Board of Inspectors came into power imbued with different views. Mr. S. was removed, and Mr. L. was brought back and invested with the administration of discipline; and, at one fell swoop the Sunday-school, the distribution of tracts, the prison correspondence, the library, the visitation of friends, and all those moral appliances for which I had labored so earnestly, were swept away. Brute force was again enthroned, the reign of terror was renewed, the "knock down and carry out" system was reinstated in full vigor. The effect of this change was, that punishments increased, escapes multiplied, the temper of the prisoners was soured, and the discipline became greatly demoralized. The Inspectors at length became convinced that they were on the wrong track, and after about seven months' trial of the system of severity, Mr. L. was relieved.

But how fatal this interregnum in moral training upon the character of the prisoners; it was difficult, the chaplain testifies, even under a better man, to recover the pure and healthy and vigorous tone of discipline which had been reached by Mr. S.

The same regard to moral qualifications and permanency must be had in reference to all the subordinate officers, and to the overseers of labor. The end sought after is not simply regimental precision, and the largest amount of work (for which the man himself receives no pecuniary recompense) which may be forced from him, but it is the convict's redemption, and every thing should be made a means to secure this. The testimony in reference to the effect of the contract system, especially as it operates in this State, by which the labor of prisoners is sold for a given sum to contractors, as gathered by Drs. Wines and Dwight, is appalling. We do not refer now so much to the constant frauds upon the State practiced by these contractors, but to the fatal influence of the system upon the moral character of the prisoners. These men have but one interest, and that is personal. They select such overseers as have the most success in wringing the greatest amount of service out of the convict. Remaining permanently connected

with the prison, while the Inspectors, Wardens, and officers are changed, they acquire an astonishing power over the administration of the establishment. Says Rev. Mr. Luckey, by means of the political influence which they can bring to bear upon Inspectors, they induce them

> Not unfrequently to appoint cruel and unprincipled keepers, whom the contractors can use as tools in furtherance of their own interests, often to the detriment of the health, and oftener still, of the morals, of the convicts. They often interfere in the discipline, directly, by dictating as to the punishment of the convicts in their shops. I have often seen contractors accompany prisoners to, and return with them from, the punishment room. On one occasion, I saw a man bucked in a very cruel manner; and when, as his neck would be wrenched, and under the agony thus inflicted, he would plead for mercy, a contractor's agent standing by, and fairly gritting his teeth, would say to the officer who was administering the punishment, "Give it to him, the villain! he is not subdued yet."

Can a more effectual plan be devised to make hardened wretches out of these outcasts from society, and to engender within their souls the most brutal tempers?

But let us listen still further to the Chaplain:

> They (the contractors) oppose every thing of the nature of moral or reforming agencies, which would consume any part of the time of the convicts that might be employed to their own pecuniary advantage. Some years ago, as a means of softening the feelings and improving the hearts of the convicts, I got up a prison choir, composed of the prisoners. The hour from four to five every Saturday afternoon in summer, and from three to four in winter, was devoted to practice in my presence. At length the contractor, in whose shop the leader of the choir worked, forbade him to attend the rehearsal, unless a deduction of one fourth should be made from his wages on that day for this loss of a single hour.

A prayer-meeting occupying a single hour was objected to for the same reason; and when a burial service was proposed for the dead, the convicts to assemble in the chapel, and the Inspectors at once assented to it as tending to make a powerful moral impression, the reponse of the contractors to the written request of the Chaplain was, that it would interfere with the per diem rates of the employed convicts. If these selfish and economical ends are to be considered primary, fare-

well to any well-devised plans for the moral and religious training of prisoners. Within reasonable limits, the Chaplain, who should be a man specially designated by Providence for the position, should have free access to the prisoners, and the largest opportunity for religious instruction and public services.

It is surprising that so little effort in our country, noted for its system of public education, is made to secure the intellectual cultivation of prisoners. The examination of our prisons discloses the painful truth that but very slight attention is paid to this matter. In many instances the only instruction is that given by the Chaplains through the barred doors of the cells. In others it is confined to the Sunday-school, and in a few instances a teacher is hired for one hour in the day to give lessons to the convicts. Nearly all convicts when they enter prison are wretchedly ignorant. In no prison, except one in Canada, even Massachusetts not excepted, does there seem to be any efficient system in operation to secure the mental development of those who, of all others, need this training, the lack of which has been one of the prominent occasions of a life of crime.

But the prisoner must have something before him. He must see that his life of discipline, if he is faithful and in earnest himself, will result in reinstating him in the confidence of the community. By connecting his discharge with his reformation—by allowing him, when discharged, a portion of his earnings—by awakening his manhood with suitable solicitations of his better feelings—by proffering him adequate aid and supervision when he leaves the walls of his prison—by the direct and divine appeals of the Gospel—the fallen, abject, hard, corrupt, but still human soul must be aroused. We have no right to despair of any living man. Certainly the efforts that have been put forth for the reformation of prisoners have never been so exhaustive in their character, or so wisely devised and so efficiently executed as to enable us to predicate safely success or failure upon them. This we do know, that when the cross does enter the cell it is the "power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

Dr. Tuckerman relates an instance that came under his notice in 1827. He happened to be present in the United

States Court-house when two pirates received the sentence of death. The wretches manifested an almost inconceivable hardness of manner. One expressed all the rage of a demon, and the other the strongest possible contempt.

Judge Story asked them if they had any thing to say before sentence was pronounced. The first one poured out a torrent of the most profane and revengeful language upon the District Attorney and the Court. The other, with a sardonic grin, replied only, "The sooner the better."

Judge Story said he had witnessed many affecting scenes in the discharge of his judicial duties, but never one so painful as this. Dr. Tuckerman followed them after sentence to the jail, and persuaded the reluctant turnkey to permit him to enter the cell, and to lock him in with one of them for an hour.

The doctor says:

I offered my hand to the prisoner, which, I think, he did not take. I assured him of my great desire to serve him. His reply was, "I only wish to be in hell, where it is hot, and not in this cold place." The hour passed, and the turnkey returned. Not the smallest apparent moral progress had been made in that hour, except that the unhappy man had consented to my request to pass an hour of the next day with him. He said, "You may come if you choose, I care nothing about it." I went the next day, and the next, and the next, and endeavored by every means in my power to get at his heart, and to make some impression there. I closed each visit with prayer. It was now quite perceptible that a change of feelings had begun in him. He had a father and mother living, and I addressed myself in every way to his filial sensibilities. There seemed to be no other chord in his heart from which a moral vibration was to be obtained. I think it was on the fifth or sixth day of my visits to him that he said "Amen" at the conclusion of my prayer. He was now desirous and glad to see me. The remembrance of his parents was the great restorative of his sensibilities. On about the tenth or twelfth day of my visits, he fell upon his knees when we prayed together. He had now a deep sense of his guilt, and the character of his penitence was most peculiarly filial. God was revealed to him as his Father, and his heart was penetrated and bowed as if the heart of a greatly-guilty but sincerely-repenting child. Every thought and care and interest was absorbed in the single desire for mercy, the forgiveness of his heavenly Father. I passed an hour with this man every day during, I think, thirty-four or thirty-five days, and never have I heard such supplications, such entreaties for mercy, as I heard from his lips. In the midst of one of my prayers he broke out into such impassioned and importunate cries to God that it seemed to me as

if the very stones of his cell might have responded to them. My own heart was well-nigh broken by his anguish. And he died, apparently, the most contrite being I have ever known.

We have selected this incident to show that the hardest heart may be touched by the grace of the Gospel, rather than one of the many highly-ornamented descriptions of the triumphant religious exercises of dying criminals that garnish our public prints. A wholesome distrust and disrelish is felt by thoughtful persons of these sudden and rapturous dying experiences after a life of hardened criminality. Dr. Tuckerman prudently and truthfully portrays the legitimate and divine result of a clear apprehension of guilt and of the love of God, in the hearty and humble penitence of the sinner. Surely Christ came "to seek and to save that which was lost." The last earthly act of the Saviour was to open Paradise to a penitent robber, and he was the first person to feel the power of his cross.

How eloquently, fifteen hundred years ago, did the golden-tongued Chrysostom discourse upon this:

> Would you learn another most illustrious achievement of the Cross, transcending all human thought? The closed gates of Paradise he has opened to-day; for to-day he has brought into it *the thief*. Two most sublime achievements these! He hath opened Paradise and brought in the thief. . . . Though no king could permit a *thief* or any of his servants to occupy the same seat with him, and to ride into the city, yet our gracious Lord did it. For at his entrance into his holy fatherland he brings along with him the thief; not dishonoring Paradise with the feet of the thief—far be it from him—but rather in this way conferring on it honor. For it is the glory of Paradise to have such a Lord, so full of power and love, as to be able to make a *thief* worthy of the joys of Paradise. For when he called publicans and harlots into the kingdom, he did this not to dishonor the kingdom, but to confer on it the highest renown, and to show that the Lord of the kingdom is such as to be able to bestow on harlots and publicans an excellence so perfect, that they are seen to be worthy of the honors and gifts that are there. As, therefore, we admire a physician when we see those who are laboring under incurable diseases released from their maladies and restored to perfect health, so, beloved, admire Christ, and be astonished that, laying his hand on those that are afflicted with incurable maladies of the soul, he hath power to deliver them from the evils under which they groan, and make those who have reached the utmost extremity of wickedness fit for the kingdom of heaven.

Art. V.—MOTLEY'S UNITED NETHERLANDS.

History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce, 1609. By John Lathrop Motley, D. C. L. In four volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

With the two volumes of this work which have recently appeared Mr. Motley completes his second great historical study. The "History of the United Netherlands," which we are thus enabled to view as a whole, is well deserving of a position by the side of the "Rise of the Dutch Republic," of which it serves as the continuation. In fact, the two works are only parts of one extended plan, reaching from the first struggles of the Low Countries in defense of their municipal liberties against the world-wide despotism of Philip II., to the formal recognition of the independence of the United Provinces by the treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The concluding portion of this period, the sanguinary Thirty Years' War, is a noble theme, which even the gifted pen of Schiller has not rendered so familiar as to strip it of freshness and interest. We are glad to see the announcement that it is already occupying Mr. Motley's attention as a subject for future treatment.

To the unobserving, and those who judge of the forces of history by merely mechanical tests, it may seem that our author has begun and prosecuted the examination of a mere episode in the world's story on a scale quite out of proportion to its relative importance. The provinces that succeeded in asserting and maintaining their freedom, it may be said, were but an insignificant patch of sand wrested from the ocean—a territory not equal in area to one fourth of the state of New York. Their population at the present moment even scarcely exceeds the number of deaths on the surface of our globe in a single month. What stupendous dimensions would be reached by a complete chronicle of our race were it compiled according to this standard! If four volumes of no mean size are required to elucidate the events of this little commonwealth during twenty-four years of its existence, (1585–1609,) what scholar, to say nothing of the man of business, who can at best devote only a small portion of his time to pursuits of this nature, could ever hope to master the history of his race?

To this possible, and indeed very natural, objection it may be replied that the domain of history is not one vast extended plain, of which no single part excels another in interest and importance; but a country of infinite variety and striking contrasts, with favored spots scattered here and there over its surface, from which the eye can reach far and wide, taking in the general features of the vast intervening spaces. The battle-field of civilization is not a mere collection of single combats, all of equal moment; but in the midst of the confusion and strife there can be detected points of decisive interest, where the fate of thousands hangs upon the personal valor and sagacity of a few combatants. So momentous are the consequences dependent upon these dynamic centers, so vast the issues that flow from success or defeat, that minutes, or even seconds, of time *there*, are worth more than entire hours or days elsewhere. We had rather know how Achilles fights than learn the monotonous details of the thousand nameless contests that go on around him; for it is the hero's blows, not those of the ignoble crowd, that decide the fortunes of the day.

It is in this view of the matter that Mr. Motley deserves well of the reading public for treating his subject with such minuteness of detail. The Netherlands, at the period which he has under consideration, were the most prominent champions of European, or rather of universal, liberty. It requires no uncommon clearness of vision to detect in those little mercantile and manufacturing communities all the essential elements of grandeur. If the world has ever permitted itself to attach the epithet "great" to not a few of those wonderful men, living in general rather for the injury than for the good of their race, who have exhibited indomitable energy in the accomplishment of their favorite designs, how can the designation be denied to an entire people that adopted and inflexibly maintained its devotion to the noble aim of securing its civil and religious rights?

Ignored as the fact might be by contemporaries, the Netherlands presented the spectacle of a noble people engaged in a heroic work. It is true that kings and nobles despised this same people as unworthy of all respect, because plebeian in its origin. The idea of a modern republic, in spite of the prolonged political existence of the cantons of the Swiss Alps, was

something so diametrically opposed to all preconceived notions of dignity, that it would have been difficult to invest even a larger state than the loosely-associated commonwealths of the Lower Rhine with much of that halo that seemed to attach to the persons of anointed kings. It was still harder for the worshipers of royalty to look upon the Netherlands with respect in the years which followed the death of William of Orange than it had previously been. There was no longer any great central personage of undoubted authority to attract to himself the undivided gaze of the world. William the Silent, the foremost citizen of the republic, a prince by undisputed title, the direct representative of a family which had swayed the imperial scepter of Germany when the ancestors of Philip II. himself were simple Archdukes,* was a figure that could not fail to arrest the attention, and claim the admiration of contemporaries. But the times were changed. Mr. Motley says:

> Heroes in those days, in any country, there were few. William the Silent was dead, De la Noue was dead, Duplessis Mornay was living; but his influence over his royal master was rapidly diminishing. Cecil, Hatton, Essex, Howard, Raleigh, James Croft, Valentine Dale, John Norris, Roger Williams, the "virgin queen" herself—does one of these chief agents in public affairs, or do all of them together, furnish a thousandth part of that heroic whole which the England of the sixteenth century presents to every imagination? Maurice of Nassau—excellent soldier and engineer as he had already proved himself—had certainly not developed much of the heroic element, although thus far he was walking straightforward like a man in the path of duty, with the pithy and substantial Lewis William ever at his side. Olden Barneveld, tough burgher statesman, hard-headed, indomitable man of granite, was doing more work, and doing it more thoroughly, than any living politician; but he was certainly not of the mythological brotherhood who inhabit the serene regions of space beyond the moon. He was not the son of god or goddess, destined, after removal from this sphere, to shine with planetary luster among other constellations upon the scenes of mortal action. Those of us who are willing to rise, or to descend, (if the phrase seem wiser,) to the idea of a self-governing people, must content ourselves for this epoch with the fancy of a hero-people and a people-king.
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> A plain little republic, thrusting itself uninvited into the great political family party of heaven-anointed sovereigns and long-descended nobles, seemed a somewhat repulsive phenomenon. It became odious and dangerous when, by the blows it could deal in battle, the logic it could chop in council, it indicated a remote

* Rise of the Dutch Republic, iii, 494.

future for the world, in which right divine and regal paraphernalia might cease to be as effective stage properties as they had always been considered.

Yet it will be difficult for us to find the heroic individualized very perceptibly at this period, look where we may. Already there seemed ground for questioning the comfortable fiction that the accidentally dominant families and castes were by nature wiser, better, braver than that much-contemned entity, the people. What if the fearful heresy should gain ground that the people was at least as wise, honest, and brave as its masters? What if it should become a recognized fact that the great individuals and castes, whose wealth and station furnished them with ample time and means for perfecting themselves in the science of government, were rather devoting their leisure to the systematic filling of their own pockets than to the hiving up of knowledge for the good of their fellow-creatures? What if the whole theory of hereditary superiority should suddenly exhale? What if it were found out that we were all fellow-worms together, and that those which had crawled highest were not necessarily the least slimy?*

It is less extraordinary, however, that the monarchs of Western Europe should have affected to despise, or should really have despised, the pretensions of the burghers of Amsterdam and its fellow-cities to the dignity of an independent state, than that they should have been so blind to the value of the Batavian states as to have no desire to incorporate them in their own domains. Yet that they were altogether unable to estimate the worth of the prize that was placed within their reach is evident. Neither Elizabeth of England nor the Valois of France could comprehend that the sovereignty of the provinces was capable of being made any thing more of than a screen to hide their ulterior designs. In the "Dutch Republic" we were introduced to the machinations of Alençon, Catharine de Medici's youngest son, and to that treachery whereby a "French Fury" was added to the scarcely more infamous "Spanish Fury" of Antwerp. In the first volume of the "United Netherlands" the states appear again in the attitude of suppliants, and are seen, not once, but twice, not offering merely, but thrusting upon neighboring monarchs the dignity which Philip of Spain, by his flagrant breaches of faith and violation of their ancestral privileges, had forfeited. First it was to the effeminate Henry III. of France that the shrewd statesmen of Holland addressed themselves, that noble

* History of the United Netherlands, iii, 187.

specimen of a man who painted his face like a woman's, and who, at the solemn reception of the Dutch embassadors, when after ignominious delays they were allowed to enter the regal presence, was seen with "his long locks duly perfumed and curled, his sword at his side, *and a little basket full of puppies suspended from his neck by a broad ribbon.*"* The Low Countries might at least seem to be entitled to a respectful hearing, for the offer of a new jewel to be added to the crown of the most Christian King was not made every day, and could scarcely be construed even by the most arrogant into a favor done to the giver. France must have been the gainer by the addition of the industrious communities on the shores of the North Sea. It is, therefore, less remarkable that Henry of Valois, surrounded by his "minions," plunged in unmanly vices, and engrossed with trifles, should have despised the gift, than that the prize should have been allowed to escape the hands of the astute Medicean Queen, who for a quarter of a century had been the real power in France. The occurrence is, however, only another exemplification of the world-wide difference between sagacity and low cunning. The queen-mother Catharine had not an eye to see in the juncture any thing better than a fine opportunity to secure private advantages from Philip. The fact which, as Mr. Motley has shown, explains the enigmatical course of events, was that she possessed claims upon the crown of Portugal, at that time united to the Spanish monarchy, and that by entertaining for a time friendly intercourse with the deputies of the Netherlands she hoped to exact from Philip a round sum by way of compensation for their relinquishment. Thus while the Dutch envoys, offering to Henry the sovereignty, "with hardly any limitation as to terms," were waiting six weeks at the doors of the Louvre before they could gain admission, Henry III. and Catharine, closeted with the Spanish embassador, were haggling about the terms on which their own acceptance of the sovereignty could be bought off.

The persevering Hollanders were not discouraged by this rebuff. Nothing daunted, they turned to Elizabeth of England, and entreated her to assume the vacant chair of State. Their advances in this direction, however, if less ignominiously re-

* United Netherlands, i, 96.

jected, were not less resolutely declined. Mr. Motley has related very minutely the hesitations and delays with which the English Queen afforded her scanty assistance, and the severity with which she rebuked even her favorite, the Earl of Leicester, when he allowed himself to receive a title and rank in the United Provinces, which seemed to imply the acceptance of the authority which his mistress had refused. But the States of the Netherlands, repulsed on all sides, at length began to appreciate the value of the gift which they could get no one to take. It began to be suspected that, after all, a monarch, dignified and imposing as his figure might be, was not absolutely indispensable for the maintenance of order, for the administration of justice, or even for carrying on a vigorous war, whether offensive or defensive. Accordingly, the new volumes of this history exhibit the tables turned. It is no longer the burghers of Holland that now supplicate the anointed kings, whether "Most Christian," or "Defenders of the Faith," to take pity on their acephalous condition. They stand erect instead of crouching. It is the turn of royal embassadors to watch with caution, to spin long threads of intrigue, and hope for the return of golden opportunities; but such opportunities, according to the proverb, never return. Much as he might deplore the infatuation of his predecessor, Henry IV. could never retrieve his mistake, or ensnare the Netherlanders into making a second offer of what had once been so contemptuously declined. Elizabeth and James I. were equally unsuccessful. Holland might prove a most essential auxiliary to France and England in curbing the extravagant pretensions of Spain to universal monarchy. It was not to be made a provincial dependence of either, and it was better that it should be so. Added to England, it would have secured to that island an exclusive control of the sea and of the newly-discovered countries beyond the ocean; a control which might have proved but little less injurious to the interests of civilization than that which strong arms had for a generation been toiling to wrest from the navies of Spain. Added to France, the dream of later generations would have been anticipated, and with the mouths, and perhaps the whole of the left bank of the Rhine in its possession, the Court of Paris would have given the law to Western Europe.

It was, however, wisely ordered that neither of these contingencies should occur. In the year 1590, where Mr. Motley's new volumes resume the story, neither Elizabeth nor even the Bearnese, who, under the name of Henry IV., had a few months since succeeded to the throne from which the Pope, the Spaniard, and the League had done their best to exclude him, were thought of as available candidates for Dutch sovereignty. The plastic materials which the slightest external pressure seemed at one time sufficient to fashion into any shape, had now begun to assume that state in which to attempt to mold would only be to break. These volumes, therefore, are consecrated to the history of the consolidation of what had previously been fluctuating and unsettled. Yet even the military events of the period are in no wise inferior in importance to those of the preceding years. It is true that few single scenes surpass in dramatic effect the two which Mr. Motley has described in so vivid and masterly a manner in the earlier portion of his work—the siege of Antwerp, and the cruise of the Invincible Armada. But the student of the art of war will find matter for contemplation similar in character, and scarcely less instructive, in the campaigns of Maurice of Nassau, and the siege of Ostend by Ambrose Spinola.

Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, was still alive; but his triumphant career was well-nigh run. What a brilliant record might he not have left behind him had those resplendent abilities been employed in defense of a righteous cause! What a terrible work might he not have accomplished had the bad King whom he served with such slavish devotion been of a mental caliber sufficiently great to take in his magnificent designs! Fortunately for the world—or rather, according to the good providence of God, we should prefer to say—Philip, for whom this new Hercules seemed fated to perform his superhuman toils, was a laborious imbecile, thwarting by his unprofitable industry the sagacious counsels of his gifted advisers and ministers. Blessed above most monarchs of any age in possessing skillful instruments for accomplishing great objects, he contained in himself all the elements which his worst enemies could have desired for neutralizing their most powerful endeavors in his behalf. Nowhere in his life does this idiosyncrasy stand forth more prominently than in the

last years of his reign. Humanly speaking, what might not a Farnese have achieved in the way of effecting the subjugation of the United Provinces had he been properly supported by his master, promptly furnished with soldiers and with the means for paying them, and thus permitted to perform his work without the harassing interruptions occasioned by mutinies of an organized type, and of whole months' duration! Instead of this, we find him hampered by ill-advised instructions, expected to perform impossibilities with a handful of troops, half-clad and ill-fed, whose spirits were weighed down by present necessity, and their enthusiasm crushed by long arrears of pay. Still worse, he was not allowed to devote himself to his work in the Netherlands; but when the patriots had just been striking a blow for freedom by surprising the castle of Breda, and it was of the utmost importance to stem the turning tide of their fortunes, he was summoned by Philip's express commands to transfer his army to French soil, and to do battle for the "League" against the victorious arms of the rightful monarch of the land.

It is not too much to say that none of Parma's campaigns displayed more genius than those in which he was brought face to face with Henry IV. The latter, though still young, was already a veteran in service of arms. He had been the nominal head of the Huguenot party for twenty-one years, and many of those years he had spent in the saddle. Yet never was captain more signally out-generaled than he was, first at the siege of Paris, and afterward on the banks of the Lower Seine. These were, however, the last exhibitions of Parma's skill. He was dying of that reward which all Philip's great and successful agents were sure in the end to reap—the ingratitude of their employer. Happily for him he did not long survive his invidious victories. Had it been otherwise history might have another dark page to write down by the side of that on which are recorded the murder of Philip's own son, Don Carlos, and so many other deeds of scarcely less revolting turpitude. Had it been otherwise he might not have been spared the knowledge of the depth of meanness in that monarch's heart, and which his own private letters, brought before eyes for which they were never intended, reveal to the light of day. The Spanish king had actually

drawn up, in such detail as his contracted mind alone could do, instructions for the recall and forcible arrest, if need be, of a man who had worn himself prematurely out in his cause, and whose only misfortune, through a long career of success, it had been that he had rendered his master services too great to be forgiven. Once in Spain, whether coming of his own free will or in chains, what exit was probable for him but by secret poison!

The life of a tyrant is an ungrateful theme. We have often almost wondered how that genial writer and most patient historian, the late Mr. Prescott, could bring himself to the task of treating this eventful period from a point of view which compelled him to stand in the immediate vicinity of the throne, and have the occupant, almost of necessity, for the central object of his picture. And yet the world owes him a debt of gratitude who paints in their true colors the characteristic vices of one whom the accident of birth has invested with irresponsible powers; irresponsible, we mean, so far as any earthly tribunal in his own life-time is concerned. It is not the wreck which he makes of every thing around him that constitutes the sole or perhaps the most instructive warning he affords to posterity; it is also the wreck that he himself becomes. For a single man to be born and live the supreme arbiter of the destinies of millions of his fellow-creatures is certainly sufficiently pernicious to the interests of those subjects, and of the world at large; but as such a monarch is neither omnipresent nor omniscient, he must see and act after all through others' eyes and hands, so that his reign often becomes practically only another form of oligarchy, and at least a few of the evils of a single rule are avoided. It is not so, however, with the ills which tyranny inflicts upon itself. Those the tyrant can scarcely escape. To come into being in so elevated a position that all the ordinary restraints which hem in man's sinful propensities are wanting—to receive from hour to hour the homage due rather to a god than to a man—to be surrounded by a host of flatterers, ever ready to applaud each selfish and corrupt action—to come to regard the gratification of his passions as a praiseworthy exercise of right, and to end life with the fearful delusion, in full possession of intellect and conscience alike, that in poisoning his enemies by the score, and burning

them, burying them alive, or hanging them by the tens of thousands, he had committed no unkind or uncharitable deed, but, on the contrary, one that would meet with the approval of High Heaven—this is, indeed, a fearful doom in itself. Well might the pagan Plato make his master declare such immunity from restraint as the tyrant possesses the direst of personal misfortunes.

After a reign of far more than the average duration, and eventful above that of any of his predecessors, Philip II. was to die. The current remark, as old as the first persecutions of the Church, that there is often seen a special mark of the divine displeasure in the frightful deaths of those who have lifted up their cruel hands against the lives of God's faithful servants, certainly has a confirmation in the end of this monarch, so like to Herod in his complacent reception of the popular applause, so similar to him in his final agonies.

Here is Mr. Motley's account of his illness:

> Meantime Philip II., who had been of delicate constitution all his life, and who had of late years been a confirmed valetudinarian, had been rapidly failing ever since the transfer of the Netherlands in May. Longing to be once more in his favorite retirement of the Escurial, he undertook the journey toward the beginning of June, and was carried thither from Madrid in a litter borne by servants, accomplishing the journey of seven leagues in six days.
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> When he reached the palace cloister he was unable to stand. The gout, his life-long companion, had of late so tortured him in the hands and feet that the mere touch of a linen sheet was painful to him. By the middle of July a low fever had attacked him which rapidly reduced his strength. Moreover, a new and terrible symptom of the entire disintegration of his physical constitution had presented itself. Imposthumes, from which he had suffered in the breast, and at the joints, had been opened after the usual ripening applications, and the result was not the hoped relief, but swarms of vermin, innumerable in quantities, and impossible to extirpate, which were thus generated and reproduced in the monarch's blood and flesh.
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> The details of the fearful disorder may have attraction for the pathologist, but have no especial interest for the general reader. Let it suffice that no torture ever invented by Torquemada or Peter Titelman to serve the vengeance of Philip and his ancestors, or the Pope against the heretics of Italy or Flanders, could exceed in acuteness the agonies which the Most Catholic King was now called on to endure. And not one of the long line of martyrs, who by decree of Charles or Philip had been strangled, beheaded,

burned, or buried alive, ever faced a death of lingering torments with more perfect fortitude, or was sustained by more ecstatic visions of heavenly mercy, than was now the case with the great monarch of Spain.

That the grave-worms should do their office before soul and body were parted was a torment such as the imagination of Dante might have invented for the lowest depths of his "Inferno." *

It would be absurd to doubt that the man was sincere in his belief that he was on the straight road to heaven, and that his life had been a fair preparation for the enjoyment of its bliss. To suppose that he was falsifying the convictions of his soul in regarding himself and representing himself to others as a martyr of the faith would argue an entire misapprehension of Philip's mental constitution, or at least of the second nature which habit and education had created within him. It was no more possible for him to be in uncertainty respecting the excellence of any course of action which he had adopted, especially if cloaked with the pretext of religious zeal, than to suspect the reality of the sun that shone above him. The canker of self-adoration had eaten into the very texture of his soul. Such men are seldom undeceived in this world, even with the immediate prospect of death before them. Certainly Philip was not undeceived.

His first thought was to request the Papal nuncio, Gaetano, to dispatch a special courier to Rome to request the Pope's benediction. This was done, and it was destined that the blessing of his holiness should arrive in time. He next prepared himself to make a general confession, which lasted three days, Father Diego having drawn up at his request a full and searching interrogatory. The confession may have been made the more simple, however, by the statement which he made to the priest, and subsequently repeated to the Infante, his son, *that in all his life he had never consciously done wrong to any one.* If he had ever committed an act of injustice it was unwittingly, or because he had been deceived in the circumstances. This internal conviction of general righteousness was of great advantage to him in the midst of his terrible sufferings, and accounted in a great degree for the gentleness, thoughtfulness for others, and perfect benignity which, according to the unanimous testimony of many witnesses, characterized his conduct during this whole sickness. †

Yet this is the same mortal of whom the historian writes most truly below:

* United Netherlands, iii, 503, 504.

† Ibid., iii, 505.

Falsehood was the great basis of the King's character, which, perhaps, derives its chief importance, as a political and psychological study, from this very fact. It has been shown throughout the whole course of this history, by the evidence of his most secret correspondence, that he was false most of all to those to whom he gave what he called his heart. Granvelle, Alva, Don John, Alexander Farnese, all those, in short, who were deepest in his confidence, experienced in succession his entire perfidy; while each, in turn, was sacrificed to his master's sleepless suspicion. The Pope himself was often as much the dupe of the Catholic monarch's faithlessness as the vilest heretic had ever been.*

By what standard shall a crowned culprit of this description be judged? This is a question of vast importance, for it affects not only the whole system of historical criticism, but the structure of universal ethics itself. If each man is a law to himself, in the sense that his individual notions of right and wrong constitute the sole criterion of moral action, then Philip, the prey of a distorted conscience, will escape free of censure. Assuredly if there was a man in his dominions that believed the religion he professed to be infallibly true, it was he. If there was a disciple of St. Dominic, that held it to be doing God service to hack, and mangle, and exterminate those created in God's image, that happened to differ from him in creed, he did not surpass in the strength of his persuasion the bigoted King of Spain. But where would such a guiding principle land us if not on the dreary shore of utter indifference and uncertainty of moral distinctions? We are gratified to see that Mr. Motley does not propose to allow the hoary persecutor and murderer of Spain the benefit of such a rule, even in mitigation of his flagrant crimes. He says:

A vast responsibility rested upon the head of a monarch placed as Philip II. found himself at this great dividing point in modern history. *To judge him, or any man in such a position, simply from his own point of view, is weak and illogical. History judges the man according to its point of view. It condemns or applauds the point of view itself.* The point of view of a malefactor is not to excuse robbery and murder. Nor is the spirit of the age to be pleaded in defense of the evil-doer at a time when mortals were divided into almost equal troops. The age of Philip II. was also the age of William of Orange and his four brethren, of Sainte Aldegonde, of Olden-Barneveld, of Duplessis-Mornay, La Noue, Coligny, of Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin,

* United Netherlands, iii, 540.

Walsingham, Sydney, Raleigh, Queen Elizabeth, of Michael Montaigne, and William Shakspeare. It was not an age of blindness, but of glorious light. If the man whom the Maker of the universe had permitted to be born to such boundless functions chose to put out his eyes that he might grope along his pathway of duty in perpetual darkness, by his deeds he must be judged. The King, perhaps, firmly believed that the heretics of the Netherlands, of France, or of England could escape eternal perdition only by being extirpated from the earth by fire and sword, and therefore, perhaps, felt it his duty to devote his life to their extermination. But he believed still more firmly that his own political authority throughout his dominions, and his road to almost universal empire, lay over the bodies of these heretics. Three centuries have nearly passed since this memorable epoch, and the world knows the fate of the states which accepted the dogma which it was Philip's life-work to enforce, and of those who protested against the system. The Spanish and Italian peninsulas have had a different history from that which records the career of France, Prussia, the Dutch Commonwealth, the British Empire, the Transatlantic Republic.*

We have lingered, perhaps, too long on this historical character, in itself essentially mean, great only in the position it occupies for the world's misfortune during forty-three years of the last half of the sixteenth century. We feel somewhat of relief to see the decrepit old man leave the stage where he has so long played an important part so ignobly. At the same time, we experience a secret gratification to find that, after all, he has done so little of what he undertook to do. He has not made Europe his own. He has not expelled the legitimate King from France, and established himself or his daughter, Clara Isabella, in his stead. He has not dethroned and executed his hated sister-in-law, Elizabeth of England. He has not even reduced to obedience his revolted subjects in the Low Countries. His dreams of a world-empire have vanished into thin air. The sea is no longer his; the Indies he must share with the plebeian merchants whom he has for over thirty years been laboring to coerce. He began his reign with an overflowing treasury; he ends it with revenues so mortgaged to secure payment of his debts that four millions annually are all the income that he has with which to carry on the affairs of state. The brilliant exploits of his generals—the most skillful of his day—have accomplished so little, that whereas his reign

* United Netherlands, i, 6, 7.

commenced with the conclusion of a treaty dishonorable to the French, it ended with a second ignominious to the Spaniards. Not less signally has he failed in the attempt to establish the Papal Church throughout the world. Thousands of gallows and stakes have witnessed triumphant deaths of martyrs to the reformed doctrines; but for one Protestant that has been destroyed ten new professors have sprung into existence. Holland has become thoroughly Protestant. France has just issued an edict of toleration, the celebrated edict of Nantes. England, which was Protestant only because its rulers had adopted the reformed creed, has become Protestant from conviction. The grateful truth most certainly is, that Philip's reign was "a thorough and disgraceful failure."*

With the death of the great cause of the revolt the war of independence of the United Netherlands ought properly to have been concluded. To all who were not as insensible to palpable truths as he was it must have been evident that no hope remained of accomplishing with diminished resources what Philip II., with the united strength of Spain, Portugal, and Naples, and with the annual tribute exacted from the Indies, had been unable to effect. But Spanish pride could not yet be brought to admit the true state of affairs, and for eleven years more the war, that had raged already for the full life of a generation of mankind, dragged its slow length along. The sovereignty of Flanders, and such other parts of the Low Countries as they could secure, had been deeded by Philip to his daughter, the Infanta Clara Isabella, and her husband, the Archduke Albert. Very naturally the Archdukes, as they were familiarly called, desired to recover the provinces whose prosperity stood in such marked contrast with the ruin to which the "obedient" states had been reduced by ministerial mismanagement and the rapacity of the Spanish legions. And so a prolonged opportunity was presented for Maurice to exhibit that rare military capacity, that thorough mastery of a science which he had, by incessant application, almost deserved the credit of having created. Never had the struggle been fiercer and more sanguinary than during these final years. The single siege of Ostend was supposed to have caused the death of not less than one hundred thousand men; and when,

* United Netherlands, iii, 542.

at length, the brave garrison of the Dutch and their allies surrendered it, the assault had lasted three years and seventy-seven days.* It was a barren victory, moreover, for the interior of the place was absolutely destroyed, and a flourishing town became a waste, inhabited only by a single miserable family. Not so fruitless were the advantages gained by the Hollanders and Zeelanders, especially those upon the ocean. The sea had always, in consequence of their peculiar geographical position, been an element familiar to them. But now, enriched by the enormous trade diverted by the loss of the mouth of the Scheldt from its old emporium at Antwerp, and enticed by the taste they had acquired of the sweets of a distant commerce, these intrepid sailors pushed their adventurous fleets to the most distant parts of the globe. Every Dutch skipper became an admiral in face of a hostile fort or vessel-of-war; every puny Dutch merchantman esteemed itself staunch enough to attack the first crowded galley or unwieldy carack that fell in its way. And in these conflicts, in which the numbers of combatants on either side were so disproportionate, the victory with singular uniformity accrued to the natives of Holland. And so by a handful of seamen, often without commissions, always defraying the greater part of their own expenses, the Spaniards were driven away from large tracts of a world they had hitherto considered their exclusive property, and the foundations were laid of a Dutch empire, which even now contains a population four times greater than that of the kingdom of the Netherlands. Nor were these early voyages of discovery and conquest destitute of romantic interest. The explorations of Barendz, of Van der Ryp, and their comrades, in search of a shorter path to the Indies than the tedious voyage around Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, as related by Mr. Motley,† form an episode of interest unsurpassed by that attaching to the Arctic researches of Kane and other daring spirits of our own days. Their dangers and exposures in a land of perpetual winter were even more terrible in consequence of their slender equipment and scanty acquaintance with the configuration and climate of the inhospitable regions they visited. The adventures of these early pioneers of science and commerce have too generally passed into oblivion, while

* United Netherlands, iv, 215, 216. † Especially in chapter xxxvi, vol. iii.

the meager satisfaction has been denied them by modern geographers, which they could justly have claimed. The right of first discovery has been violated, and the characteristic appellations given to cape, bay, and craggy peak have been replaced by later and insipid substitutes.

When at last the time for the long expected peace or truce had arrived, the success of the Dutch in their maritime enterprises could be gauged by the fact that, with the exception of the question of the toleration of Roman Catholic worship in the United Provinces, the greatest difficulty in the way of an accommodation was found in the desire, on the Spanish side, to stipulate for the exclusion of the Dutch from the Indian waters; but neither toleration nor exclusion would the Netherlanders concede. Their trade with the whole world, free of restriction by geographical limits, they had discovered to be indispensable to their mercantile prosperity. The repression in their midst of a faith which had been in unbroken alliance with their pitiless persecutors and oppressors they deemed no less vital to their national existence, and so the "Twelve Years' Truce" of 1609 was of necessity made upon this illiberal basis.

The patriots of the Netherlands, like the stern pilgrims of New England, knew not as yet what spirit they were of. Mr. Motley very judiciously observes:

> Yet the founders of the two commonwealths, the United States of the seventeenth and of the nineteenth centuries, although many of them fiercely intolerant, through a natural instinct of resistance, not only to the oppressor but to the creed of the oppressor, had been breaking out the way, not to Atheism, as King James believed, but to the only garden in which Christianity can perennially flourish—religious liberty. Those most ardent and zealous pathfinders may be forgiven, in view of the inestimable benefits conferred by them upon humanity, that they did not travel on their own road. It should be sufficient for us, if we make due use of their imperishable work ourselves, and if we never cease rendering thanks to the Omnipotent, that there is at least one great nation on the globe where the words toleration and dissenter have no meaning whatever. For the Dutch fanatics of the Reformed Church at the moment of the truce to attempt to reverse the course of events, and to shut off the mighty movement of the great revolt from its destined expanse, was as hopeless a dream as to drive back the Rhine as it reached the ocean into the narrow channel of the Rheinwald glacier, whence it sprang. The republic

became the refuge for the oppressed of all nations, where Jews and Gentiles, Catholics, Calvinists, and Anabaptists, prayed after their own manner to the same God and Father.*

The enthusiastic devotion to liberty which the passage we have just cited breathes in every part is one of the greatest charms of Mr. Motley's writings. He sits not a cold and unimpassioned narrator of the struggle between despotism and free institutions. If history, like justice, be blind, so as to know no preferences in the adjudication of the right, yet she loves the just cause and abhors the oppressor. And the historian who is true to the instincts of his better nature is impartial only until he has discovered the merits of the case; after that he belongs to that side which counts justice as a fellow-pleader. "The great purpose of the present history," Mr. Motley somewhere writes, "must be found in its illustration of the creative power of civil and religious freedom." † And this is an aim not less noble than it is difficult to maintain. It is not always easy to guard one's allegiance to the sacred cause of liberty. The side of tyranny is frequently that which possesses much that appeals to the fancy and imagination. In its support may be enlisted great martial skill, courage, and audacity, with many of the most admirable traits of the human character. It almost always has the advantage of presenting a hero, or a prominent figure that may answer for one, whether prince or general, possessing the meretricious glitter of pomp and wealth. Freedom, on the contrary, is likely to be the side of the plain and unromantic people, where sympathy for their righteous demands is wont to be neutralized by the offense given by their rudeness and ten thousand peculiarities that repel us. Between courtly hypocrisy and oppression on the one hand, and rustic bluntness and justice on the other, we are apt to espouse the fairer and more deceitful cause. Especially is this the case if a party, in the main just and consistent, is dishonored by the excesses or rendered contemptible by the foibles of its prominent adherents. "There is even a danger of being entrapped into sympathy with tyranny when the cause of tyranny is maintained by genius, and of being surprised into indifference for

* Motley's United Netherlands, iv, 531, 532. † Ibid., ii, 314.

human liberty when the sacred interests of liberty are endangered by self-interest, perverseness, and folly." *

Entertaining these views, Mr. Motley holds up to general condemnation intolerance and persecution wherever found. They meet with equally severe animadversion, whether exhibited by Roman Catholic or by Protestant. He claims for all *liberty*, not *toleration*, a term in itself insulting because implying the right of another to act as arbiter of his fellow-man's opinions. He seems, indeed, almost disposed to exalt liberty from the indispensable condition for the attainment of the highest and noblest exercise of man's faculties to the ultimate good for which he is to live, as though the atmosphere of freedom once breathed would deliver him from all human ills, and he needed nothing more to insure the soul's perfect health. However this may be, Mr. Motley is at least just and discriminating in his estimate of the relative guilt of the infringements upon the sacred right to which he has occasion to advert. We may instance the important contrast which he draws between the persecution of the Protestants on the continent, and the contemporaneous persecution of Papists under Queen Elizabeth's government. After exposing the intolerant position of that princess, he says:

> It would, however, be unjust in the extreme to overlook the enormous difference in the amount of persecution exercised respectively by the Protestant and the Roman Church. It is probable that not many more than two hundred Catholics were executed as such in Elizabeth's reign, and this was ten score too many; † but what was this against eight hundred heretics burned, hanged, and drowned in one Easter week by Alva; against the eighteen thousand two hundred sent to stake and scaffold, as he boasted, during his administration; against the vast numbers of Protestants, whether they be counted by tens or by hundreds of thousands, who perished by the edicts of Charles V. in the Netherlands, or in the single St. Bartholomew Massacre in France?

* United Netherlands, i, 171.

† In a foot-note to this passage Mr. Motley quotes, with approbation, Hallam's remark in his Constitutional History of England: "There seems, nevertheless, to be good reason for doubting whether any one who was executed might not have saved his life by explicitly denying the Pope's power to depose the Queen. This certainly furnishes a distinction between the persecution under Elizabeth (which, unjust as it was in its operation, yet, so far as it extended to capital inflictions, had in view the security of the government) and that which the Protestants had sustained in her sister's reign, springing from mere bigotry and vindictive rancor."

Moreover, it should never be forgotten, from undue anxiety for impartiality, that most of the Catholics who were executed in England suffered as conspirators rather than as heretics. No foreign potentate, claiming to be vicegerent of Christ, had denounced Philip as a bastard and usurper, or had, by means of a blasphemous fiction, which then was a terrible reality, severed the bonds of allegiance by which his subjects were held, cut him off from all communion with his fellow-creatures, and promised temporal rewards and a crown of glory in heaven to those who should succeed in depriving him of throne and life; yet this was the position of Elizabeth. It was war to the knife between her and Rome, declared by Rome itself; nor was there any doubt whatever that the seminary priests—seedlings transplanted from foreign nurseries, which were as watered gardens for the growth of treason—were a perpetually organized band of conspirators and assassins, with whom it was hardly an act of excessive barbarity to deal in somewhat summary fashion. Doubtless it would have been a more lofty policy, and a far more intelligent one, to extend toward the Catholics of England, who, as a body, were loyal to their country, an ample toleration; but it could scarcely be expected that Elizabeth Tudor, as imperious and absolute by temperament as her father had ever been, would be capable of embodying that great principle.*

With respect to the manner in which Mr. Motley has executed the laborious work which he set before himself in undertaking to compose an authentic history of the United Netherlands during the period between the death of William of Orange and the first formal admission on the part of Spain that they had won their independence, we need to add but little to what has already been said. As a historical investigator Mr. Motley is beyond all praise. To say that he has made a conscientious use of books, pamphlets, and more fugitive and rarer contemporary printed pieces; that he has mastered the contents of prolix state papers, and endeavored to reconcile the discordant statements of partisan writers; that he has examined with care the invaluable results of the researches of Messrs. Groen van Prinsterer, Gachard, Emile Gachet, and the other prominent savans of Belgium and Holland, as published by themselves or by their respective governments, is to mention only a part of his comprehensive studies. He has spared neither time nor expense in ransacking the manuscript treasures of Holland, Belgium, France, England, and Spain, in quest of the most trust-worthy material for the foundation of

* United Netherlands, ii, 209.

his historical fabric. We seem not to be venturing too much in asserting that little is likely to come to light that will modify any of his essential positions. The accumulation of the literary wealth into possession of which Mr. Motley has thus come he has, contrary to the experience of most individuals similarly favored, known how to dispense with excellent judgment. Rarely does he yield to the temptation to give a disproportionate space to that which is new and strange. But as it happens that it is this sort of material which explains or throws a very different light upon many of the most important transactions of the period, the manuscript and inedited is a large element in the work. As in his previous history, Mr. Motley's rare faculty of seizing upon the most prominent and striking events appears to great advantage. Few writers possess a more picturesque and dramatic style, or by combined freshness and brilliancy of coloring are more successful in sustaining the interest of the reader.

Several years must, we presume, elapse before the public can receive even the first installment of the History of the Thirty Years' War—the natural complement, as we have intimated, of the two works already published. While uttering the fervent hope that our distinguished countryman's life and health may be spared to complete this, and, if possible, much more, we must be permitted to express our gratification that to an American should have been reserved the honor of giving to the world by far the most authentic and philosophical delineation of the great struggle which ended in the independence of the northern half of the Netherlands. The hospitable shores of Holland sheltered not a few of the most valued of our early settlers after they had left their native land for conscience' sake. Holland itself was the source of an important element in our ante-revolutionary population. Her free institutions had their influence in shaping ours. Her success in maintaining a republican form of government encouraged our fathers to sketch the bolder plan of a more completely democratic state, in which the municipal and local interests should not be destroyed, while harmonized with each other, and united by firmer bands. The lesson which she learned from the rude rebuffs administered by Charles, and Francis, and Henry of Valois, and Elizabeth Tudor, that a state can exist without a

sovereign prince, she faithfully imparted to our cis-Atlantic Commonwealth. It is only just that we should be foremost in giving due credit to her for the precious instruction.

Nor does our indebtedness to the sturdy Dutch patriots end here. America was not less vitally interested in the issue of the struggle in the Low Countries than was Holland herself. The defeat of Philip's resolute opponents would have involved the exclusion of all Europe, save Spain, from the New World. The Atlantic and the Pacific would have been in effect what they were in theory—Spanish seas. From the Arctic circle to Cape Horn the Spanish flag would have waved supreme. Instead of the industrious Anglo-Saxon, and Hollander, and Huguenot, the labor-hating Spaniard, and Portuguese, and Italian would have found their way to these shores. Instead of the Protestant minister and the Bible, the Jesuit monk and the Holy Inquisition would have found a lodgment here. Not an inch of ground would then have been conceded to liberty of thought, to a pure form of religious worship, to healthy trade. Every thing would have been engrossed by despotism, superstition, and rapacity. It is true that the catastrophe of the New World was not averted by the sole exertions of the inhabitants of Holland and Zeeland, and the other Batavian provinces. Nor can we doubt that had that handful of men, discouraged by the overwhelming odds they were encountering in protesting against the tyranny of the King of the most powerful empire on the face of the globe, altogether held their peace at that time, yet enlargement and deliverance would have arisen to this Western hemisphere from another place, though they themselves would have been destroyed. But the brave defenders of Holland none the less have an undying claim to our gratitude. They did their part in the noble work, and they did it well. They knew that they had come into national existence for such a time as this, and they did not refuse the opportunity which God had given them. An entire nation, consigned by the tender mercies of the Inquisition not merely to slavery but by solemn decree to wholesale extermination as heretics, they could at most but perish; and they wisely and intrepidly resolved to perish, if need be, in the defense of God and country. And by this hazardous venture they not only saved themselves untold misery, but they

actually suffered far less than their more cowardly neighbors and their mighty enemies themselves. And God crowned their labor with success, exhibiting to all future generations of men that the choice of faith and courage is the choice of ultimate success and fair renown.

Art. VI.—THE DECLINE OF ROMANISM.

That the Papal Church is the "man of sin" described by St. Paul is beyond all controversy. The Revelator describes it as a "beast, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy;" and also as "Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth," the "woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus." In prophetic vision she is the "habitation of devils, and the hold of every unclean and hateful bird;" and "in her was found the blood of prophets, and of the saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth." *

And yet under all these symbols the destruction of the Papacy is distinctly foretold. Christ is to "consume" the "man of sin" with the spirit of his mouth. Of the "beast" it is said, "He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity: he that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword." Of "Babylon" it is said that "a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all." †

In the light of such Scriptures it is not more certain that Christianity will finally triumph in all lands than it is that Romanism will be utterly overthrown. The man of sin will be "consumed;" the beast will go to the bottomless pit with the false prophet; and over the downfall of Babylon heaven and earth will in due time be called upon to rejoice. Her destruction is only a question of time. Her doom is pronounced and written, and the vision hasteth and will not tarry.

* Rev. xiii, 1; xvii, 5, 6; xviii, 2, 24. † See 2 Thess. ii, 3–10; Rev. xiii, 10; xviii, 21.

But many anxiously inquire, "*When shall these things be, and what shall be the sign of their coming?*" to whom we may fitly answer, "Ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?" Let us look abroad, then, upon the moral heavens, and endeavor to read and understand the tokens of the decay and the approaching doom of "the mother of harlots."

The first question that will naturally occur to thoughtful minds, when the question of the progress or decline of Romanism is raised, will be, What is its *power* and *influence* to-day as compared with the past? Does it burn men and women alive now for heresy, as it burned Huss and Jerome in the fifteenth century, and Ridley, Latimer, John Rogers, and Cranmer in the sixteenth? Does the Pope any longer put his foot upon the necks of kings, or kick off their crowns as they come to kiss his toe? Can he shake thrones and kingdoms by his bulls and excommunications as he could even three centuries ago? No. For some reason all these things are at an end. Though millions have perished at her hands, in ages past, for the faith of Jesus, by rack, and fagot, and dungeon, and sword; and though she still claims it to be her *right* to destroy men's bodies for the good of their souls,* heretics have ceased to burn or bleed for their religion, not only in England and Germany and France, but also in Spain and in Rome. Not even the Inquisition dare put a heretic to death now either in Rome or Madrid. Whether this significant fact, known and read of all, indicates a change of *disposition*, or a loss of power, and a consequent change of policy, we leave the reader to judge.

* Last year Rev. George H. Doane, Pastor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Newark, N. J., published a lecture on "The Exclusion of Protestant Worship from the City of Rome," in which he not only fully justified that act, but virtually justified the extermination of all heretics wherever Romanism has the power to do so. After describing a "heretic" as "one who chooses his faith, who acts on private judgment in matters of religion, in place of believing what the Church teaches him," he says, "the spark must be extinguished as soon as it is perceived, the leaven must be separated from the mass, the rotten flesh must be cut away." Again: "In the middle ages, when the Catholic traditions still influenced and controlled the minds of men, heresy was looked upon as the greatest of crimes, as treason against God, and the most severe measures employed to repress it, in the hope of saving others, on the same principle that when a conflagration threatens the city houses are blown up to put a stop to the flames," all of which signifies it is right to destroy heretics to prevent the spread of heresy.

And so of the present abject dependency of the Pope upon France and Austria for the privilege of occupying his traditional "chair of St. Peter," at Rome, from month to month.

But leaving general and palpable facts, however significant, let us glance at the aspects of the civilized world with reference to the relative status of Romanism and Protestantism; and of Romanism to-day as compared with itself three hundred years ago.

The United States.

That Romanism is exhibiting unusual activity and success in the United States no intelligent observer will deny. The evidences are to be seen on every hand.* But it is equally true that great efforts are now being made to exaggerate the growth of Popery in this country, and to make the impression that it is quite as prosperous elsewhere as it is in our own land. Let us look, then, first, at the general religious statistics of the globe, and then at the religious state of several of the Catholic countries of Europe.

General Religious Statistics.

The latest, and probably the most reliable authority, gives the religious statistics of the globe as follows:

	Total Pop.	Rom. Cath.	Protestants.	Total Chris.
America	72,800,000	42,700,000	27,500,000	70,200,000
Europe	287,000,000	146,200,000	67,000,000	280,000,000
Asia	798,600,000	4,600,000	700,000	12,900,000
Africa	188,000,000	1,100,000	700,000	4,900,000
Australasia and Polynesia	3,800,000	400,000	1,000,000	1,400,000
	1,350,200,000	195,000,000	96,900,000	369,400,000†

Another, and a somewhat earlier authority, gives us the following:

	Roman Catholics.	Protestants.
America	38,759,000	27,738,000
Europe	138,103,000	65,850,000
Asia	7,167,000	428,000
Africa	1,113,000	719,000
Australasia and Polynesia	280,000	1,100,000
	185,422,000	95,835,000‡

* Of these in detail, in a subsequent article.

† American Ecclesiastical Almanac for 1868, by Prof. Alexander J. Schem.

‡ Johnson's New Illustrated Family Atlas for 1867, statistics by F. B. Perkins, Esq.

The difference between these tables is, that the first gives us 1,065,000 more Protestants, and 9,578,000 more Roman Catholics on the globe than the other. And we are inclined to regard this showing as the more accurate, because it is the more recent, and is accompanied by all the details which make up the footings of each quarter of the globe; although the recently-published statistics of Dr. Huhn and Mr. G. F. Kolbe, of Germany, place the aggregates for Europe at 137,800,000 Papists, and 65,400,000 Protestants, which is lower than either of the preceding.

So far as we know Romanists have never claimed more than 200,000,000; and it is probable that 195,000,000 Papists, and 97,000,000 Protestants, is about the relative strength of the two parties at the present time.

Now, when we call to mind the religious condition of the world before the Reformation, namely, the almost universal sway of Popery; and find that in the short space of three and a half centuries the true faith has gathered to its standard half as many as now "worship the beast and his image," we have the first general presage of the final triumph of truth, and the ultimate fall of the Papacy. Ninety-six millions of Protestants in three and a half centuries is twenty-seven and a half millions per century; and if Romanism had grown as rapidly since the opening of the sixth century there would now have been 350,000,000 of Papists on the globe instead of 195,000,000. It is thus seen that, taking the whole history of each, Protestantism has advanced nearly twice as rapidly as Romanism; and that, not by its conquest in Pagan and Mohammedan countries, but mainly by its aggressions in countries once almost wholly Catholic. The growth of Protestantism, therefore, during the last three centuries almost necessarily involves a corresponding decline of Romanism, and augurs well for the final triumph of the faith of Christ.

Let us now pass from these general facts to a survey of some of the Catholic countries of Europe.

Condition of France.

All things considered, it is probable that France is to-day the strongest Catholic country, and the brightest spot for Romanism, on the globe. It has a population of about thirty-six

millions; Romanism is the State religion, and nominally it is almost wholly Papal. Indeed, but for the intervention of Napoleon III. a few months since, the Pope would ere this have been driven from his dominions. And what are the facts in regard to France? a land where only three centuries ago no faith but the Papal was tolerated, and Protestants were slaughtered by thousands? In the first place, religious toleration is an accomplished fact. At the opening of the American Chapel in Paris ten years ago,* Guizot, who was one of the speakers, thus alluded to this important fact:

> I came here without intending to address you, but you will perhaps bear with me while I express the feeling of deep emotion which I experienced on entering this building.
>
> We are assembled here to bear witness to the greatest, to the noblest conquest of mankind—to religious liberty. No doubt we owe thanks to the authorities; but that to which we are chiefly indebted is, that work accomplished by the human mind which for the last three or four centuries has been marching on to the conquest of that inestimable boon—a treasure far more precious than all these that surround us—that conquest we owe first to the Almighty and then to our forefathers.
>
> Religious liberty is now won; but it does not hinder the liberty of unbelief or the liberty of denial. For this reason my emotion was deep on beholding this humble structure standing where it stands, wherein you have invited to join you all who believe in Christ.

In 1857 the evangelical statistics of France were thus given:

Ministers in the Reformed Churches	601
Lutherans	269
Union of the Evangelical Churches	20
Independent, Baptist, and Wesleyan	30
Total	920†

The same writer says:

In 1802 we had not one single religious or even philanthropical institution among us, except the relief of paupers, with the assist-

* This Protestant Church, planted in the midst of Popery, was built under the auspices of the American and Foreign Christian Union, and mainly with funds contributed by C. C. North, Esq., of New York, and a few other wealthy and liberal merchants. It is now entirely self-sustaining.

† A Summary Account of the Religious State and Progress of Protestantism in France, by Emilien Frossard, Pastor of the Reformed Church at Bagneres-di-Bigorre, late Chaplain to the French Army in the Crimea.

ance of a few thousand francs collected at the church doors through the instrumentality of our deacons. Now do peruse the list of our present religious and charitable institutions.

He then proceeds to enumerate no less than twenty-seven different Protestant benevolent societies of various kinds, and at that time vigorously at work in the bosom of Catholic France itself.

The writer then concludes by saying:

Remember that not one of the above-named Christian enterprises existed even in 1825, at the epoch of our religious revival; and now they all prosper, and are at the same time the sign and the means of a most rejoicing progress. All these were begun in faith and in very humble circumstances; they all have been yearly increasing their receipts and expenditure. . . . To these blessings we may add the remarkable increase of our churches, owing to conquests among the Roman Catholic population through the instrumentality of evangelists, Bible readers, and colporteurs sent by the central society and the evangelical societies of France and Geneva. New congregations, wholly composed of proselytes, have been formed in the departments of Charente-Inférieure, Haute-Vienne, Eure, Yonne, Nord, Aisne, Aude, Saone-et-Loire, Rhone, Var, Tarn-et-Garonne, Lot-et-Garonne, etc. Besides these glorious conquests, the general influence of Protestantism has been felt among thousands of Roman Catholics, who, not sufficiently courageous to openly relinquish their Church, are candid enough to say that our principles and practices are nearer to the religion of the Gospel than their own. . . . If we compare the present state of Protestantism with what it was fifty years ago we shall be struck with the change, and heartily rejoice at it if we truly love the Lord and his elect Zion.

These are rejoicing facts, and, indeed, when we seriously consider them we may well be filled with heartfelt gratitude, and look upon them as the forerunner symptoms of a much more extensive and blessed change.

To this we may add that there are now in France about two millions of Protestants, led on by a thousand faithful pastors, and their numbers are daily increasing. It is estimated that there are fifteen thousand Protestants in Paris alone. Fifty years ago there was not a Protestant religious periodical in all France, now there are over twenty.

But the chief evidences of the decay of the Papal faith in France are seen in the fact that the leading minds of the nation are not Papists, but Protestants, like Guizot and Thiers, or infidels, like Renan. For if Papists become infidels, as so

many do, it is nevertheless a decline of Romanism. And as to the masses, especially the males, while they affect an outward respect for Popery, they to a large extent regard it with contempt. The tendency is to infidelity; but the fact is equally significant of the decay of the Papal faith and its power in the land. Such being the facts, it is not strange that the French correspondent of the *New York Observer* should say that "the Jesuits and Ultramontane politicians of France speak despairingly of the prospects of their cause, and look upon it as nearly lost for the present in Europe."

While, then, we regard France as the most powerful Papal nation on the globe, and while she still keeps up her outward adhesion to Rome, we have abundant proof that even there the once bloody system of Popery is already well disintegrated by Bible truth and a pure religion, and is actually declining, and has been declining for more than a century.

Prospects in Austria.

Austria has a population of about twenty-seven and a half millions, of whom about three and a half millions are Protestants, three millions Greeks, and over a million Jews; and before the recent war between her and Prussia she was the chief reliance of the Pope for aid in times of peril. What is her condition now?

Before the battle of Sadowa *The Monde*, a leading Catholic paper of Paris, said:

> If Austria succumbs there will be no state depending upon the Vicar of Jesus Christ. All will have abjured the official character of the Catholic faith. There will be numerically Catholic peoples; the Protestants will dare to call themselves a Protestant nation. England and Russia will make a show of their pretended orthodoxy, and the mass of Catholics in France, Spain, and Germany will let fall the throne of Pius IX.—that visible sign of the Catholicity of the nations. Remaining faithful to that grand cause, Austria testifies to it by her defeats. If she is irremediably vanquished she will have all the honor of the combat. She will close the Catholic cycle of modern peoples. The Church and the world will enter upon new struggles, the struggles full of obscurity, the conditions of which it is impossible to determine.

This opinion was copied and indorsed by the *Boston Pilot*, the ablest Catholic paper in this country; and shows that in

the estimation of both papers the fall of Austria would be the breaking of one of the middle pillars of Popery.

After the defeat at Sadowa Cardinal Cullen, of Dublin, thus mourned over the event:

> The spirit of revolution is triumphant in every quarter; it has destroyed the power of all the Catholic states—every one of those interested in supporting the doctrines of our holy religion. Austria was the last state, and she has been completely ruined and destroyed. They seek the overthrow of the Pope, and plunder even of the very small spot he holds in Italy; every thing he had got has been taken from him, and the *Emperor of the French* very kindly held the hands of the Pope while his enemies were taking every thing he possessed.*

This shows not only the feeling of the Cardinal toward France, for not doing more for the Pope, but also the light in which he regarded the fall of Austria, as affecting the permanency of Romanism in Europe. It was a chief pillar in the temple of the beast, and it was broken asunder, as in an hour, never to be reinstated. And with its fall the throne of Pius IX. trembled and vibrated to its very foundations.

Since that momentous event Protestantism has received a new impulse in Austria. For twelve years the people had been groaning under the weight of the Concordat, a treaty between the Emperor and the Pope, which provides that "all of the education in Austria be committed to the hands of the priesthood; that every book published be submitted to their censorship; that all matters of marriage shall be in the hands of an ecclesiastical court; that the Churches enjoy immunity from taxation; and that the revenue of the State shall even be taxed or diminished for the benefit of the Church."

In September last twenty-five bishops, "the pillars of Catholicism in the empire," met at Vienna, and addressed a letter to the Emperor, extolling the Concordat beyond measure, and asking him to secure its perpetuity, whereupon the Emperor told them he was a *constitutional* ruler, and should respect his obligations; and virtually requested them to cease their intermeddling, and attend to their own business. This rebuke of the priesthood was greeted by the people with wild enthusiasm. A member of the Lower House declared in open session that the Emperor's declaration for religious liberty

* *London Watchman*, August 22, 1866.

caused joy throughout the land, and that henceforth freedom of conscience and religious peace should rule in Austria. He then called upon the members to give three cheers for the Emperor, which they did in the most enthusiastic manner.

The Privy Council of Vienna have declared against the Bishops' address without a dissenting voice. Muhlfeld, one of the Council, said, "The Concordat must be abrogated; this is the watchword throughout all Austria, and of all classes of people. This chain must fall from us, for there is no salvation without it." These words were received with deafening plaudits.

The students of the University of Vienna have taken a bold stand for religious liberty, so bold, indeed, that when Professors Arndt and Pachmann, who had publicly sustained the Concordat, first entered the lecture rooms, they were greeted with storms of hisses; and the students sent a petition to Parliament, and also to the Emperor, in which they said:

> We wish and must say to the members of Parliament, the representatives of our people, that the Concordat has been crushing us too. It has been said in the Consistory that science should be confessional, while the best men in the University are cast off by clerical oppression; and those professors who are respected by us, have no more been permitted to teach, simply because they are Protestants. The attempt has constantly been made to still our thirst for knowledge by giving us the milk-and-water thinking of the priests, and to tie us to the sacred places of science by the apron-strings of ultra-Catholicism.

Surely this is strange language to come from the students, and to be addressed to the Emperor of one of the most thoroughly Papal countries on the globe. In this conflict the Protestants have every prospect of success, and of the consequent decline of Romanism in Austria.

Another most significant fact is the recent enactment of what is known as the Civil Marriage Bill.* Popery has seven

* This significant event was consummated on the 23d of March last, only seventeen members voting against it. A dispatch published at the time said: "The city has been spontaneously illuminated by the inhabitants this evening in consequence of the vote of the Upper House on the Civil Marriage Bill. Immense crowds congregated in the streets, and have made enthusiastic demonstrations in front of the residences of some of the ministers, and also in front of the monument of Francis Joseph II. Cardinal Rauscher and his political friends have addressed

sacraments, one of which is marriage; and as no one can administer a sacrament but a Romish priest, no one is married who is not married by a Romish priest. Hence persons professedly married by a Protestant, or by a civil magistrate, are not married at all, but are living in open fornication. Such is the impious claim of Popery even in this country. Accordingly, in countries where Popery bears sway, no person but a Romish priest is allowed to marry at all; and such has been the law in Austria for I know not how long. But within a few months a law has passed both Houses of Parliament, and is now the law of the empire, that marriages solemnized by civil functionaries are as legitimate and binding as if solemnized by a priest. Thus has Austria declared, in the most solemn and authoritative manner, that marriage is not a sacrament, thrusting a wedge of steel into the Papal system, which will tend sooner or later to rive it into fragments.*

The bill regulating the relations of the various creeds in the Austrian empire is but a completion of the measures on the subject of civil marriages and education. It permits parents to determine before marriage the religion in which the children are to be brought up. They can come to an agreement on this head before marriage, or on the birth of each child, or come to no determination at all. An appeal is allowed from the decision of the parents. By clause 4 every child of fourteen can freely select the creed to which he wishes to belong. Change of religion and proselytism cease to be punishable acts. No one is to be forced to pay for a creed to which he does not belong, or to follow the formulas of any worship, whether his own or another's. And all this in intolerant Catholic Austria!

Such is her present hopeful condition. As a Catholic power her glory is departed. She is under the heel of Protestant Prussia, and will long remain there. Mean-

a document to the President of the Upper House of the Reichsrath in which they announce that, in consequence of the vote on the 21st on the Civil Marriage bill, they are no longer able to take part in the discussions of the House." But it is the law of the realm despite the sulky retirement of the Cardinal and his fellow-Papists.

* "The great organ in Austria for liberal principles," says Dr. Hurst, "is the 'New Free Press,' which is one of the most readable papers published in Germany. Its influence is so great already that many priests make it the special object of attack in the pulpits."

while Protestant principles are asserting themselves there with wonderful success; the darkness of ages is passing away, and the day of religious freedom seems nigh at hand. In a word, Romanism is fast loosing its power and influence even in Austria.

Spain and Portugal.

Spain, the mother of Inquisition, an intensely Papal country, is less important in this discussion than either France or Austria, because of her limited population—sixteen millions—and because, from her repugnance to all modern ideas, she has no power or influence among the nations. Still under medieval rule, she is simply rotting down, like an old ship of the line dismantled of her artillery, and left to the dissolving influence of time and neglect. The same may be said of Portugal. Thoroughly Papal as she has been for ages, she is of so little consequence that she is scarcely worthy of mention in this discusson. With a population of only about four millions—about equal to that of the State of New York—she may be set down as altogether unimportant, and reckoned with Spain as a small and feeble empire in which Romanism still bears sway as it did in the Middle Ages. Whatever may be said of local revulsions in the former kingdom, we shall claim no decline of the religion of the Inquisition either in Spain or Portugal.

The Prospect in Germany.

Of the German states as a whole we have but imperfect data from which to deduce a reliable conclusion. The relative *strength* of the two parties, according to Huhn and Kolbe, is five million and seven thousand Romanists, and eight million seven hundred and fourteen thousand and six hundred Protestants. But this cannot include the whole of Germany. The *Univers*, a leading Catholic paper of Paris, says: "In all the Catholic cities of Germany the statistical returns make it apparent that the number of Protestants is increasing in a fearful manner." Unless, therefore, the population is increasing fearfully, it follows inevitably that Romanism is declining in Germany.

In Prussia the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is fully two to one, and Romanism is tending downward, as it is in

the Netherlands and in Switzerland. In Belgium, as in Spain, the Papists have every thing their own way, there being but about twenty thousand Protestants in a population of nearly five millions; while there are but about three and a half millions of Papists in all Russia, out of a population of about sixty-seven millions.

Decline in Italy.

By Italy we mean the dominions of Victor Emanuel, not embracing the Papal states. It has a population of about twenty-five millions, and has been for centuries the very heart and center of the gigantic system. Intolerant of every other form of religion, with Romanism as the State religion, and all laws made and administered in the interests of the priesthood, why should it not have continued in power for ages to come? And yet, how does Popery stand there to-day? The people have borne the galling yoke, and been crushed under priestly burdens, till they can endure them no longer, and have risen up as if with the might of a second Reformation, and have dashed the whole superstructure well-nigh to the dust. Look at a few facts:

In 1855 the government of Sardinia passed a law by which two thousand and ninety-nine monasteries and nunneries were broken up, the property confiscated and sold at public auction, and the proceeds invested as a common-school fund, and a deputation sent to this country to study our common-school system and procure copies of our text-books for translation and publication. Thus four thousand seven hundred and twenty-six priests were ejected from their citadels, and made to unloose their grasp upon an annual income therefrom amounting to $730,000. It was the execution of this righteous decree of the representatives of the people that first excited the ire of the Pope so furiously against Victor Emanuel.

In June, 1866, the Italian Parliament passed a similar law by one hundred and thirty majority, closing all convents, nunneries, and monasteries, and confiscating them all, with all property belonging thereto, to the use of the government. And it is but a short time since the last of all these establishments was sold out at public vendue by authority of the Italian government.

These are *tremendous facts.* They would be such were they to occur here or in Protestant England; and much more when they occur in once Catholic Italy. But we are not done with citing facts.

Long since the people of Italy passed a law making civil marriage, that is, marriage by a civil magistrate and not by a priest, as lawful as any; and also making the marriage of a priest lawful; and under this law many priests have married, and are marrying, despite all threats and penalties from Rome. An Italian correspondent thus discourses upon this point:

> After a hard struggle the Italian civil courts have solemnly affirmed the principle that priests can legally depart from their vows of celibacy. Some months ago the Registrar of Genoa refused to sanction the marriage of a priest, and his refusal was sustained by an inferior court. The case was carried up to the Court of Appeals, which, after mature deliberation, reversed the sentence of the lower court, and declared the validity of the laws that give priests the right to contract civil marriage. This decision is of the utmost importance. It knocks away one of the strongest supports of the Papacy in its own land, and taken in connection with the suppression of convents, and other religious establishments in Italy, may be regarded as marking a distinct era in the history of civil and religious advancement. The people make no opposition to this change in the social condition of their religious teachers, finding that a married priest is far more likely to sympathize with them in all matters than one who belongs to a separate caste.

And why should it not be so, when even the Douay, or Catholic, Bible says,

> It behoveth, therefore, a Bishop to be blameless, THE HUSBAND OF ONE WIFE, etc. . . . one that ruleth well his own house, having HIS CHILDREN in subjection with all chastity. But if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God? 1 Tim. iii, 2.

And so again:

> For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and shouldst ordain priests in every city, as I also appointed thee: If any be without crime, the HUSBAND of ONE WIFE, having faithful CHILDREN, etc. Titus i, 5.

Why, then, should not a married man make a better priest than a single one? But I am citing *facts*, and must not

argue. Another writer, referring to the new laws in Italy, says:

A large number of monks and priests in Italy have taken advantage of the new privileges conferred upon them by the law for civil marriages, and have rushed into wedlock with unexpected alacrity. Even the nuns have caught the infection, and the matrimonial mania threatens to complete the abolition of the convents begun by the civil, law. Human nature appears to be a good deal stronger than the most rigid of monastic vows.

Thus this great feature of Romanism—"forbidding to marry"—is being legally and practically annulled in the very heart of Popery itself.

We have, then, the most abundant proof that the great mass of the Italian people have broken away from their allegiance to Rome, and have discarded almost every one of the novelties that distinguish Popery from Protestant Christianity.* And were it not for the Emperor of the French, the Italians, under the lead of Garibaldi, would drive the Pope out of his contracted dominions, or at least take from him all civil authority, in less than a month.

A few extracts from letters fresh from Italy will help further to illustrate this point. The first is from Rev. W. G. MOOREHEAD, a missionary of the American and Foreign Christian Union, stationed at Sarzana:

The progress that Italy under an enlightening and free government is making approaches the wonderful. The priest, whose influence was incalculable, whose power was not even second to that of the State, who disposed of the bodies and souls of men at his will, is now totally shorn of his strength, and is trusted only by the most ignorant and superstitious. Time was when all lifted hats to him in the streets; now even passing with the consecrated

* The Italian Reformers demand the following: 1. Restitution to the laity of the right to elect the parochial clergy, and to administer the temporal affairs of the Church. 2. The election of bishops by the clergy and people, with the reservation of the rights of the crown. 3. The reinvestment, in their ancient diocese and provincial rights, of bishops and metropolitans; and hence the cessation of their present servile dependence upon Rome, and the abolition of every oath of vassalage to her. 4. The celibacy of the clergy not to be enforced. 5. The circulation of the Holy Scriptures among the clergy and laity to be free. 6. The liturgy to be performed in the national tongue, understood by the people. 7. Confession to be no longer obligatory, but voluntary; and the communion to be administered in both kinds. If this is not Romanism with Popery left out we should like to know what would be.

wafer, few are found who cross themselves. Time was when the Romish churches were crowded with an ignorant, docile, believing multitude; now they are comparatively empty. The priests and canonicals howl their meaningless, unintelligible liturgies to themselves. A few old women, and as many beggarly old men, constitute their audiences. Ask any one if he believes in the dogmas of infallibility and purgatory, or the power of the priest to absolve from sin, and the reply is, in forty-five cases out of fifty, an emphatic no. In one word, Roman Catholicism, as it was once in Italy, is dead. The Ultramontane party is making every exertion, is *spasmatizing* itself, as Italians say, to hold on to its shifting power, which every day is rapidly slipping away, but is only hastening the irresistible downfall of the Papacy. Rome is doomed.

Of the recent movement upon Rome under Garibaldi, and its arrest by French intervention, Mr. Moorehead thus writes, under date of February 3:

You are familiar, I doubt not, with the chief causes which lately led to the crisis in this "Roman Question," the exciting speeches of Garibaldi against the temporal power, the rush of volunteers from every nook and corner of Italy to the Papal frontiers, the labors of the "Roman Center of Insurrection" to precipitate the final catastrophe in this intricate problem, and the end of it all, the armed intervention on the part of the Emperor of France. Never have I seen more intense agitation, grander enthusiasm, or greater unanimity of sentiment and action than was displayed in the last forward movement on Rome. Out of the entire population of the kingdom, save the priests, monks, and nuns, and their adepts and servants, there was not a dissenting voice; there was but one mind and one cry: "Rome, the capital and center of Italian unity." That was the cry that rang from the Alps to the Adriatic, from Venice to Syracuse; and notwithstanding the repulse of Mentana—notwithstanding the overthrow of a liberal and progressive ministry to give place to a reactionary and clerical one—notwithstanding the hopes and aspirations of a united people have been crushed and trampled on by proud imperial feet, their natural capital denied them, their sons slain by the fatal *chassepot;* notwithstanding all this and more, that cry is ringing and will ring until the unity and complete independence of the Italian *patria* is secured.

Of the unanimity of the Italians as to the abolition of the temporal power of the Pope, Mr. Moorehead thus writes:

Were the question of the temporal power to be solved by a universal and untrammeled vote in Italy, there is not the least doubt but that twenty-three millions would cast their ballots against, and *perhaps* two millions for it. And twenty millions of Italians would to-morrow vote for the removal of the Pope, with his cardinals and all their crew, to Malta, or Jerusalem, or China. So much as

to the sentiment of the vast majority of the Italians respecting the temporal power of the Pope.

And let none infer, as some have erroneously done, that this hostility is merely to the temporal power, while the Italians still cling to the Papacy. This *was* the case at the beginning of the revolution, but it is not so now. The opposition has struck far deeper than the mere question of temporal rule. Hear Mr. Moorehead still further:

> Five years ago there was not one Italian in fifty, perhaps, who ever thought of striking at the Pope's spiritual power; now there are hundreds, ay, I may say, thousands, who recognize the great fact that, after all, the temporal power *in itself* is of no consequence; that it is the *spiritual power* which gives such strength and influence to the Papacy—that it is the spiritual power, reigning in and over the consciences of men and nations, which sustains its life and sway. Hence, many advanced Italians are fighting the Papacy as a *system*.
>
> The people of Italy are being led, gradually and surely, in such a path as shall finally give them not only Rome, but shall deliver them completely from the spiritual *and* temporal thraldom of the Papacy. The agencies and elements now at work in this country will most certainly overturn the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Rome.

All this may God grant, and hasten the auspicious day!

But we have still another witness who is worthy of being heard in regard to the decline of Romanism in Italy. Rev. D. Bolognini, a native pastor of a Free Italian Church at Udine, thus writes:

> Now divide our people as follows: $\frac{3}{4}+\frac{1}{8}+\frac{1}{8}=1$. The first three fourths are Protestants, but denying the name; afraid of Protestantism, and adhering to the Catholic Church which they believe not, and, worse, despise. In their conscience they generally protest against every religion, even against their own.
>
> How did they come to deny every religion? That is a secret you do not know, for you were not made Catholics by holy water, oil, and salt. You were not taught that Catholicism was Christianity.
>
> On such principles every one of the $\frac{3}{4}+\frac{1}{8}+\frac{1}{8}$ of our people, when reasoning, found that Catholicism was a falsehood, then Christianity a falsehood, and finally every religion a falsehood; for such they found to be the only religion which they had been taught to believe true.

The Italians hate Ritualism, even in its mildest forms; for they say "liturgy means priest, and priest means oppression." Hence, Mr. Bolognini proceeds:

Our people have seen too much of an order which was the denial of every light, of every liberty, and even of every life. Foreign missionaries could not understand *that* in the beginning, and there are still some who will not understand it.... We fear priests hidden within the forms behind the order. Is it our fault? Let Christians be indulgent and charitable with us; we have been so infamously deceived by priests that were it not for the grace of God our people would slaughter every priest. You would well be convinced of it, if you had to travel through our towns where you would see every-where on the walls of the houses, "*Morte ai preti!*"—"Death to the priests!"

Such is the religious state of Italy to-day. Three fourths of all her people despise Romanism from the depth of their hearts. And revolting from Popery, and knowing no better religion, they naturally drift to infidelity, the legitimate outcome of all spurious Christianity.

Many of the churches are now altogether abandoned, some of which, like one large cathedral in Milan, have been turned over to Protestants, or evangelists as they are called, for occupancy; while others are being sold with the convents by the government. Under date of the fourteenth of January last a resident of Italy says:

A golden opportunity now presents itself to remedy the drawbacks and difficulties hitherto every-where experienced, more or less, as to *buildings* for meetings and schools. Every one who has worked in Italy knows how often, when settled in a locale, notice to quit is given by the Roman Catholic landlord, (who has been worked upon by the priests, or perhaps by a bigoted wife or other relation,) and all the expense and inconvenience which a change occasions must follow.

The law on the sale of Church property offers the means of remedying this state of things, and securing *permanent locali* with, perhaps, even *a less outlay* than that at present spent *on rents*.

Churches, convents, houses, and buildings of all kinds are being rapidly sold under the following very advantageous conditions: A price is fixed as the nominal value of each lot; there is then a public auction, and each lot is knocked down to the highest bidder, who by paying the price in ready money gets a discount of twenty-eight *per cent.*; or, if he prefer it, he can gradually clear off the debt by *yearly* payments during the term of eighteen years, *after paying one tenth of the whole price at once*, which entitles him to *immediate possession*. Are there no wealthy Christians who would thus buy up some suitable buildings to form *permanent* places of evangelical worship and schools? I would be the last person to advocate wasting money on mere ornament, but I perceive plainly that in the event of *a future religious awakening*, it would take a

great stumbling-block out of the way of *the educated and upper classes* if there were suitable and permanent locali into which they would not feel ashamed to be seen entering, as is now too often the case when the service is held in a room which has served, perhaps, as a shop, store, or even a stable.

Even when all idolatrous and useless ornaments have been removed, there would still remain a certain *prestige* attached to a building which had once been a Roman Catholic church, which I am persuaded would be of use in attracting Italians to enter.

Of the character of the native evangelists now laboring to save Italy from becoming a nation of infidels, Mr. Bolognini gives us the following description:

> First of all I must tell you, that with few exceptions our leaders or evangelists were made ministers, not in colleges, but by the word of God; and still you may see a man, once a blacksmith, leading a Church of two hundred or three hundred people. You have heard of a carpenter (once) now dreadfully persecuted at Barletta. But these men want their time to study, to pray, to visit families, and they have not time for correspondence; sometimes they have not money to pay postage.
>
> Every evening, generally, they hold meetings, and you may find more or less people studying the Bibles which they hold in their hands; or the minister preaching the word (what we call evangelizing;) and on such occasions you will always find the hall almost full. Our creed is, The whole Bible, nothing but the Bible. Our liturgy consists of prayers, preaching, exhorting, teaching, by those who have been gifted by God. The Head and Ruler of our Church is God, who gives to each man severally as he will.

Who does not recognize in this a picture not unlike that of an old-time Methodist preacher, with his Bible and hymn book, rough and unschooled perhaps, yet full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and going from place to place, singing and praying, preaching and shouting, and bringing sinners to God. And there are scores of such already in Italy, and their number is increasing almost daily. One society,* organized in this country, and whose special mission it is to antagonize Romanism, and to plant and sustain evangelical Churches where a corrupt Christianity prevails, has already more than sixty evangelistic laborers in Italy alone; and it is doubtful if there is to-day a more inviting or promising field for evangelical labor on all the

* The American and Foreign Christian Union, Rooms No. 27 Bible House, New York.

earth than is to be found in Italy, the ancient and once impregnable citadel of the Papacy.*

States of the Church.

In Rome, or in the dominions of the Pope, the state of things is but little, if any, more hopeful for Popery. With his dominions cut down to a mere garden-spot, and only about three and a half millions of subjects all told—about the population of the state of New York—it is not strange that this pretended "king of kings and presidents" should feel that his glory is departing, and the sun of his former splendor is fast going down to rise no more. Even as long ago as August, 1866, one of his cardinals said:

> His Holiness is now reduced to a state of wretchedness. All the Catholic states have been crushed by the abettors of revolution and infidelity, and probably he will have to abandon Rome and leave it to the mercy of Italy. Within six months, very probably, this crisis will come on, and the Pope having no other state, does not know where to turn his steps.—*Cardinal Cullen, of Dublin.*

This anticipated exodus was arested for a time by the intervention of French troops, but this in no respect increases the good-will of his subjects toward the Pontiff himself. On the contrary, while French bayonets may prop the "chair of St. Peter" for a time, and defer its downfall, every French soldier seen in Rome is an abomination to the more intelligent and influential of the inhabitants of "the Holy See." Only let Napoleon III. conclude to mind his own business for sixty days, and cease to intermeddle with the affairs of Rome and of Italy, and the Romans themselves would drive the Pope out of Rome and send him forth a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth.

It is still true, no doubt, that upon some special occasions, with thousands of foreigners in the city, a great display and show of devotion can be got up in Rome. But this is no real index to the feelings of the masses when left to their normal inclinations. The truth is, that the people of Rome care but little more for Popery than do those of the rest of Italy.

* For an able and timely editorial upon "Italy as a Mission Field," see the *Christian Advocate* for October 25, 1866. Is it not high time that the Methodist Episcopal Church had her missionaries both in Rome and in Italy?

Rev. N. C. Burt, writing home from Rome, speaks thus of the attendance at the Catholic churches:

> As to the ordinary week-day services, even in St. Peter's, they fail to secure the attendance of any but the performers. Vespers have been celebrated twice while I have been present—once with the music of organ and choir. And these only drew aside from sight-seeing, for a moment, two or three French soldiers, and as many other visitors. In one church after another which I have entered at the hour of evening service I would find the staff of priests all by themselves, howling away as if leading the devotions of a thousand people.
>
> It is a rare thing to see any one at the numerous confessionals. In all, I have seen probably six or eight women, never once a man. On the Sabbath, when I saw the Pope at St. Peter's—said to be the anniversary of the dedication of the church, and the services attended with the exhibition of some precious relics—there were only about three hundred persons present, of whom about one hundred were ecclesiastics and guards, one hundred strangers, and one hundred Romans.

To all this we should add that both Russia and the United States have so far ignored the existence of the Papal government as to have no regular minister at Rome, and may never have another. An imperial ukase was issued at St. Petersburg in December, 1866, declaring all the relations of Russia with the Pope of Rome abrogated, and annulling all the special laws of the empire which have heretofore been made in accordance with such relations.

Such, then, is the state of things in Italy, Old and New. Both as a civil and a religious power Romanism is not only dying, but is well-nigh dead already. Even in these ancient seats of her power and glory, it is doubtful if Romanism is stronger to-day, if deprived of all foreign aid, than it is in the New England states of this republic. "The whole head is sick and the whole heart faint;" and if these are smitten with blight and decay, what must ultimately be the fate of the whole body?

As we said at the outset, the doom of the Papacy is written, and the vision hasteth. Long has Babylon sat as a queen, arrayed in purple and scarlet colors, and decked with gold and precious stones. Often has she been drunk with the blood of the saints, and of the martyrs of Jesus. But the day of her calamity is at hand, and already voices begin to be heard in

earth and in heaven, saying, "Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged you on her."

Decline in Ireland.

For centuries Ireland has been the paradise of Roman Catholics, and one of the chief sources of Papal immigration to this country. Thirty years ago her population was about nine millions, of whom fully four fifths were Romanists. How is it now?

In 1852 a resident Irish Protestant minister thus wrote of the religious situation in Ireland:

> The last census taken, that of 1841, returned as the population of Ireland eight million two hundred and fifty thousand three hundred and eighty-two. In 1845 there were nearly two millions of Irish Protestants. In case of civil war, the Protestants of Ireland would be able to keep military possession of the island;* nor do we see that it would be possible for the combined Romanists to subdue or expel them. . . . The missions of the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Independent Churches have been much owned of God in the conversion of Romanists in Ireland. In some instances there are whole congregations formed of converts from Romanism. The distribution of the Scriptures in English and Irish, the circulation of books and tracts, the visits of Scripture readers, and the labors of missionaries, have made a strong impression upon the minds of Irish Papists. It is found to be impossible to prevent Romanists from reading the Scriptures, and hearing the discourses of evangelical ministers. We are not over sanguine when we express our conviction that Popery is now in a critical state in Ireland.†

The population of Ireland from 1831 to 1861 has been as follows:

	Population.	Decrease.
1831	9,000,000‡	.....
1841	8,250,382	749,618
1851	7,462,540	789,842
1861	5,767,543	1,694,997

Thus it appears that from 1841 to 1861, a period of only twenty years, the population of Ireland decreased to the amount of 3,232,457, or over forty per cent.

* This they were more than able to do in the recent Fenian troubles.

† Rev. Robert Gault, superintendent of the Free Church anti-Popish mission, Glasgow.

‡ This I find stated in round numbers by a European writer, and take it as nearly correct. All the rest are official.

Here is an actual loss of about four millions of Catholics in Ireland alone in less than thirty years, and a relative loss of thirty per cent. as compared with its own comparative status thirty years before.

Over this deplorable state of things Cardinal Cullen, of Dublin, thus pathetically laments:

> The people are still flying from the land, and nearly three millions of its population have emigrated; our towns and villages are decaying, trade and commerce are at a stand, ruin and desolation are spreading on every side. Can such a state of things be amended by human wisdom, or are our rulers able to encounter such difficulties? The Scripture says: "Do not put your trust in princes, in the children of men, in whom there is no salvation." But, dearly beloved, let us put great confidence in God, and humbly invoke his protection. Let us recommend our country and ourselves to the powerful intercession of the blessed Mother of God, and our hopes will not be frustrated.

But have they not been praying to the "Mother of God" for centuries, much more than to God himself, and yet what good has she done them? It is not the British government, nor the landlords, nor the soil, nor the climate of Ireland that have oppressed and cursed that gem of the sea; but her false and corrupt religion has been the bane of her prosperity, and will be till she is forever disenthralled.

An English correspondent, referring to the gloomy forebodings of Cardinal Cullen, says:

> According to the Archbishop the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is passing through a perilous crisis. "Eighteen institutions," he says, "are found in Dublin, with the impious design of destroying the faith and morals of the poor Catholics;" and "at least five thousand a year succumb to their influence;" and these eighteen establishments "to all appearance make up but a third or fourth part of the organization formed for the same purpose."

In such lamentations from an Irish Cardinal every true friend of Christ and a pure religion may well rejoice. Another writer, speaking from the midst of Ireland, says:

> Protestantism is making rapid inroads upon the Catholic Church in Ireland. Many priests have left the Church, and others are in an inquiring condition. These encounter so much opposition and actual persecution that a society has been formed for their relief, called the Priests' Protection Society.

Probably the English Wesleyans were never so active or so successful in Ireland as at the present time. They are learning to save Roman Catholics from their irreligion and superstitions in the land of Gideon Ouseley and Adam Clarke. And American Methodism has done well in giving $100,000 to help found a Wesleyan college in that priest-ridden and unhappy country.

Many of the more intelligent Catholics of Ireland begin to read, in the indications by which they are surrounded, the approaching doom of Romanism throughout the island. An Irish correspondent of the *Christian Advocate* states that while at Boyle he went to visit its beautiful and picturesque Abbey, where he met a very intelligent Papist wrapped in contemplation. A conversation ensued, in which the following interesting things were said:

"Sir," said the stranger, "I am a Roman Catholic, and have always heard that this was in its day a Roman Catholic chapel. Now I am convinced, that if Romanism was the religion of the Bible; if it were in harmony with the mind of God, its temples, in which the true God was worshiped, would not be prostrate in ruins in every part of this land."

And then with uncommon emphasis he added:

"To my mind this ruin and every similar one proclaims the downfall of our Church. Just as this church had its day in which it flourished, and then sunk into decay, thus it will one day be with our Church itself. And just as we are looking at this ruin now, and thinking of former days in which it was in its glory, so future generations of men will survey the ruins of our Church itself, and wonder at its former grandeur."

Such, then, is the present prospect in the land of St. Patrick and St. Bridget, the former stronghold of Romanism in the British Isles. Of the bearing of this state of things upon our own country we may speak when we come to discuss the prospects of Romanism in the United States.

Romanism in England.

In 1839 there were in England, Scotland, and Wales five hundred and thirteen Roman Catholic chapels, six hundred and ten priests, ten colleges, seventeen convents, and sixty seminaries.* In 1850 there were six hundred and seventy-four chapels, eight hundred and eighty priests, thirteen

* Blackwood's Magazine for that year.

monasteries, forty-one convents, eleven colleges, and two hundred and fifty schools or seminaries.* We have thus an increase in ten years of one hundred and sixty-one churches, two hundred and seventy priests, one college, thirteen monasteries, twenty-four convents, and one hundred and ninety schools. At that time a Scotch minister, writing upon the subject, said:

> The *Catholic Institute* has raised funds and effected much in favor of Popery by the dissemination of books written avowedly for the purpose of recovering the British mind to Papal opinions.† St. Mary's College, Oscott, has trained up many candidates for holy orders, and through the length and breadth of the land imposing ecclesiastical structures, in many instances outrivaling all the Protestant places of worship, attest at once the presence and prevalence of Popery. . . . It is supposed, and not without good foundation, that lately the strength of Papal proselytism has been expended upon the British Isles. Romanists well know that the United Kingdom is not only the mistress of the ocean, but the leading power of the world. They therefore seek to conquer Britain to Popery, and thus eventually use the dominion of Britain for the purpose of establishing in all lands the dominion of Rome.‡

Such, in his view, was the policy, the first fruits of which were then beginning to appear. And it has been vigorously pressed from that time to this. Romanism has been gaining in England for the last twenty-five years, not only with the masses, but in the higher walks of society. Many of her converts are fellows of colleges, ministers of the Church of England, members of the learned professions, and of elevated rank. But let none suppose that all this increase of Papists in England, or a majority of them, have come by conversion from Protestantism. This is an error into which many at a distance have fallen, and which the Romanists are very willing to perpetuate. The truth is, that England has been colonized by Catholics from Ireland, very much as the United States have been. Upon this point, also, hear Mr. Gault:

> There has been a constant flowing from the Popish districts of Ireland into England, Scotland, and Wales. The reapers, who in bands pass over from the Emerald Isle to cut down the harvests of their Protestant neighbors, give a good account of the land over

* Census of the realm for 1850.

† The very policy which has just been vigorously inaugurated in this country.

‡ Rev. Robert Gault, of Glasgow

which they have traveled. The want of employment at home induces multitudes to try their fortunes in the sister country. The Irish are noted for strong attachment to family and friends. Those who have already found comfortable settlements, send for relatives, and invite over their former acquaintances, and thus, more particularly in the mining and manufacturing districts, thousands and tens of thousands of Irish Papists are located. Priests follow, as a matter of course, and in due time chapels more or less costly are erected, and the whole machinery of Romanism is set up.

How exactly like the process now going on in the manufacturing districts of New England, where the employment of Irish girls in the factories is filling the land with an Irish population, and with Catholic priests and churches.

But, to return to England, we concede a rapid growth of Romanism in Great Britain during the last thirty years; but deny that it is as great as Romanists claim, or that it is any thing compared with its decadence in other portions of Europe during the same period. Of a population of twenty-nine millions, only six millions, or about twenty per cent., are Papists. And there are cheering indications that with the falling off of emigration, the growth of Popery in England has already reached its zenith. A recent article on Sunday-schools in Great Britain, by the Bishop of Oxford,* shows from the last census that of all the children of the realm who attend Sunday-schools, the Romanists have only one and a half per cent.; while the Wesleyans have nineteen per cent., the Primitive Methodists nearly six per cent., the Congregationalists eleven, the Baptists nearly seven, and the Church of England over seventy-six. The aggregate may be thus summarily stated:

	Sunday-School Scholars.
Protestant Dissenters	1,260,117
Church of England	1,092,882
Total Protestant	3,352,999
Total Catholic	35,453
Difference	3,317,546

These figures are from the returns of the Royal Commission in 1861—the last census taken—and are doubtless reliable. If so, they show that Protestantism had almost exclusive

* Good Words for April, 1868, page 258.

control of the religious instruction of the youth of the land seven years ago, though at that time the Catholics were educating five and a half per cent. of the youth of the country in their secular schools.

But conceding that Popery is still advancing in England, and in *statu quo* in Portugal, Spain, Belgium, and even in France, it is nevertheless a fact that cannot be hidden or denied, that, taking Europe as a whole, Romanism is rapidly declining, and especially in her ancient strongholds and former seats of power. "Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all." Rev. xviii, 21.

Of the status of Romanism in the New World—the Dominion of Canada, South America, Mexico, and the United States—we propose to speak in a future number.

Art. VII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The State Church Question in England—Mr. Gladstone's Bill for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church.—In the struggle now going on in almost every country of Europe for severing the union between Church and State, Mr. Gladstone's bill in the English House of Commons will forever occupy a prominent place. It has long been a generally-admitted fact that the anti-State Church movement was making steady though slow progress; but how much the Established Churches were undermined has rarely been shown more clearly than by the memorable history of Mr. Gladstone's bill. But a few months ago few of the English institutions seemed to be safer from serious assault than the Church Establishment in Ireland. That most of the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics would at any time be ready to support a bill for the disestablishment of this Church was well known; but it was also believed that the Liberal party in Parliament would not be willing to identify itself with such a bill. The leader of the party, Mr. Gladstone, had always been known as a zealous Churchman, and a champion of the union between Church and State. He had even, in former years declared, in unequivocal terms, his opposition to the disestablishment of the Church. It therefore created a general surprise to see Mr. Gladstone place himself, all on a sudden, at the head of the movement for disestablishing the Irish Church, and see him supported by almost every member of the Liberal party. In view of the intense agitation prevailing in Ireland both political parties were agreed that something must be done to conciliate Ireland. The Tories ventured only upon some half-hearted measures—upon Catholic university charters and other concessions which alarmed and irritated the Protestants without conciliating the Roman Catholics. Mr. Gladstone advanced on this offer, and boldly gave up the whole of the Irish Establishment in order to obtain the pacification of Ireland. The resolutions of Mr. Gladstone are as follows:

1. That in the opinion of this House it is necessary that the Established Church in Ireland should cease to exist as an Establishment, due regard being had to all personal interests and to all individual rights of property.

2. That, subject to the foregoing alterations, it is expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests by the exercise of any public patronage, and to confine the operations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland to objects of immediate necessity or involving individual rights, pending the final decision of Parliament.

3. That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, humbly to pray that, with a view to the purposes aforesaid, her Majesty will be graciously pleased to place at the disposal of Parliament her interest in the temporalities of the archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices in Ireland, and in the custodies thereof.

The shock experienced by all good Churchmen on first reading Mr. Gladstone's resolutions was deepened when the lame amendment put forth by the Ministry saw the light. The men who were the natural defenders of the Church had hardly a word to say in its defense. They admitted the necessity for a distribution of funds, but they thought that the questions of disestablishment and disendowment ought to be left for the new Parliament. Neither Lord Stanley nor the Premier, Mr. Disraeli, had a good and hearty argument in defense of the Establishment; and the intimation of the latter, that if the Roman Catholics would only accept the position of a sister Establishment by the side of the Protestant Established Church he was ready to grant it, increased the confusion in the Tory camp.

The House of Commons, on the 4th of April, decided, by the unexpectedly large majority of sixty, to take Mr. Gladstone's resolutions into consideration. Seldom, in recent years, had such strict party lines been drawn in the English Parliament on a great public question, only five Conservatives voting with Mr. Gladstone, and seven Liberals against him. On the first of May a vote was taken on the first resolution of Mr. Gladstone, and it was adopted by a majority of sixty-five. The Ministry then gave up their opposition to the following resolutions, which were adopted without a division. The most imposing demonstration of the opponents of Mr. Gladstone's bill took place at London on the 6th of May. The Archbishop of Canterbury presided, supported by the Archbishops of York, Armagh, and Dublin, nearly twenty bishops, English and Irish, three of the Cabinet dukes, and a large number of Church dignitaries, noblemen, and members of Parliament. The Primate declared that it was the greatest delusion the human mind was capable of conceiving to suppose that the disestablishment of the Irish Church would not "conduce to the injury" of the Church over which he himself presided. Three resolutions were adopted by the meeting. The first, proposed by the Lord Mayor of London, and seconded by the Bishop of Oxford, affirmed the principle of Church and State; the second, proposed by the Bishop of London, and seconded by the Earl of Harrowby, declared that the disestablishment of the Irish Church "would be a serious blow to the reformed faith of the United Kingdom, would materially affect the supremacy of the Crown, and would directly tend to promote the ascendency of a foreign power within her Majesty's dominions." The Archbishop of York, in supporting it, was particularly demonstrative, and declared his determination to fight the Liberal party in the House of Lords. The third resolution, admitting the possibility that it might be found necessary to carry out certain reforms in the threatened Establishment, was moved by the Dean of Westminster, and seconded by Lord Colchester. The Dean, in his speech, attempted to introduce an element of moderation in their proceedings, but his remarks were received with such disapproval that he was compelled to resume his seat.

Mr. Gladstone being asked in Parliament whether, after what the Archbishops and Bishops had declared at the London meeting, he meant to continue his crusade against the Irish Church, replied that, with all due respect to the eminent persons alluded to, he attached greater weight and authority to the opinion declared by a great majority of the House of Commons. A somewhat warm discussion took place on a resolution moved by Mr. Aytoun to the effect that, on the disestablishment of the Protestant Church, the grant to Maynooth College and the annual vote to the Presbyterians should be discontinued. Several modifications were suggested. Ultimately it was agreed that "it is right and necessary" that the Maynooth grant and the *Regium*

Donum should be discontinued, due regard being had to vested interests.

The Queen's reply to the address in reference to the Irish Church was sent down to the House of Commons on the twelfth. In it her Majesty states that, "relying on the wisdom of her Parliament, she desired that her interest in the temporalities of the United Church of England and Ireland in Ireland might not stand in the way of the consideration of any measure relating thereto that may be entertained in the present session." The sanction of the Crown having thus been obtained, Mr. Gladstone, on the fourteenth of May, brought in his bill to "prevent for a limited time new appointments in the Church of Ireland, and to restrain for the same period in certain respects the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland."

The text of the bill is as follows:

Whereas, Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify that she has placed at the disposal of Parliament for the purposes of legislating during the present session her interest in the temporalities of the several archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices in Ireland, and in the custody thereof; and

Whereas, It is expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests in Ireland in the Established Church in Ireland through the exercise of any public patronage, and to restrain in certain respects the powers of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland,

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. In case of the vacancy of any archbishopric or bishopric, or of any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice in Ireland in the gift of her Majesty, or to which any archbishop, bishop, or other ecclesiastical corporation as such, or any trustee or trustees acting in a public capacity, are or shall be entitled to present or appoint, it shall not be lawful to appoint any person to succeed to such archbishopric, bishopric, dignity, or benefice; and upon the happening of such vacancy, the management and receipt of the rents and profits, all the lands, tithes, and other emoluments appertaining to such archbishopric, bishopric, dignity, or benefice, shall be transferred to and vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland, subject to all charges legally affecting the same, and the said Commissioners shall have power to grant renewals and do all other acts which may be necessary for the due and proper management thereof, and shall cause the sums and the proceeds thereof to be kept distinct from all other funds, to be disposed of in such manner as Parliament shall direct.

2. In case of the vacancy of any archbishopric or bishopric the person designated by the 31st sec. of 3d and 4th William IV., chap. 37, to execute the powers of the said act during such vacancy, shall be the guardian of the spiritualities of such archbishopric or bishopric; and in case of the vacancy of any benefice with cure of souls, all the powers and authorities granted by the 116th sec. of the said act for supplying the spiritual wants of suspended benefices shall apply and be exercised in respect of such vacant benefice by the same persons and in the same manner as therein directed, provided that in regulating the salary of the officiating minister regard shall be had to the nature and extent of the duties to be discharged.

3. It shall not be lawful for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland to make any new grant for the building, rebuilding, or enlargement of any church or chapel, or for the building of any glebe house, or the augmentation of any benefice, or the maintenance of any minister, or the purchase of any house, land, or tithe rent-charge.

4. Every person who shall be appointed to any lay office in connection with the Established Church in Ireland after the passing of this act shall hold the said office subject to the pleasure of Parliament.

5. This act shall continue in force until the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine.

The bill was at once read the first time, and the second reading was on May 22 carried by a majority of fifty-four.

A few facts in the history of the Established Church of Ireland will aid in the correct understanding of the interesting struggle. The establishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland was altogether an act of force. While the English goverment appointed Anglican bishops for the ancient sees, a majority of the people always remained connected with the Church of Rome. Penal laws without number, expressly framed to destroy the Church of Rome in Ireland, and in former times rigorously enforced against the members of that communion, proved utterly powerless; and the disproportion of members between the Catholics and the Protestants is as great to-day as ever. In the latter part of the

seventeenth century an estimate was made by Sir W. Petty of the relative strength of Protestants to Roman Catholics in Ireland. Including all classes of Protestants, the result he arrived at was: Roman Catholics, 800,000; Protestants, 300,000. In 1736 it appeared that the population of Ireland consisted of 1,417,000 Roman Catholics and 562,000 Protestants. A century later, in 1834, the first year of any accurate enumeration of the people of Ireland, it was found that those who were represented in the time of Sir William Petty by 800,000 and 300,000, had come to be, respectively, 6,400,000 Catholics and 1,500,000 Protestants. This disproportion was afterward slightly changed in favor of the Protestants, the respective numbers being, in 1861, when the last census was taken—Roman Catholics, 4,500,000, and Protestants 1,300,000. But this apparent increase of the latter is attributable to the great exodus of the Irish to America during the intervening years, as the emigrants were chiefly belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. The relative numbers have not been materially altered since the last-named year. In the debate in the House of Commons in 1865, Mr. Dilwyn estimated the population of Ireland at 5,800,000, of whom not more than 600,000 were of the Protestant faith. The above figures represent the whole Protestant population of Ireland; but when the Presbyterians, the Wesleyan Methodists, and the members of other non-conformist bodies are deducted from the total, and the question narrowed to a comparison of numbers between the Roman Catholics and the members of the Irish Established Church, the disproportion will appear still more striking. From a Parliamentary Return ordered by the House of Commons, on the 6th May, 1863, we find that while in 1861 the number of Roman Catholics in Ireland was somewhat over four millions and a half, the number of members in the Established Church was only 691,872, and that consequently the proportion in that year was a hundred Roman Catholics to a fraction over fifteen members of the Establishment. And this is about the proportion at the present time.

The hierarchy of the Irish Church consists at present of two archbishops—the Archbishop of Armagh and the Archbishop of Dublin—and ten bishops. The beneficed clergy are about 1,400, exclusive of deans, prebendaries, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. The number of parishes in Ireland is about 2,400, most of which have their parish churches. Every parish in Ireland is provided with a clergyman, but as the number of clergymen is not equal to the number of parishes, in numerous instances one clergyman has the spiritual care of two or three parishes. In certain parishes where divine service is regularly performed in the places of worship belonging to the Establishment, the congregation is exceedingly small. The incomes of the parochial clergy arise partly from tithe rent charges, together with glebe lands and houses, and partly from a house tax on houses in cities and towns, the proceeds of which is known as "Minister's money." The total annual revenue of the Established Church in Ireland is about £600,000, of which £400,000 is tithe rent-charge. Originally the direct payment of tithes was universally enforced; then a law was enacted providing for composition for tithes; but this plan was attended with so much difficulty in the collection of payments, and gave rise to such serious disturbances of the peace, the enforcement frequently provoking outrage and bloodshed, that thirty years ago an act was passed by the British Parliament abolishing composition for tithes, and substituting in their stead a fixed payment of three fourths of their amount, to be made by the landlords, or others having a perpetual interest in the land. The new arrangement, however, has by no means lessened the odiousness of the tax in the eyes of the Irish people. The landlord pays the rent-charge, but the burden falls upon the tenant in the shape of an increased rental. The pay of the ministers of the Irish Church is extremely unequal, the incomes of the archbishops and bishops being very considerable, while those of the lower clergy is frequently very small.

Of the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, the Presbyterian body is by far the most numerous and influential. The chief strength of Irish Presbyterianism is in the province of Ulster, where the members of that communion number over 500,000. In the other three provinces of Ireland their numbers are insignificant, being in Leinster about 12,000, in Munster 4,000, and in Connaught not more than 3,000. Next to the Presbyterians in point of numbers come the Wesleyan Methodists, and there are small bodies

of Quakers and Moravians in Dublin and the parts adjacent.

The Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland, at a meeting held in Dublin, officially defined their position with regard to the Irish question by the following declaration:

The archbishops and bishops of Ireland, seeing that the Government and Parliament are preparing to deal by law with the Irish Protestant Church Establishment, deem it their duty to declare—1. That the Irish Protestant Church Establishment is maintained chiefly, almost exclusively, by property and revenues unjustly alienated from the rightful owner, the Catholic Church of Ireland; that Irish Catholics cannot cease to feel as a gross injustice, and as an abiding insult, the continued, even partial, maintenance of that establishment out of that endowment, or in any other way, at their expense—an establishment to which, as to their fountain-head, are to be traced the waters of bitterness which poison the relations of life in Ireland, and estrange from one another Protestants and Catholics, who ought to be a united people. 2. That, notwithstanding the rightful claim of the Catholic Church in Ireland to have restored to it the property and revenue of which it was unjustly deprived, the Irish Catholic bishops hereby reaffirm the resolutions of the bishops assembled in the years 1833, 1841, and 1843, and, adhering to the letter and spirit of those resolutions, distinctly declare that they will not accept endowment from the State out of the property and revenues now held by the Protestant Establishment, nor any State endowment whatever." [These resolutions deprecate a State provision for the Roman Catholic clergy as a measure "fraught with mischief to the independence and purity of the Catholic religion."] 3. That in thus declaring their determination to keep the Church of Ireland free and independent of State control or interference, the bishops of Ireland are happily in accord with instructions received from the Holy See in the years 1801 and 1805, as well as with the course pursued by Irish bishops of that day in conformity with those instructions. 4. That the bishops are confident that the Catholics of Ireland will receive with joy this repudiation of a State endowment for the Irish Church, and that they will never cease to give, without any legal compulsion, the support which they have hitherto freely and dutifully accorded to their clergy and religious institutions. 5. That, by appropriating the ecclesiastical property of Ireland for the benefit of the poor, the Legislature would realize one of the purposes for which it was originally destined, and to which it was applied in Catholic times.

The same meeting adopted the following resolution on the means of establishing peace and prosperity in Ireland:

While we warn our flocks against the criminal folly of engaging in secret societies or open societies or open insurrection against the Government of the country, we also declare to the Government and the Legislature our profound conviction that peace and prosperity will never be permanently established in Ireland till the Protestant Church is totally disendowed, education in all departments made free, and the fruits of their capital and labor secured to the agricultural classes.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

THE PRESENT EXTENT OF THE CHURCH OF ROME—NUMBER OF MEMBERS—THE POPE, CARDINALS, ARCHBISHOPS, AND BISHOPS.—We have given in the preceding number of the "Methodist Quarterly Review" an account of the present condition of the Protestant and Eastern Churches. In the following lines we give some statistical information on the third great division of Christianity, the Church of Rome. Together the two articles present a survey of the numerical strength of the professors of Christianity, so far as it can be obtained from the latest reports.

The population nominally connected with the Church of Rome in the five great divisions of the world was in June, 1868, as follows:

I. AMERICA.

1. UNDER AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS.	Total Population.	Roman Catholics.
United States of America..	31,429,891	4,500,000
(With the late Russian America)	70,000	.....
Mexico	8,218,080	8,000,000
Central America	2,500,000	2,500,000
United States of Colombia	2,794,473	2,700,000
Venezuela	1,565,000	1,560,000
Ecuador	1,040,371	1,040,000
Peru	2,500,000	2,400,000
Bolivia	1,987,352	1,987,000
Chili	2,084,945	2,070,000
Brazil	11,780,000	10,500,000
Argentine Republic	1,465,000	1,100,000
Paraguay	1,337,431	1,337,000
Uruguay	240,965	237,000
Hayti and St. Domingo	900,000	880,000
2. UNDER EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS.		
Dominion of Canada (including Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland) (1861)	3,295,706	1,465,000
Other British Possessions	1,140,000	150,000
French Possessions (1862)	305,912	300,000
Spanish "	1,932,062	1,932,000
Dutch "	85,703	80,000
Swedish "	18,000	10,000
Danish "	48,111	
Total	75,811,062	44,273,000

II. Europe.

	Total Population.	Roman Catholics.
Portugal	4,349,966	4,340,000
Spain	16,302,625	16,280,000
France	38,067,094	36,000,000
North German Confederation	29,248,533	7,875,000
South German States	8,524,460	4,935,000
Austria	32,573,602	25,055,000
Italy	24,550,845	24,000,000
Papal States	690,000	680,000
San Marino	7,600	7,000
Switzerland	2,510,494	1,025,000
Holland	3,552,665	1,250,000
Luxemburg	203,851	200,000
Belgium	4,984,451	4,800,000
Great Britain	29,591,009	6,000,000
Denmark	1,634,004	1,000
Sweden and Norway	5,892,155	5,000
Russia (inclusive of Poland and Finland)	62,224,832	6,767,000
Turkey	15,725,367	640,000
Greece	1,348,412	60,000
Total	288,001,265	130,921,000

III. Asia.

	Total Population.	Roman Catholics.
Russian Dominions	9,327,066	10,000
Turkish Dominions	16,050,000	260,000
Arabia	4,000,000	.....
Persia	5,000,000	10,000
Afghanistan and Herat	4,000,000	.....
Beloochistan	2,000,000	.....
Turkistan	7,870,000	.....
China and Dependencies	477,500,000	700,000
Japan	35,000,000	10,000
India (inclusive of British Dominions in Farther India)	187,694,323	1,600,000
Ceylon	1,919,487	
Farther India	21,109,000	
East India Islands	27,164,728	2,000,000
Total	798,635,504	4,590,000

IV. Africa.

	Roman Catholics.
British Possessions	150,000
French "	133,000
Portuguese "	439,000
Spanish "	12,000
Angola, Benguela, Mozambique	100,000
Algiers	185,000
Egypt	27,000
Abyssinia	30,000
Liberia	.....
Morocco and Fez	200
Tunis and Tripoli	10,000
Madagascar	1,000
Total	1,087,200

Recapitulation.

	Total Population.	Roman Catholics.
America	75,811,000	41,273,000
Europe	288,001,000	130,921,000
Asia	798,635,000	4,590,000
Africa	188,000,000	1,087,000
Australasia	3,800,000	400,000
Total	1,354,277,000	190,271,000

The aggregate Christian population of the globe is estimated at about three hundred and seventy millions, or about three eleventhe of the whole population of the world. The Church of Rome claims about one half of the entire Christian population. In explanation of the above figures it must be said that the hold of this Church upon many millions which nominally are still connected with it is very feeble. In proof of this we only need to point to the hostile attitude which the Parliaments of Italy, Austria, Portugal, Belgium, and other entirely Roman Catholic countries, have assumed with regard to the Pope, the Bishops, and the Church generally. On the other hand, the Church, owing to the vigorous support which is given to it by the French government, is growing with considerable rapidity in the large possessions which France has acquired in Northern Africa and Eastern Asia; as also in China and Japan, in both of which countries France is an indefatigable champion of the interests of Rome. Strong hopes are, in particular, entertained in the Roman Catholic Church for Japan, where the Church of Rome, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had a very large membership, and where, it is asserted, entire villages have secretly preserved the faith, and now desire formal readmission into the Church.

The present head of the Church, Pope Pius IX., was born at Sinigaglia on May 13, 1792; elected Pope on June 16, 1846. The College of Cardinals, in November, 1867, consisted of fifty-two members, of whom six were Cardinal Bishops, thirty-eight Cardinal Priests, and eight Cardinal Deacons. The Cardinal Bishops and Cardinal Deacons are all natives of Italy. Among the Cardinal Priests there are six Frenchmen, three Spaniards, four Germans, one Croatian, one Belgian, one Portuguese, and one Irishman; altogether nineteen foreigners and nineteen Italians. In the whole College of Cardinals there are thirty-three Italians and nineteen foreigners. Since then nine new members have been created, one of whom is Prince Lucien Bonaparte, a cousin of the French Emperor. The Prince is generally supposed to be a candidate for the Papal chair when it shall become vacated by the death of the present incumbent, and undoubtedly can rely, in that case, on all the influence which the French Emperor can bring to bear upon the College of Cardinals.

According to the *Annuario Pontificio*

for 1867, published in Rome by the Propaganda College, the number of Patriarchates, Archbishopries, and Bishoprics in the Catholic Church throughout the world amounts to one thousand and ninety-two. This includes all the Prelates of the Oriental Churches that are in communion with Rome, namely, those of the Armenian Catholics, the Maronites, the Greek Catholics, the Syrians, the Bulgarian Greeks, and the Syro-Chaldaic rites. Of the one thousand and ninety-two sees in the Catholic world one hundred and thirty-one were vacant when this list was published, leaving nine hundred and sixty-one Prelates throughout Christendom, of whom four hundred and ninety were present last July in Rome, and signed the address to the Pope. In the United States the Pope, in answer to the petition of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, has erected nine new episcopal sees, and four new Apostolic Vicariates, as follows: *New Bishoprics*—Columbus, Ohio; Rochester, New York; Wilmington, Delaware; Scranton, Pennsylvania; Harrisburgh, Pennsylvania; Green Bay, Wisconsin; La Crosse, Wisconsin; St. Joseph, Missouri; and Grass Valley, California. *Vicariates Apostolic*—North Carolina, Idaho, Colorado, and Montana. The Roman Catholic Church in the United States, with these new additions, has now fifty-three dioceses and seven vicariates apostolic. In the British Dominions the Catholic Prelates amount to one hundred and ten, namely, nine Archbishops, sixty-nine Bishops, and thirty-two Vicars Apostolic. Of the nine Archbishops, one has his see in England, four in Ireland, two in Canada, one in the West Indies, (Trinidad,) and one in Australia. The sixty-nine Bishops include twelve in England, twenty-four in Ireland, one at Malta, one at Gibraltar, seventeen in North America, one in the West Indies, (Island of Dominica,) one in the Mauritius, ten in Australia, and two in New Zealand. The thirty-two Vicars Apostolic include four in Scotland, two in North America, two in the West Indies, three in the Cape Colony, one at Sierra Leone, and twenty in the East Indies.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS.—As it is difficult to obtain accurate information on the foreign missions of the Roman Catholic Church, we condense, from a theological journal published by the Jesuits in Paris, (*Etudes Religieuses, etc.*,) the following statement. Among the missionary fields into which the missionaries are sent, we find the United States enumerated by the side of China, Japan, and other Pagan countries.

I. *Missions of the Secular Clergy.*—Under this head six missionary seminaries are mentioned, namely, the "Seminaries for Foreign Missions," at Paris, Genoa, Milan, All Hallows (Ireland), Brussels, and the "Seminary for African Missions" at Lyons. Statistics are given only of the Seminary of Paris, which entertains two hundred and sixty-four missionaries in East India, Farther India, China, Thibet, Corea, and Japan. We notice in recent English papers that at a meeting held in London it was resolved to establish another Foreign Missionary Seminary at London.

II. *Missions of "Religious Congregations."*—The following table gives the names of the religious congregations which send out missionaries, the countries in which they work, and the aggregate number of missionaries supported by each:

1. *Lazarists* have missions in Abyssinia, Turkey, Greece, Persia, Tripoli, Egypt, China, United States, Brazil, Argentine Republic, Chili, Peru, Guatemala. Number of missionaries, 340.

2. *Picpus Society* in Polynesia, Chili, Peru; 130.

3. *Oblates of the Immaculate Conception* in British America, United States, Mexico, Natal, Ceylon; 236.

4. *Marists* in United States, Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia; 128.

5. *Congregation of the Holy Spirit and Holy Heart of Mary* in Western Africa, East India, French Guiana, Hayti; 125.

6. *Congregation of the Holy Cross* in United States, British America, East India; 187.

7. *Redemptorists* in United States, St. Thomas; 25.

8. *Mekhitarists* in Turkey; 65.

III. *Missions of Monastic Orders.*—1. *Franciscans* in Russia, Turkey, China, Egypt, Central Africa, Tripoli, Morocco, United States, Mexico, United States of Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, Chili, Argentine Republic, the Philippine Islands, New Zealand, British America; 1,384.

2. *Dominicans* in Turkey, China, Philippine Islands, and the United States; 322.

3. *Capuchins* in Turkey, India, Eastern and Central Africa, Tunis; 210.

4. *Carmelites* in Turkey, Persia, East India; 50.

5. *Jesuits* in Turkey, Greece, India, China, British America, United States, Mexico, French Guyana, Ecuador, Guatemala, Chili, Brazil, Paraguay, Argentine Republic, Philippine Islands, Australia; 1,672.

Altogether there are 264 missionaries in the first class of missions; 1,236 in the second class; and 3,639 in the third class; giving a total of 5,138 missionaries.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Dr. Schenkel, who appears to be one of the most prolific theological writers of Germany, has published a work on the life and character of Schleiermacher, (*Friedrich Schleiermacher. Ein Lebens und Charakterbild.* Elberfeld, 1868.) Schenkel regards Schleiermacher as one of the greatest men whom Germany has produced since the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The special occasion for the publication of the book is the one hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Schleiermacher, which will occur on November 21, 1868.

Dr. Redepenning has published a German translation of a compendious History of Religion and Philosophy by Professor J. H. Scholten, of Leyden, Holland. (*Geschichte der Religion u. Philosophie.* Elberfeld, 1868.) The (Dutch) original has already passed through three editions. The author is well known as a prominent leader of the "liberal" school of the (Dutch) Reformed Church.

No less than three dictionaries on the Greek language of the New Testament have recently appeared. One, by Dr. Schirlitz, already appears in its third edition. (*Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testamente.* Giessen, 1868.) A second, by Professor Grimm, of Jena, (*Lexicon Græco-Latinum in libros Novi Testamenti.* Leipzic, 1868,) is based upon the *Clavis Novi Testamenti Philologica*, which appeared in 1841 in two volumes. The third work, by Cremer, (*Bibl. Theol. Real. Wörterbuch.* Gotha, 1866–1868,) is not a complete dictionary of the words contained in the Greek New Testament, but only of those which have significations differing from the classic Greek.

A Roman Catholic writer, Joh. Mayer, has published a "History of the Catechumenate, and of Catechetics during the first six Centuries." (*Gesch. des Katechumenats.* Kempten, 1868.) According to the review of the work in the *Theolog. Literatur-Blatt* it lacks thoroughness and completeness.

A prominent clergyman of the Lutheran Church of Denmark, Ch. H. Kalkar, has published a History of the Roman Catholic Missions, which has also appeared in a German edition. (*Gesch. der Rom.-Kath. Mission.* Erlangen, 1867.)

A special work on the Synods and Bishops of the Greek Church has been published by Zhishman, Professor at the University of Vienna. (*Die Synoden u. die Episcopal-Aemter der Morgenländ Kirche.* Vienna, 1867.)

A new work on the "Sacred Antiquities of the People of Israel," (*Die heil. Alterthümer des Volkes Israel.* Vol. I. Ratisbon, 1868,) has been begun by Dr. G. Scholz, (Rom. Cath.,) Professor at the University of Breslau.

The work of Chr. Hoffmann on the History of the Great Apostasy has been completed by the appearance of the third volume, which contains the attempt to establish a new order of society [*Weltordnung*] on the ground of the apostasy from 1800–1866. (*Fortschritt und Rückschritt.* Stuttgardt, 1868.)

A new work on the Apocryphal Book of Enoch, its age, and its relation to the Epistle of Judas, in which it is mentioned, has been published by F. Philippi. (*Das Buch Henoch.* Stuttgardt, 1868.)

Professor Steinmeyer, of Berlin, has written an apologetic work on the "His-

tory of the Passion of the Saviour," with regard to the latest writings of the critical school. (*Die Leidensgeschichte.* Berlin, 1868.) It is the second of a series of "Apologetic Contributions."

The work of Professor Jacobi, of Halle, against the Irvingites, who are more numerous in Germany than in any other country, has appeared in a second edition. (*Die Lehre der Irvingites.* Berlin, 1868.)

The fourth number of the Biographies of Christian Women, by Pastor Ziethe, (*Frauenspiegel.* Berlin, 1868,) contains the life of Ann Judson.

A new German translation of the ascetic writings of Cardinal Bellarmin has been begun by Dr. Hense, the first volume containing a new life of Bellarmin. (*Bellarmin's ascetische Schriften.* Mentz, 1868.)

A selection of the best passages from the works of Franz Baader, the greatest among the Christian theosophists of modern times, has been published by Professor Hoffmann, of Wurzburg, who, conjointly with other followers of Baader, (the Catholics Lutterbeck and Schlüter, and the Protestants Hamberger, Osten-Sacker, and Schaden,) published from 1851 to 1860 the complete works of Baader. (Sixteen vols. Leipzig.) The selections in this new work [*Die Weltalter, Lichtstrahlen aus Baaders Werken.* Erlanger, 1868] are arranged according to topics, and divided into the following sections: 1. Self-instruction; 2. Faith and Science; 3. God; 4. Creation of the World; 5. Redemption of the World; 6. Consummation of the World. No better work for a popular understanding of Franz Baader, who undoubtedly was one of the greatest Christian philosophers of modern times, has yet appeared.

FRANCE.

A work of Ernest Fontanès on Lessing and Modern Christianity (*Le Christianisme Moderne*, Paris, 1867) recommends to the French the study of the theological works of Lessing as those best fitted to spread more enlightened views on the essence of Christianity. The author is an enthusiastic admirer of the Rationalistic schools of Germany, from whom he expects a new reform of France.

Athanase Coquerel, fils, one of the chiefs of the "Liberal" Theological party in France, has published a book on Conscience and Faith, (*La Conscience et La Foi.* Paris, 1867.) Conscience, according to M. Coquerel, contains three elements: the sentiment of personality, the instinct of duty, and the religious sentiment, and is the supreme judge of what man is to accept as religious truth.

The work on the Miracles of Jesus by Godet (*Les Miracles de Jesus Christ*, Neuchatel, 1867) is regarded by the evangelical school of France as the best treatise on this subject in the entire French literature.

A new quarterly periodical, exclusively devoted to a review of important foreign theological literature, has been established at Geneva. (*Theologie et Philosophie.*) The first number contains articles on Dorner's History of Protestant Theology, on Fichte's Universal Theme, on Ritter's Philosophical Paradoxes, on Ecce Homo, on Bacon de Verulam, on Hegelianism in 1867, and a number of notices of new books chiefly German.

A posthumous work of F. Lajard on the Worship and Mysteries of Mithra in the East and West, has been published. It is a companion to an Atlas published in 1847–48. (*Recherches sur le Culte public, etc., de Mithra.* Paris, 1868.)

By order of the Emperor of France a collection of the Treaties of Peace and of Commerce, and several other documents relating to the relations of Christians with the Arabs of Northern Africa during the Middle Ages, has recently been compiled and published, with an historical introduction by L. de Mas Latrie. (*Traités de Paix et de Commerce.* Paris, 1868.)

A work by Madame de Babbery on "Elizabeth Seton" (Paris, 1868,) treats generally of the beginnings of the Church of Rome in the United States.

Count A. de Gasparin, the great champion of Protestant Christianity and of liberal institutions all over the world, has published a new work on "Moral Liberty." (*La Liberté Morale.* Paris, 1868.)

The work of Abbé Guyot, giving a summary of the Acts of General and Particular Councils, has been published in a new edition. (*La Somme des Conciles.* 2 vols. Paris, 1868.)

New documents, not heretofore published, on the History of French Protest-

antism, are contained in a work of J. Frosterus on the Protestant Insurgents under Louis XIV. (*Les Insurgents Protestantism sous* Louis XIV. Paris, 1868.)

Professor Freppel, of Paris, one of the ablest Roman Catholic Theologians of France now living, has added to his works on Irenæus, Justin, and other eminent Church writers of the first centuries, one on Origen. The substance of the work consists of lectures delivered at the Sorbonne during the years 1866 and 1867. (*Origène.* 2 vols. Paris, 1868.)

ITALY.

The Roman Catholic theology of Italy has of late produced but few works of prominent and lasting importance. Among the publications of the years 1867 and 1868 we notice the following:

Prof. Balan, *I Precursori del Razionalismo Moderno*, etc. Vol. I. Parma, 1867. ("The Forerunners of Modern Rationalism until Luther.") This first volume treats of the Manicheans, Albigenses, Cathari, Waldenses, and the "Cæsarism," by which term the author, we suppose, designates the theology which supported the Christian princes of the Middle Ages in their struggle against the arrogant claims of the Popes.

Gen. Calenzio, (a priest of the Oratory at Rome,) *Dissertazioni interno varie controversie di Storia ed Archeologia Ecclesiastica.* Rome, 1868. (Essays on some Controverted Subjects of Ecclesiastical History and Archæology.) The *Literar. Handweiser* (Rom. Cath. paper of Germany) praises the great scholarship of the book. The ten essays of the book defend the following theses: 1. Christ was born in the year 747 after the building of Rome. 2. The correspondence between Christ and King Algar of Edessa is spurious. 3. Election for ecclesiastical offices should not take place by lot. 4. The service of the first seven deacons referred chiefly to the celebration of the Eucharist. 5. The apostles and the apostolical fathers frequently used the terms *episcopus* and *presbyter* in the same sense. 6. The Church has never known anything of the pretended right of the people at the election of ecclesiastical officers. 7. The *Disciplina Arcani* is of apostolical origin, and has reference to discipline and doctrine. 8. Pope Honorius I. was neither a heretic nor a favorer of heresies. 9 and 10. The Council of Florence continued to be œcumenical even after the departure of the Greeks.

Mar. da Civitanova, (a Capuchin monk,) *Del Primato del Romano Pontifice ne' primi secoli della Chiesa.* Roma, 1866. (The Primate of the Roman Pontiff in the First Centuries of the Church.)

A posthumous work of Cardinal Soglia on "Canon Law" is published by Sig. Vecchiotti. (*Institutiones Canonicæ.* Turin. Vol. I. 1867.) It is to be completed in four volumes.

RUSSIA, TURKEY, AND GREECE.

Among the recent theological publications of the Greek Church are the following:

Ἱστορία τοῦ σχίσματος τῆς λατινικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἑλληνικῆς—History of the Schism between the Western and Eastern Churches. By the Archimandrite Andronicus K. Demetrakopulus. Leipzic, 1867.

Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη—Ecclesiastical Library. Containing the works of Greek Theologians now for the first time edited from Manuscripts at Moscow. By the Archimandrite Andr. K. Demetrakopulus. Tomus I. (Cont. Zachariæ Mitylenis, Niceteæ Stethati, Joan. Phurnæ, Eustratii Metropolitæ Nicæni, Nic. Methonæ, Nicephori Blemmidæ et Georgii Acropolitæ opera.) Lips., 1866.

Νικολάου Δαμαλᾶ, Περὶ ἀρχῶν. Damala—Scientific and Ecclesiastical Principles of the Orthodox Greek Church. Lips., 1865.

Ἀλεξανδριναὶ θεολογικαὶ καὶ φιλοσοφικαὶ Μελέται. Kalogeras, Nic.—Theological and Philosophical Alexandrine Essays. Part I. The Catechetical School. Pest., 1867.

Τὸ Θαβώρ. Joannides, Benjamin, (Mount Thabor.) Jerusalem, 1867.

Art. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Presbyterian and Theological Review, April, 1868. (New York.)—1. Recent Improvements in Formal Logic in Great Britain. 2. Justification by Faith in Christ. 3. Christ and the Bible. 4. Calvin's Love of Christian Union. 5. Lay Eldership. 6. Early History of Presbyterianism in Morris County, N. J. 7. Jean Baptiste Massillon. 8. Nationalism.

Baptist Quarterly, April, 1868. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Theanthropic Life of Christ. 2. Celsus's Attack upon Christianity. 3. Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem. 4. The Christian Sabbath. 5. The History of the Christian Commission. 6. Dissent on the Communion Question.

Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, April, 1868. (Philadelphia.)—1. Truth, Charity, and Unity. 2. Mathematics as an Exercise of the Mind. 3. Representative Responsibility. 4. Lord's Old Roman World. 5. Whitney on Language. 6. Spectral Appearances; their Causes and Laws.

Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1868. (Andover.)—1. Free Communion. 2. The Natural Theology of Social Science. 3. Revelation and Inspiration. 3. The Irish Missions in the Early Ages. 5. Ἡ Βασιλεία του Θεου or των Ουρανων.

Evangelical Quarterly Review, April, 1868. (Gettysburg.)—1. Revivals. 2. Advanced Growth in Grace. 3. Confessional et Extra-Confessional. 4. Schmid's Dogmatic Theology. 5. Life and Labors of Francke. 6. The Resurrection of the Body. 7. The Threefold Writing on the Cross.

Freewill Baptist Quarterly, April, 1868. (Dover.)—The Blessedness of Giving, as Compared with that of Receiving. 2. The Hebrew Lawgiver. 3. The Age of Louis XIV. in Church History. 4. Cowles's Exposition of Daniel. 5. Regeneration. 6. Esther. 7. The Millennium. 8. The Philosophy of Divine Worship.

New Englander, April, 1868. (New Haven.)—1. The Present State of Philosophy. 2. A Museum of Christian Art. 3. Review of Robert Collyer's Sermons on Nature and Life. 4. The "Princeton Review" on the Theology of Dr. N. W. Taylor and Presbyterian Reunion. 5. The National Debt, and the Obligation to Pay it. 6. Impeachment and Military Government. 7. Review of Prof. John A. Porter's Translation of the "Kalevala."

North American Review, April, 1868. Boston.—1. The Metropolitan Board of Health of New York. 2. The Church and Religion. 3. Pompeii. 4. Hegel. 5. The Poor-Laws of New England. 6. The Translation of the Veda. 7. Quotation and Originality. 8. Boston. (Second Paper.) 9. Western Policy in China. 10. Expatriation and Naturalization. 11. Shakspeare once more. 12. Charles Dickens.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April, 1868. (London.)—1. The Swedish Reformation. 2. Scoto-Calvinism and Anglo-Puritanism. 3. The Temple and the Synagogue. 4. Recent Explorations in Jerusalem. 5. Mill's Reply to his Critics. 6. Ireland and the Irish.

Edinburgh Review, April, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. The Positive Philosophy of M. Auguste Comte. 2. Western China. 3. The Monks of the West. 4. Technical and Scientific Education. 5. Bunsen's Memoirs. 6. The Irish Abroad. 7. Malleson's French in India. 8. The Disraeli Ministry.

London Quarterly Review, April, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Lord Macaulay and his School. 2. The Use of Refuse. 3. Robert South. 4. University Reform. 5. Lord Romilly's Irish Publications. 6. The Farmer's Friends and Foes. 7. The New School of Radicals. 8. William von Humboldt. 9. Purchase in the Army. 10. The Irish Church.

German Reviews.

Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie. (Journal for Historical Theology.) 1868. Third Number. 1. Kind, Philip Gallicius. 2. Ficker, The Monk Marcus, a Reformer of the Fifth Century. 3. Schmidt, Confession of Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous, on the Interieur. 4. Schmidt, Justus Menius on Bigamy. 5. Schmidt, Three Letters of Amsdorf on the Interim.

The first article of this number is a biographical sketch of one of the foremost reformers of Southeastern Switzerland. The second reviews the works of a celebrated monk of Egypt, Mark, called Ἀσκητής, and finds in them a theology substantially evangelical. In the fourth article a treatise of Justus Menius, the reformer of the Thuringian States, is given, in which he strongly condemns the second marriage of Landgrave Philip of Hesse. The treatise is interesting as a proof that not all the reformers of the sixteenth century could be prevailed upon by Philip to approve, directly or indirectly, the scandalous bigamy of this prince, who in many respects so well deserved the honor of the success of the Reformation. Most of the reformers were carried away by the desire to please a prince who to them appeared as a pillar of their cause. Even Luther and Melanchthon spoke in a manner which could be construed by Philip as an approval. Bucer expressly justified it, and another Hessian clergyman, Luingus, wrote a special book in defense. The best that was publicly said against it was the book of Menius, which is here given entire.

Studien und Kritiken. (Essays and Reviews.) 1868. Sixth Number. 1. Beyschlag, Address at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Evangelical Union. 2. Kostlin, Calvin's Institutions. [2d Article.] 3. Sleitz, The Tradition of the Labors of the Apostle John in Ephesus. 4. Wilken's, Review of Böhmer's Francisco Hernandez and Frai Francisco Ortiz. 5. Muhlhausser, Review of the Posthumous Works of Ernst Friedrich Fink.

Among the traditions of the ancient Church on the latest period in the lives of the apostles that on the labors and death of the apostle John, in Ephesus, has hitherto been regarded as the most trustworthy. Doubts were expressed by Reuterdahl, (the present Lutheran Archbishop of Upsala, in Sweden,) in his work *De Fontibus Ecclesiasticæ Eusebianæ*, (Lund, 1826,) who expressed the opinion that this tradition, like that of the exile of the apostle

to Patmos, might be an inference derived from the Apocalypse. But this view met with no approval among scholars. Even the Tubingen school defended the truth of this tradition with great tenacity. Only recently one of the foremost representatives of the "Liberal" Theological School of Germany, Dr. Keim, in his work *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, (Zurich, 1867,) has endeavored to undermine the belief of so many centuries in this tradition. He undertakes to prove that the apostle John died long before the close of the first century; that he never labored in Asia Minor; that the tradition relating to him is not older than Irenæus; that the latter confounded the presbyter John, the teacher of Polycarp and Papias, with the apostle John, and erroneously transferred information concerning the presbyter John, which he when a boy had heard in Asia Minor, to the apostle John. The denial of the tradition concerning the apostle John is next used as a new argument for denying the authenticity of the Gospel of John. Dr. Sleitz, in an elaborate article in the above number, undertakes to vindicate the truth of the tradition.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Second Number, 1868.—1. HANNE, (Prof. in Greifswalde.) Ideas on the Origin of Man, Illustrating the Peculiarity of Modern Theism in its Relation to Supernaturalism and Naturalism. 2. HILGENFELD, The Psalms of Salomo and the Ascension of Moses. Restoration and Explanation of the Greek Text. 3. SPAETH, Nathanael; A Contribution to the Proper Understanding of the Composition of the Logos—Gospel. 4. HILGENFELD, The Gospel of John, and the recent works by Hofstede de Groot, Keim, and Scholten.

The Psalms of Salomo, eighteen in number, are an apocryphal book, which is important for the light it sheds on the expectation of a Messiah by the Jews. All the scholars who have examined the book agree that it was written before Christ; but while Ewald and others fix the origin as early as 170 B. C., other great biblical scholars, as Movers, Delitzsch, Keim, place it after the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey, in 63 B. C. Hilgenfeld agrees with the latter opinion, and thinks that the book was compiled about 48 B. C. He traces the literary history of the book, and then gives the whole of the Greek text, for which a manuscript in the library of Vienna was for the first time specially compared. In a second article Hilgenfeld promises to give likewise, with a literary introduction and notes, the "Ascension of Moses," which, with the "Psalms of Salomo," and the "Fourth Book of Ezra," is the most important document showing the condition of this Jewish expectation of the Messiah at the beginning of the Christian era. The publication of these writings, Hilgenfeld thinks, will be the best refutation that the hope of the Jews for a Messiah had almost

wholly ceased at the beginning of the Christian era, and it will prove that it received a new impulse under the rule of the Romans.

In the article on Nathanael an attempt, entirely new, is made to identify this name with the apostle John. The article will be completed in the next number.

French Reviews.

BULLETIN THEOLOGIQUE. (Theological Bulletin.) April, 1868.—1. BABUT, The Theological System of Rothe. 3. WABNITZ, The Christology of Beyschlag and the Historical Christ of Keim. 4. E. DE PRESSENSE, Some New Manifestations in the Debate on Redemption. 5. BENAMET, The Commentary of M. de Mestral on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus. 6. M. V., St. Paul and Slavery. 7. BALTAN, Bulletin of English Literature. 8. R. HOLLARD, Bulletin of French Literature.

A new feature of this theological periodical is the connected review of the theological literature of the prominent countries of Europe. In the three last numbers the theological literature of Germany and England for the year 1866 and 1867 has been reviewed, and the review of the French literature of the year 1867 is begun.

REVUE CHRETIENNE. (Christian Review.) March, 1868.—1. BOIS, The Gospel and Liberty. 2. PELET DE LOZERE, Charles I. and Louis XVI.

April.—1. GUIZOT, Christianity and Ethics. 2. PEDEZERT, A New Historian of Monasticism in the West. 4. LELIEVRE, Pantheistic and Christian Poetry.

May.—1. BERSIER, Sermon in Behalf of the Famishing Population of Algeria. 2. ROSSEEUW ST. HILAIRE, A New Poem on the Reformation.

The article by Guizot in the April number is a chapter of the third volume of his *Meditations*, which has since appeared, under the title, *Meditations sur la Religion Chrétienne, considere dans ses rapports avec l'état actuel des sociétes et des esprits.* (On the Relation between Christianity and Modern Society.) From a note of the editor we learn that this great work will be concluded by the fourth volume, which will have the title, *Meditations sur l'histoire et sur l'avenir de la Religion Chretienne.* (Meditations on the History and Future of the Christian Religion.) Vol. I, (Meditations on the Essence of the Christian Religion,) appeared in 1864. Vol. II, (Meditations on the Christian Religion considered in its Relations to the Present Condition of Society,) in 1866.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Pioneer Experiences; or, The Gift of Power received by Faith. Illustrated and Confirmed by the Testimony of Eighty Living Ministers of Various Denominations. By the Author of "Way of Holiness," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. Bishop Janes. 12mo., pp. 368. New York: W. C. Palmer, Jr. 1868.

The title of this volume is unfortunate in that the aid of the preface is requisite to enable us to discover its significance. We there learn that the work is designed to set forth the experience of the grace of entire sanctification, by ministers of various denominations, as furnished the editor by themselves. Sixty-six of the seventy-nine writers are Methodists; the remainder are Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, and Episcopalians.

Perhaps none of the experiences narrated can be read without spiritual profit; nevertheless, several of them seem to us to leave the question of the actual possession of entire sanctification insufficiently evident. In most of them its attainment is clearly recognizable, exhibiting a remarkable likeness in the experience with a great variety in the testimonies. While some are in too general terms for us to follow minutely their successive steps, and are therefore of comparatively little value except it may be for the establishment of a single point, in others the mental processes are so carefully analyzed and clearly stated that a candid inquirer may employ them in ascertaining the methods of the Spirit's operations. It was by a rigid, searching examination of some hundreds of experiences continued through several years that Mr. Wesley became able to practically guide his followers in this path, although he had accurately described the nature of Christian perfection five years previous to his own experience of justification. From particular instances he deduced the general law. So the testimonies in this volume have distinct points of concurrence, which are very justly presented in the admirable Introduction by the pen of Bishop Janes, and are in perfect harmony with the old Methodist testimony.

We most earnestly deprecate any appearance of divisions or parties among us on the subject of Christian perfection. Philosophically viewed, it may admit of varying explanations, in which scope may be found for the theorists of all degrees. But practically considered, no wine can be sweeter than the old wine of Wesley and Fletcher, which, indeed, is not of them, but of Paul and John. The endowment of power is by the Holy Spirit; and

the deeper the baptism the greater is the power. May the sanctifying Spirit be poured upon the whole Church, and, whether by a single baptism or many successive ones, may her members be made, as were they of the first days of her power, "of one heart and of one soul!"

Mrs. Palmer's part in this volume consists in the selection and abridgment of the articles presented, and the preparation of a preface of eight pages. The abridging pen should have struck out all allusion to "the Palmerites," for surely Mrs. Palmer cannot wish even to seem to confess herself the head of a party. Nor should it have allowed the principle to be repeatedly taught, that none but wholly sanctified ministers are prepared to preach the Gospel; especially when the book itself amply demonstrates the contrary.

Nor must Mrs. Palmer be impatient if, while her own vision is so clear, some ministers of Christ should fail to arrive at her conclusions. Her preface is, in fact, a lecture to ministers, in which with severity, we will not say asperity, she castigates "some divines of marked prominence in the Christian world" who, "unblushingly," "have dared to say" some things quite different from what either she or we would say. We regret the apparent temper of the preface. But its theory that the Pentecostal gift of power was "holiness of heart" in its technical sense, or that the gift of the Holy Spirit on that day bestowed entire sanctification, we do not accept. Nothing in the promises of Christ, the necessities of the case, the circumstances of the hour, or the narrative of Luke implies it. It was the sanctifying Spirit, indeed, that fell upon them, but in his regenerating and adopting power, as he now falls upon believing penitents, making them the sons of God, as all young converts are made now. On all truly-converted souls is bestowed the same "gift of power," whereby they may resist sin, conquer the world, and win victories for Christ; a power never known by David, Isaiah, John, or other devout Jews before the Pentecost. For such empowered conquerors there are further heavenly gifts which bring a purity from sinfulness and the fullness of God.

D. A. W.

Sermons preached upon several Occasions. By ROBERT SOUTH, D.D., Prebendary of Westminster, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. In five volumes. Vol. II. 8vo., pp. 531. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867.

Dr. South was a High-Churchman, a high Tory, and a high Calvinist. Absolutism reigned alike in his politics and his theology. He believed in the divine right of kings to rule in absolute irre-

sponsibility to their subjects, and in the absolute rectitude of a divine government's decreeing sin and limiting the possibility of salvation to an arbitrary determinate number of human souls.

To this view of human sovereignty he was fixed by the surroundings of his birth and education. On the day of the execution of Charles I., he, then a young man, read prayers for the king by name. He was a court preacher through three reigns after the Restoration; and the places in which the sermons were severally, according to their titles, preached, such as Oxford, Westminster Abbey, etc., indicate the audiences who listened. But to his courtly audience, so far as stern religious teachings were concerned, he dealt no tones of soft and courtly complaisance. No hearer could be more regal than the preacher. For the time being the pulpit, though sustaining the throne, was greater than the throne itself. Courtly vice was compelled to sit under the most scathing denunciations; and the atmosphere, thick with the sensualism of Hobbes, had fine opportunities to be rarified by the thunder peals of Christian truth.

Against his doctrinal opponents on all sides, Papistical, Puritanical, Republican, Arminian, or Socinian, he speaks in what resembles a tone of personal hatred. His mind precisely squares with the religion by law of Parliament established, and against all who vary a hair from that remarkable model he deals out the most elaborate denunciations and artistically-prepared sarcasms. He has no delicacy or scruple against "political preaching;" and his sermons maintaining the divine right of kings to the passive obedience of their subjects are refreshing studies in these democratic days, when so largely the *voice of the people* is all, and the *voice of God* is nothing but its synonym. Even a philosophic democratic reader can see that, for its age, this doctrine of passive obedience was not without its favorable side. Kings, it was said, are the necessary conditions of order, their irresponsibility the necessary condition of their royalty; yet for that very reason kings are the most responsible of all men to God, and it becomes the duty of the priest to hold them to that responsibility, and of the preacher to proclaim it with a voice of unflinching thunder in the royal ears. We need not, as Protestants, deny that the sacred order often performed that duty with a most conscientious and successful faithfulness. It was in maintaining its own power for power and pride's sake, and asserting it with criminal craft and persecuting cruelty, that the priesthood forfeited its high place, and proved itself a failure as the proper governing power in the political world.

Sermons. By Rev. D. W. Clark, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1868.

We have here "Christianity in earnest"—Methodism expressed in a clear and manly style, and dressed in a handsome green coat. When Wesley said in the preface of his Sermons that he could no more write in a fine style than wear a fine coat, we suppose that he announced an asceticism which, however consistent with or required by his high personal mission, furnishes no rule for all. Indeed, severer to himself than to others in many things, he laid down this rule in its very terms for none but himself. Certain it is that many of his sons have, with apparently fair moral success and with a good conscience, found themselves able to do both. Bishop Clark's book is none the less valuable for its literary style, its tinted paper, and its green and gilt.

These are true sermons. They took existence from the actual demands of the people made upon the pulpit, and are addressed with striking applicability to the case before the preacher. They are not literary essays, nor moral theses, but eternal, biblical truths brought to bear directly upon the present moment. They are worthy a larger congregation than can sit before a single pulpit. Ministry and membership will find pregnant hints for thought, and rich aliment for practical piety, lucidly presented in these transparent pages.

The sermons are eighteen in number. The first two are upon Methodism distinctively, and are staunchly but not bigotedly denominational in their presentations. They are well worthy the perusal of thinkers who would appreciate our system. Others treat of some leading point of evangelical religion, as Faith in God, The Supreme Affection, Insufficiency of Moral Virtue. Others touch the practical religious enterprises, as The Sunday-School, The City Mission, and Revivals. In one sermon on The Temple Built and the Temple Blessed, a dedication performance, he takes ground that the best art and architecture should be consecrated to God—"our offering should be the most perfect we can possibly render." We give an extract with our own italicizing:

> There should, as far as practicable, be some correspondence between the object and the building. Why are your high schools, your colleges, your courts of justice, your State capitols, made to tower up in the grandeur of architectural proportions? Merely for display? No. There is a nobler purpose than this. It is that they may comport with the dignity of their design; may inspire in the hearts of the people a reverence for the majesty of science, for the administration of justice, and for the honor and dignity of the State. But what grander theme than that of the Cross of Christ? What science more profound or more majestic than the science of Salvation? What education of higher dignity or moment than that which trains an immortal for the skies? What edifice, on all the earth, erected by human hands,

should more deeply command the respect of the people, and in its very nature be adapted to command that respect, than that which is consecrated as the dwelling-place of the Most High. We are not contending for exquisite elaboration and expensive ornament in houses of worship. Far from it. The very opposite. Simplicity is the characteristic of beauty; it is characteristic of all the works of God. That beauty so delicately imprinted upon the architecture of the heavens above us and upon the earth around us is one of God's agencies for educating the intellectual powers and the moral sentiments of the race. If beauty is opposed to spirituality, why has God filled up his universe with the perfection of exquisite workmanship and symmetrical beauty? Our religion is emphatically spiritual; but when God has surrounded us with such wondrous teachings can we imagine that it must be clothed in rough and repulsive forms in order that its spirituality may be preserved? Can we imagine now, under the dispensation of the Gospel, any more than in the time of David, that it is a mark of spirituality for men to build better houses for themselves than they build for God? Nay, my brethren, the simple principle that *man's best offerings should be consecrated to God* has remained the same in all ages. This principle simply requires that *if we can build only the log church we shall select for it the best logs we can get*, and God will accept the offering and crown the humble temple with his presence and glory. Shame on the man who will select a better log, burn a better brick, or carve a finer stone for his own house than for the house of the Lord.—Page 418.

We add another passage in a different strain:

When the pillar of fire moved before God's ancient people the hosts of Israel marched onward, so now the Spirit of God is moving before the Christian Church, inviting her to march onward to the conversion of the world. The old barriers are being broken down, the old obstacles removed out of the way, and a highway for the Gospel is being opened up through all the dark places of the earth; and at the same time the power of aggressive action on the part of those to whom the dispensation of the Gospel is committed is immeasurably increased. What sublime discoveries in science, what striking improvements in the arts, have become subservient to the cause of Christ! The activity and power of intellect, the accumulation of wealth, and the unprecedented spread of the commerce of Christian nations into every part of the globe, and now the wonderful and wide-spread outpouring of the Holy Spirit, nerving the heart of the Church anew, and awakening and converting untold myriads, are so many elements of power and responsibility, all conducing to the same end. Christendom at this very moment, through ten thousand channels of power and influence, is acting upon and controlling the destiny of the entire globe, and the Church of Christ has only to prove herself equal to the emergency of the times, equal to the grandeur and glory of her mission, and Christianity will ere long be established in the ends of the earth.—Page 407.

Chemical Change in the Eucharist. In four Letters, showing the relations of Faith to Sense, from the French of Jacques Abbadie. By JOHN W. HAMMERSLY, A.M. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston.

Abbadie, the original author of the present volume, and author of a celebrated defense of the Christian religion, was a Swiss, born in 1654, was Pastor of the Protestant French Church, and finally Dean of Killaloo in Ireland. The present volume forms the concluding publication on the Protestant side, in the reign of Louis XIV., of a great discussion between the Jesuits and Jansenists on the Romish side, and the celebrated Claude in reply. The present edition is published in a quaint old English type, with an imitation vellum cover, and looks like a venerable relic of polemical

battles of near two centuries ago. The argument of Abbadie is very lucid, exhaustive, and—if any thing can be so called which fails to conquer the most extraordinary abdication of reason perhaps in the entire history of the human mind—demonstrative. The translator furnishes the volume with a preface and an addendum of notes, adding much illustration needed at the present day.

It is no one-sided Protestant prejudice, but the eternal truth of history which convicts the Church of Rome of being the bloodiest persecuting body the world ever saw. Nevertheless, the present generation could readily afford to forgive the crimes of her old history if the same immutable purpose of persecution where possible were not still predominant in the Romish heart. We would readily forego all "indemnity for the past" could we feel any "security for the future." At the present hour, however, wherever Rome has the power, and to the extent of her power, she exercises the same proscription of all religious liberty as she exercised in the dark ages. She is not necessarily opposed to *civil* liberty. Her ecclesiastical supremacy can tolerate, and even sustain and use, a democracy as readily as an absolute monarchy. It is religious liberty, the rights of an independent conscience, which she cannot brook. The assertion of the right of private judgment is rebellion against Rome, and her supremacy is its destruction; and just as truly so in the nineteenth as in the fourteenth century.

The Chapel Hymn Book. Containing over Four Hundred Hymns and Spiritual Songs; with the First Strain of the Melody prefixed to the Hymns. Designed for Use in Prayer-Meetings, Revivals, etc. Compiled by Rev. Geo. Hubbell. New York: Tibbals & Co. 1868.

This little volume is prepared under the assumption that our authorized hymn book, when used in the prayer-meeting, "fosters a stiffness, formality, and coldness which tend to make the chapel an uninteresting and unpopular place." Care has, nevertheless, been taken to exclude doggerels and illiterate pious ditties. The work appears to be well done.

We pretend not to scientific musical taste, but our sincere opinion is, that cold and formal music, whether of hymn or tune, ought to be as thoroughly excluded from the church as from the chapel. True music is emotional; and the choir music that does not touch the emotions is an imposition upon the congregation. And our own feeling is, that the large amount of our church music, heard from our choirs, is just of this character. It has no power, and ought not to be tolerated. The music not fit for the prayer-meeting is usually not fit for the church.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Die Bergpredigt Christi und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart. [*Christ's Sermon on the Mount, and its Significance for the Present Age.*] By HEINRICH W. J. THIERSCH. 8vo., pp. 138. Basel: Schneider. 1867.

This volume is a good specimen of the now rapidly increasing class of works designed to meet the objections to Christ's divinity by expounding his own words and showing the divine purpose and wisdom underlying them. The method is similar to Krummacher's late work on *David*, and the groupings are quite up to that high standard. The chapters are: Introduction; Beatitudes; The high Destination of the Disciples; Christ Fulfilling the Law; The Prohibition against Murder; The Commandment of Chastity and the Indissolubleness of Marriage; The Prohibition against Swearing; The Command of Perfect Love; Alms; Closet-Prayer; The Lord's Prayer; Fasting; Heavenly Treasures; Prohibition against Mammon Worship; The Prohibition against Judgment; The great Promise and the great Prayer; The Warning against the Broad Way and False Prophets; and, Doing the Divine Will. There were different stages in the labors of Christ; those of the first stage were designed to connect his own ministry with that of John the Baptist, so that the two would form a unit. The Jewish people had wandered from the law; the Baptist boldly declared their guilt; and Christ's first sermon was an exhibition of their positive duty in view of their transgression. The error of the Pharisees did not consist in their observing the letter of the Old Testament, and regarding it as sacred, but in holding ceremonies to be the end instead of the means for accomplishing the higher spiritual observance of the heart. The faith of the Church has become weakened by sheer neglect of the Old Testament. "In most Christian congregations, years pass by without a single passage of the Old Testament being read and expounded for the edification of God's people." This is indeed a remarkable statement, and if it be true—which we see no reason to doubt—the neglect of the Old Testament by German pastors will account for a large measure of the popular rejection of its inspired character.

This work is an evidence of what almost any Christian pastor can accomplish by working up his sermons into a useful volume. Many sermons and week-evening lectures bear upon a certain general subject and exhibit a design in common. Why may not young ministers in the United States follow the German example, or, still better, that of such Scotchmen as Macduff, M'Leod, Guthrie, (*The Parables* is an excellent example; New York, 1866.)

and Hanna, in thus converting their best sermons into treatises or essays for larger and different audiences than can hear them when delivered? There is a world of good matter that might be saved in this way, and thus an earnest pastor can speak through his book years after his death.

Du Doute. [*Concerning Doubt.*] By M. HENRI DE COSSOLES. 12mo., pp. 402. Paris: Didier et Cie. 1867.

In the February number of M. de Pressensé's *Revue Chretienne* there was an article on "Some late Manifestations of Catholic Piety," which was the first installment of an elaborate review of Father Gratry's *Life of Henry Perryve.* Besides this, there are several late Catholic works indicating a higher spiritual life and a clearer perception of the great theological issues of the age than we have been wont to see in that communion. The book of M. de Cossoles belongs to the same class, and we go a little out of our way to call attention to it because of its representative character. French Catholicism has become alarmed at the skeptical invasion of Christianity, and we have here an evidence that it is endeavoring to do its part toward resistance. The volume is divided into three parts, each being subdivided into chapters, as follows: Part One—Of Reaason; Miracles; The Will; Freedom of the Will; and Liberty of Conscience. Part Second—Faith; Certainty; and Doubt. Part Third—Natural Faith; Liberty of Reason; Cultivated Minds; Obligation of Truth; Religious Law; and Humility.

The author, adopting the form of apothegms, after the manner of Hare's *Guesses at Truth*, and South-Side Adams's *Broadcast*, writes for those alone who have fallen into the prevalent habit of doubting every thing which is not clear to the understanding. He does not discuss the grounds on which one believes, but those on which he doubts. He holds that the proper way to understand Christianity is to study the whole life of Christ, and not simply to be confined to the verbal descriptions of the Evangelists. We do not measure Mohammedanism by the Koran alone, but by the Koran as explaining the deeds of the founder. The great mistake made by philosophers is their examination of Christianity by the philosophic method, which consists really in the examination of truths already taught and experienced. No wonder they have concluded that the religion of Christ is false. Faith is not contrary to reason, but above it; and it is always wrong to present them, or permit them to be presented, as antagonistic. Faith teaches us the moral certainty of revelation. Rational certainty demonstrates with certainty what a thing is; moral certainty demonstrates with

the same evidence what it should be. The domain of the latter is therefore the invisible and the intangible; and in this consists its grandeur. Instead of sacrificing the understanding, it is the highest and strongest expression of it. It is the supreme effort of reason escaping from all bondage of sense and justifying the apostle's words: "Faith is the evidence of things not seen."

Dr. Martin Luther's Sämmtliche Werke. [*Dr. Luther's Complete Works.*] 7 vols. Heyder and Zimmer. Frankfurt am Main, und Erlangen. 1862–1866.

Another attempt to perpetuate the memory and doctrines of the great Reformer. The editor, Pastor Ernst Ludwig Enders, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, has taken great pains to compare all the old editions, and the result is the most complete and accurate edition of the collected works of Luther. As the present installment contains only sermons, it is probable that the entire work will reach as many as fifty or sixty volumes before its completion. This will, however, be the best edition of Luther extant, and it will be long before another will be required. As an evidence of the undiminished demand for Luther's writings, we may state that the enterprising publishers of this edition are also engaged in the simultaneous publication of a magnificent edition of Luther's Latin works. So the wish of Luther, expressed in the preface to his works issued in 1539, seems further from realization than ever: "I would have been glad to see all of my books remaining in obscurity and going into oblivion."

Marcellus von Ancyra. [*Marcellus of Ancyra. A Contribution to the History of Theology.*] By TH. ZAHN. Pp. 245. Gotha: Friedrich A. Perthes. 1867.

A scholarly attempt to reconcile the diverse opinions of the early Church historians on the theological opinions and importance of one of the most celebrated characters in the great Arian controversy. Marcellus was a bitter opponent of the theology of Origen, and declared the latter to be author of all the confusion of Platonic, Hermetic, and Gnostic ideas of Christianity. This enmity between Marcellus and Origen is discussed at length, and Mr. Zahn decides unfavorably to Origen. He takes from the latter, and bestows on Irenæus, the honor of founding a sound science of Christian theology. The work is exhaustive, and is without doubt the best portrait of the much-abused and yet well-intended Bishop, who lived in one of the most stormy periods of the Church, and passed, like many of his associates, several times up and down, through all the stages of ecclesiastical preferment and humiliation.

Predigten und Amtsreden Namhafter Kanzelredner der Gegenwart. [*Sermons and Addresses of Prominent Pulpit Orators of our Times.*] Edited for Evangelical Clergymen and Congregations by Dr. BILLIG, G. STEINAKER and Dr. WENDEL. Vol. III. Pp. 244. Leipzig: George Wigand. 1866.

A very good specimen of the style of sermons preached by some of the leading pulpit orators of Protestant Germany. The method is generally quite different from that in use in England and America, but it is one from which some good lessons might be learned. Yet we would be sorry to see the German pulpit set up in this country. There is not vigor enough in it yet; but it is advancing every year. In the present work we find a suspiciously large number of the sermons of skeptical preachers; or, as they call themselves, "Liberal Theologians." There is one by Schenkel, who founds on Heb. x, 35 a sermon entitled, "That we as Christians should not throw away our Trust in the Moral Forces of Christianity." Of course every body knows what he means by that; reject the letter and adhere to the spirit: or, in other words, cast off Confessions, and think and believe for yourself. There is also a sermon by Réville, on "The Christianity of Jesus Christ."

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Annual of Scientific Discovery; or, Year-book of Facts in Science and Art for 1868, exhibiting the most Important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Biology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc., together with Notes on the Progress of Science during the year 1867; a List of Recent Scientific Publications, Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men, etc. Edited by SAMUEL KNEELAND, A. M., M. D., Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Secretary of and Instructor in Zoology and Physiology in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, etc. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1868.

The Scientific Annual for the present year is prefaced with an interesting summary of the "progress" made, with general views of the present state of scientific advancement.

The great event of the year 1867 was the Paris Exposition, an exposition unparalleled in its kind, and suggestive of volumes of earnest thought. The American share was to the eye diminutive; but when deliberately surveyed by the mind's eye compelled the candid confession of European judges, that America is ahead in fertility of mechanical invention; and thus transformed temporary disappointment into the highest kind of triumph.

In the ever-during battle between the arts of offense and defense naval warfare at present assigns the superiority to cannon over armor plates. Large American smooth-bore can send its four hundred and forty pound round shot through any armor plate in the British navy.

On the present "lull of invention" we have the following extract from an English periodical:

> Several years have now passed without any really great invention—an invention capable of adding millions to the national wealth. The most recent are the Bessemer process, the steam-plow, submarine telegraphs, and Ransome's artificial stone; and among discoveries, the Australian gold mines, the Cleveland iron stone, and the American oil well. The great inventions—those which have not merely improved but revolutionized trade, are, within the last century, the steam-engine with steam navigation and railways, textile machinery, electric telegraphs, and steam printing; and we think that the four inventions named at the beginning of this article are those which, among our more recent acquisitions, are best entitled, by their real importance, (although this is not fully developed,) to the distinction we have given them.—Page xi.

On future possibilities we have the following passage:

> Who can reflect upon the almost immeasurable forces of solar heat and lunar attraction exercised daily upon our planet, and with visible results, without hoping, and indeed to some extent believing, that human ingenuity will yet find means for penetrating nearer and yet nearer to these tremendous mysteries of nature, and turn them into new channels for the good of man? With countless millions of tons of hydrogen in the sea, and of oxygen in the air, shall we not yet find means to burn the very waters of the globe, and literally set the river on fire? With millions of tons of carbon on the earth, shall we not yet convert it, by some means, into palatable and wholesome human food? And shall we not yet find cheaper and readier means of converting the vast stores of vegetable fiber with which nature abounds into comely clothing, than by the present infinitesimal spinning and weaving of thousands of yards of yarn to form a single yard of cloth? That we may yet navigate the air is hardly less likely now than was the navigation of the sea by steam seventy years ago. Future invention must give us cheaper food, cheaper clothing, and cheaper lodging. Past invention has not sufficiently secured these, and the condition of trade and of society is now such that a majority of the population, even when working almost continuously, can gain but a decent subsistence, without any practical advance upon their daily necessities.—Pp. xi, xii.

Agriculture by steam is making slow but promising progress; railways up steep ascents are becoming more practicable; artificial stones for building are already surpassing the natural article; petroleum fuel, even for domestic purposes, promises well. The fuel of the future will probably be not solid, but pulverized or liquid. On the constitution of matter Dr. Kneeland remarks:

> The existence of a unit of matter, whether it be regarded as a hard, spherical particle, a center of force, or a vortex produced in a perfect ether, appears to be indispensable; some kind of molecular hypothesis seems to be necessary for the explanation of physical phenomena, and it is difficult not to believe that some connection exists between the physical and the chemical unity of matter.—Page x.

Under what is called "biology," or science of life, we have a number of interesting items. One experimentalist has actually produced, by a chemical process, a quantity of what resembles the ultimate "cells" which constitute the elements of living substance; whereby it is assumed that the last refuge of the doctrine of a

so-called "vital principle" or vital force is destroyed. Alexander Bain's identification of mind as simply one of the forms of "force" is respectfully quoted.

We have the following passage from the Westminster Gazette on excessive muscular training:

Those who have gone through the severest training become in the end dull, listless, and stupid, subject to numerous diseases, and in many instances the ultimate victims of gluttony and drunkenness. Their unnatural vigor seldom lasts more than five years. It was especially remarked by the Greeks that no one who in boyhood won the prize at the Olympic games ever distinguished himself afterward. The three years immediately preceding seventeen are years of great mental development, and nature cannot at the same time endure any severe taxing of the physical constitution. Prudence, therefore, especially at this critical period of life, must ever go hand in hand with vigor, for the evils of excess outweigh by far the evils of deficiency.—Pp. 248, 249.

A very superior anæsthetic is said to have been found in the tetrachloride of carbon.

It has a pleasant odor, somewhat resembling that of the quince. We understand that anæsthesia is rapidly produced by it, (in some cases in the space of half a minute,) that the condition appears to be easily sustained with or without entire loss of consciousness, and that the effects pass off very quickly. There is not usually, we learn, any excitement or struggling before anæsthesia supervenes, and its use is not followed by the sickness which is sometimes so troublesome a feature from the administration of chloroform. A point of great interest in relation to the tetrachloride of carbon is the property which we are told it possesses of immediately allaying pain arising from any cause. In a large number of instances it has been successfully employed for the relief of headache. Dr. Smith has found it of great value in inducing quiet and refreshing sleep.—Pp. 258, 259.

Darwinism has, if we mistake not, received some very telling blows during the past year. It is, of course, a popular theory with lively magazine writers, as affording a large and novel field for fancy thought; but it is very palpably waning from the recognition of science, and must probably soon take rank with other development theories. Bischoff, a German anatomical writer, is quoted thus:

The assertion that the anthropoid apes are the direct ancestors of man, even if it were supported by any evidence, is contrary to the Darwinian theory rightly understood, for the extinction of the parent form is the direct consequence of the development of an improved form. The problem of organic nature is twofold. 1. The origin of the simplest original forms. 2. The causes and the mode of their operation, by which more perfect forms were developed. A great defect of Darwin's theory is, that he leaves the first question unanswered. Admitting that certain organisms must have been created, what right has he to say that other organisms may not have been created at intervals, even to the present time? Another defect of the Darwinian theory is, that no cause is assigned for the commencement of variation. To say that organisms have at once the power of transmitting peculiarities by inheritance and of spontaneously originating varieties is a contradiction in terms. Darwin's treatment of the second half of the second question is more successful. Natural selection and the struggle for life must henceforth be fundamental principles in any theory of development. Since no general cause is assigned either for the origin of life or for the commencement of variation, all

that can be considered as proved is, that certain forms have been produced by variation from certain other forms. The facts warrant no general deduction.—Page 262.

We have also the following on the differences between man and the ape:

As regards the brain, the gorilla's is the lowest of the anthropoid apes, since the brain does not cover the cerebellum, by which he approaches the cynocephalus. It is not in his size and strength that we must look for human characters, but in the conformation of the hands, and just in this he differs considerably from man. The thumb is very short in the gorilla, and its muscles much reduced. The long flexor is replaced by a tendinous tract, the origin of which is lost in the tendinous sheaths of the flexors of the other fingers. It follows that the thumb has no independent movement of opposition. In the orang, though the thumb is shortened, it is still capable of an independent flexion; but this depends on a peculiar disposition which he had lately verified with M. Alix. In point of fact the proper flexor of the thumb is entirely absent in the orang; there is not even found that tendinous tract existing in the gorilla; but, by a singular contrivance, the marginal fibers of the abductor muscle of the thumb terminate in a tendon which is placed in the axis of the first terminal axis. The fact which establishes a great relation between man and apes is, that in them the optic nerves open directly in the cerebral hemispheres, while in the other vertebrates these nerves reach the brain only by the intermediation of the tubercula quadrigemina. This peculiarity may explain the existence of a certain conformity in the manner in which man and ape perceive their sensations. But it does not follow that there is an identity in the nature of their intelligence; for though the senses are subservient to the operations of the intellect, it cannot be said that they produce it. Man must be placed by the side of the ape, but only as an animal. Man is a being apart, just as all other vertebrata must be separated, as they cannot be considered as having originated from each other.—Page 269.

As to the antiquity of man indicated by geology nothing new is offered, save some expressions of opinion from Crawford, Agassiz, and others in favor of an immense past duration of the race.

According to M. Le Hon, the first appearance of man on the earth was after the epoch of *Elephas meridionalis*. In Europe he believes that he first appeared after the diminution of the ice of the glacial period, and after the contemporaneous upheaval of that continent, migrating from Asia to the newly-raised countries.—Page 317.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Life, Letters, and Posthumous Works of Fredrika Bremer. Edited by her Sister, CHARLOTTE BREMER. Translated from the Swedish by FREDR. MILOW. The Poetry marked with an asterisk translated by EMILY NONNEN. 12mo., pp. 4[illegible]. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1868.

It is now nearly twenty-six years since Mary Howitt introduced to the English public, in her translation of "The Neighbors," the charming Swedish authoress, whose productions had already received the highest commendation both in her native land and in other parts of Europe. Until then but little was known in England, and less in America, of the literature of Sweden or the social life of her people. Such was the delight of the literary world with this volume that within the ensuing twenty months

Mrs. Howitt issued translations of some half a dozen other volumes, including all that Miss Bremer had published at that time. These works were immediately reprinted in this country, not only affording a new sensation to novel-readers by the freshness of their subjects and style, but presenting the beautiful family and social life of a people of simple, virtuous habits in a manner so refined and pure that the admiration of the intelligent and good was won for the authoress herself as one of the most gifted women of her time, and for the people whose every-day life she had described. Thus, chiefly through Swedish novels, have the American people become acquainted with Sweden, fulfilling Miss Bremer's own words, "The mission of the romance is to bring near each other far distant people and countries by a delineation of their inner life." In the same way, as if in payment of the debt, Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom" and other American novels have made familiar to Swedish readers American homes, scenery, and social condition.

The present volume contains a biography of one hundred pages by the pen of her sister, an autobiography of sixteen pages, and, extending to only her thirtieth year, letters occupying a hundred and fifty pages, the remaining one hundred and seventy pages containing sketches and poems, most of which are here published for the first time. We are both pleased and pained by the sketches of her life; pleased by the simple frankness with which the story is told, and pained by the developments which that frankness demands in order to unfold her true character and history. Her childhood's home was an unhappy one, partly from the peculiar kind of discipline exercised in the family, and partly from peculiarities in her nature which her parents failed to comprehend. Restless—burning with desires to know and enjoy, and yet secluded from the outer world and all knowledge of it as it really was—of a lively, active temperament, and yet shut out from all activity—conscious of a growing power, and yet without proper opportunities of using it—she was unfitted for the practical duties of life. Through suffering she learned sympathy with the suffering. That she might have money for the relief of the needy and afflicted, as well as find an outlet for the workings of her soul, she employed her pencil, and at length ventured on the private publication of her first volume. Its success led to a second, the praises of which induced the lifting of the vail concealing the authorship, and from that day she stood forth as one of the most talented of the writers of Sweden. Her path was then made clear before her; she would give her life to labor for the benefit of mankind. For this she refused repeated offers of marriage, not doubting that she would

make a good wife, but thinking that as a wife she would not make a good authoress. She was true to her purpose. By her fictitious writings she always sought to teach the highest and noblest lessons. In educational plans and labors, and in efforts for the elevation of the position of woman, giving effect to what she had learned in her visit to this country, she accomplished much; and, had she been an American, she would have been with Mrs. Dall and Gail Hamilton on "the woman question," though true to her orthodox, evangelic, religious faith.

The "Letters" in this volume lay open her inmost soul, and exhibit her simple, child-like spirit. Those written to her sister overflow with the tenderest love, while they show the full brilliancy of her intellect. But those to other friends have a deeper tone and a fuller thought, as well they may, for they were written in her nobler maturity; still the same spirit pervades them that gave the charm to the works which brought her her early and wide-spread fame.

On the 31st of December, 1865, she passed away at the age of sixty-four. She had not lived in vain. The volume before us will be hailed as a memento of her by all who have known her worth.

The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland. By SAMUEL SMILES, Author of "Self-Help," "Lives of the Engineers," etc. With an Appendix relating to the Huguenots in America. 12mo., pp. 445. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

This volume must be admitted to a place among the valuable contributions to our historical literature produced by the patient researches of recent times. The object of the author is to set forth the causes which led to the migration of French Protestants into England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and to trace its effects upon English industrial, religious, and political history. The period covered by the narrative has employed many acute minds and graceful pens, and the persecutions of the Huguenots have by others been most touchingly described; but the field traversed by Mr. Smiles is comparatively new and unexplored. His investigations have been carefully made, and are lucidly presented in the present volume. He writes in a clear, vigorous style, with an elegant pen, and in full sympathy with his subject.

When Gutenburg, in 1450, published the Bible, the first book printed with metal types, purely as a printer's speculation, he little thought how greatly he was contributing to change the course of the world's history. One of Gutenburg's Bibles, that Luther found at Erfurt, begot the Reformation. The Bible trans-

lated into French taught France the Gospel, made multitudes of her people, including men of rank, of learning, and of arms, "Gospellers," "Religionaries, or Those of The Religion"—Huguenots, as they came to be nicknamed, a term which, like others we wot of, has become a crown of glory—and created a great political power in the State. Rome's favorite mode of defending the faith, as illustrated by the most fearful persecutions and fiendish massacres, even against the authority of law and the faith of treaties, is described in this history with sufficient fullness to show the course of the events which compelled the flight of the Huguenots.

Across the Channel was an island inhabited by a pastoral people, industrious and energetic, but without the skill to even manufacture their own wool, that had afforded a refuge from tyranny to Flemish artisans, and thus laid the foundations of its future greatness. The religious persecutions of the sixteenth century sent over to England a huge wave of French and Flemish, though chiefly the latter, larger than had flowed from the continent since the Saxon invasion; and a century later a second, consisting almost wholly of French Huguenots, who carried with them their intelligence, their industry, their arts, their skill, and their religion. Louis XIV. had determined that France should be wholly Papist, and to accomplish his purpose he robbed his kingdom of nearly a million of its best and most industrious subjects; death and exile receiving about equal numbers. A hundred and twenty thousand are supposed to have gone to England, where a wise policy welcomed them with open arms. Among them were eminent scholars, learned divines, renowned warriors, and a few wealthy merchants, as well as thousands of men skilled in every branch of industry. They made their adopted home, thenceforth, the producer of what it had previously bought, and by so much they enriched it and added to its power. These emigrations, compelled by persecuting Rome, thus built up a great Protestant nation, the mother of another destined to be greater than herself—the two together to become the great missionary nations of the world. And what England gained France lost by her folly—a folly unequaled except by the projects of so-called statesmen two centuries later, who would expel from their native land four millions of its laborers, and for no better reason than the unpleasant color of their skin.

Mr. Smiles gives us some interesting personal sketches drawn with the hand of a master. He takes us to the Huguenot settlements in England and Ireland; he shows us stern warriors rallying

to the standard of William of Orange, and upholding the English throne; he points us to scores of French Churches planted by the emigrants; he exhibits to us names of their descendants renowned in science, theology, arts, and arms, and in the lists of the British peerage; and he amply demonstrates that the infusion of Huguenot blood was the beginning of a new career to the land of their adoption. Huguenotism has lost most of its distinctiveness by melting away into English life and itself becoming English, thus adding one more element to that strange commixture known as the British nation.

The concluding chapter, describing the effect upon France of the banishment of her Huguenots, is in the highest style of the historian, and possesses a profound interest. Few passages of any writer surpass it in comprehensiveness of thought or eloquence of expression. It portrays the disappearance of her great men; the destruction of civil and religious liberty; "emptiness," as Carlyle says, "of pocket, of stomach, of head, and of heart;" the ascendency of the Voltaires, the Rosseaus, and the Diderots; and finally, Sansculottism and the Reign of Terror, the Revolution of 1789 in terrible retribution for the Revocation of 1685.

The Appendix, by G. P. Disosway, Esq., presents many interesting facts in relation to the settlement of the Huguenots in our own country with which Americans should be better acquainted. It adds much to the value of the volume. The book is handsomely executed by the publishers, in beveled boards and morocco cloth, with firm paper, beautiful type, and ornamented back; indeed, in their very best style. D. A. W.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Bacon's Essays. With Annotations by RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., and Notes and a Glossarial Index, by FRANKLIN FISKE HEARD. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868.

BACON and Whately, side by side as text and commentary, strikingly present to us the difference between wisdom and shrewdness. The former presents us maxims striking from their profundity, lying deeper than common intellect can fathom; the latter develops truths startling from their unexpectedness, but rather lurking concealed by some popular prejudice than lying deeply in the nature of things. The former thinks as does the common-sense mind, but with a much further reach; the other thinks nearer the surface, but out of the ordinary line. The former

is original, the latter unique. The former discloses fundamental truths, the latter exposes conventional errors. The ability of Whately in his way is ample enough to exempt him from the charge of presumption in daring to annotate Bacon; at any rate, if we are to wait for a Bacon to illustrate a Bacon the Chancellor will long want a commentator. But we can say something better than this for Whately, and therefore for the present edition of the Essays. He excels in bringing out the solid ingots of Bacon into manifold applications to practical life and to the affairs of our modern age. The thinker, writer, or speaker will continually find suggestive thoughts coming across the questions of the present hour.

Some specimens of Whately's doctrines we may condense into the following propositions: Paganism is really Atheism. Skepticism is as persecuting as faith. Unreasonable disbelief is credulity. The priests do not make religions, but the people make both the made religions and the priests. He who believes all alike dishonest is likely to choose his confidants without discrimination, and so be betrayed. Sacred and pure things, from their very sacredness and purity, are very susceptible of ridicule from the ease with which they may be so placed in that sudden association with their opposites as to present the incongruity which produces laughter. Such ridicule is a real compliment to their genuine nature.

Turning from the commentary to the text, we may say that Bacon's mind was as truly intuitive as it was inductive. He had that faith in the good, the true, and the divine, which did not indeed wholly save him from sad aberrations, but, nevertheless, constituted the highest nobleness of his nature. While we find in Whately shrewd, subtle, and unique remarks on men and things, we seem to find in Bacon the intuitive disclosure of eternal truths, the occult axioms that lie at the base of morals and religion. There ought to be so extensive a class of minds in our country to welcome this work as to exhaust many large editions. The material and external style of the volume are so handsome as to do no dishonor to Bacon.

The solid, massy English of Bacon is happily illustrated in Whately's preface by placing it in contrast with the nebulous style of the pseudo-transcendental writers of the present hour. Extracts from this class of literary charlatans are given, admirable specimens of the transcendentally silly, the silliest of all being quoted from that notable fools' idol, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Miscellaneous.

A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures. Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with Special Reference to Ministers and Students. By JOHN PETER LANGE, D.D., in Connection with a number of Eminent European Divines. Translated from the German, and Edited, with Additions, by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., in Connection with American Scholars of various Evangelical Denominations. Vol. I. Genesis, or the First Book of Moses, together with a General Theological and Homiletical Introduction to the Old Testament. By John Peter Lange, D.D., Professor in Ordinary of Theology in the University of Bonn. Translated from the German, with Additions, by Professor TAYLER LEWIS, LL.D., Schenectady, New York, and A. GOSMAN, D.D., Lawrenceville, New Jersey. 8vo., pp. 6[illegible]. Vol. VI, of the New Testament. (First and Second Corinthians.) The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. By CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH KLING, Doctor of Theology, and Late Dean of Nearbach, on the Neckar. Translated from the Second Revised German Edition, with Additions, by DANIEL W. POOR, D.D., Pastor of the High-street Presbyterian Church, Newark, New Jersey. 8vo., pp. 3[illegible]. The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. By CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH KLING, Doctor of Theology, and Late Dean of Nearbach, on the Neckar. Translated from the Second Revised German Edition, with Additions, by CONWAY P. WING, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, Pa. 8vo., pp. 220. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868.

A Treatise on Meteorology. With a Collection of Meteorological Tables. By ELIAS LOOMIS, LL.D., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in Yale College, and Author of a "Course of Mathematics." 8vo., pp. 313. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

Harper's Phrase Book; or, Hand-book of Travel-talk for Travelers and Schools. Being a Guide to Conversations in English, French, German, and Italian, on a New and Improved Method. Intended to accompany "Harper's Hand-book for Travelers." By W. PEMBROKE FETRIDGE, author of "Harper's Hand-book." Assisted by Professors in Heidelberg University. With Precise and Easy Rules for the Pronunciation of the Different Languages. Square 12mo., pp. 309. New York: Harper & Brothers. Paris: Galignani & Co. London: Sampson Low & Son. 1868.

David the King of Israel: A Portrait drawn from Bible History and the Book of Psalms. By FRIEDRICH WILLIAM KRUMMACHER, D.D., author of "Elijah the Tishbite," etc. Translated, under the Express Sanction of the Author, by Rev. M. G. EASTON, M.A. 12mo., pp. 518. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

The Works of Charles Dickens. With Illustrations by George Cruikshank, John Leach, and H. R. Browne. Pickwick Papers, pp. 326. Barnaby Rudge, pp. 257. Sketches, by Boz, pp. 194. 1 vol. 12mo. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868.

American Edition of Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Revised and Edited by Professor H. B. HACKETT, D.D., with the Co-operation of EZRA ABBOTT, A.M., A.A.S., Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. Parts IX and X, pp. 112 each. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1868.

Sunday-School Organization; Including Statements of the Powers of Sunday-School Societies in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Duties of Sunday-School Officers and Teachers. By DANIEL WISE, D.D. 18mo., pp. 30. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1868.

"Is it Honest?" Eight Questions by Father Hecker, one of the Paulist Fathers of New York City, with Answers thereto. By H. MATTISON, D.D. Designed for all Good Catholics. 16mo., pp. 39. New York: N. Tibbals & Co. 1868.

Christian Adventures in South Africa. By Rev. WILLIAM TAYLOR, of the California Conference. Author of "California Life Illustrated," "Address to Young America," "Seven Years' Street Preaching in San Francisco," "Reconciliation," "How to Be Saved," "The Model Preacher," etc. 12mo., pp. 557. London: Jackson, Walford, & Hadden. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

Sabbath Chimes; or, Meditations in Verse for the Sundays of a Year. By W. Morley Punshon, M.A. 12mo., pp. 223. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1868.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Preceded by a History of the Religious Wars in the Reign of Charles IX. By Henry White. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 497. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

The Old World in its New Face. Impressions of Europe in 1867–1868. By Henry W. Bellows. Vol. I. 12mo., pp. 454. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Human Life in Shakspeare. By Henry Giles, Author of "Illustrations of Genius," etc. 16mo., pp. 286. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868.

The History of the Great Republic, considered from a Christian Stand-point. By Jesse T. Peck, D. D. With thirty-four fine steel portraits. 8vo., pp. 710. New York: Broughton & Wyman. 1868.

The Calm Hour. By L. M. M., Author of "The Fountain Sealed." 12mo., pp. 254. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 32 Paternoster Row.

Instant Glory; with a short Biographical Notice of the late Mrs. Winslow. By Octavius Winslow, D.D. 48mo., pp. 125. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867.

The Word of God Opened; its Inspiration, Canon, and Interpretation considered and illustrated. By Rev. Bradford K. Peirce. 16mo., pp. 223. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

The American Annual Cyclopædia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1867. Embracing Political, Civil, Military, and Social Affairs, Public Documents, Biography, Statistics, Commerce, Finance, Literature, Science, Agriculture, and Mechanical Industry. Vol. VII. 8vo., pp. 799. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868.

Six Lectures Delivered in Exeter Hall, from November, 1866, to February, 1867, at the request of the Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association. 12mo., pp. 186. London: James Nisbet & Co., and Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1867.

History of the Thirty-ninth Congress of the United States. By William H. Barnes, Author of "The Body Politic." With Portraits. 8vo., pp. 636. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

The Spanish Conquest in America, and its Relation to the History of Slavery and to the Government of the Colonies. By Arthur Helps. Vol. IV. 12mo., pp. 456. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

The Sunday-School Hand-book. A Companion for Pastors, Superintendents, Teachers, Senior Scholars, and Parents. By Erwin House, A. M. 16mo., pp. 320. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1868.

Holidays at Roselands. With some after Scenes in Elsie's Life; being a Sequel to Elsie Dinsmore. By Martha Farquharson, Author of "Mysie's Work," "Allan's Fault," "Elsie Dinsmore," etc., etc. 16mo., pp. 367. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1868.

New Poems. By Owen Meredith. Chronicles and Characters, Orval, and other Poems. In two vols. 16mo., pp. 507 and 518. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868.

Margaret. A Story of Life in a Prairie Home. By Lyndon. 12mo., pp. 360. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868.

Discussions in Theology. By Thomas H. Skinner, Professor in the Union Theological Seminary. 12mo., pp. 287. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph. 1868.

Salome. A Dramatic Poem. By J. C. Heywood. 16mo., pp. 223. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867.

Union League Club of New York. Its Memories of the Past. The President's Address at the Last Meeting in the Old Club-House of Union Square. Club-House, Madison Square. 1868.

The Sunday Law Unconstitutional and Unscriptural. An Argument presented in the Committee of the Whole in the Massachusetts Legislature. By Nathaniel C. Nash. Boston. 1868.

Three Little Spades. By the Author of "Dollars and Cents," "Mrs. Rutherford's Children," "Caspar," etc. 16mo., pp. 268. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868.

Ancient Cities and Empires. Their Prophetic Doom, read in the light of History and Modern Research. By E. H. GILLETT. 12mo., pp. 302. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee.

A Popular Treatise on Colds and Affections of the Air Passages and Lungs. By ROBERT HUNTER, M. D. New York: James Miller. 1867.

Reunion with the Methodist Episcopal Church Defended. By Revs. C. PRINDLE, L. LEE, and L. C. MATLACK. Syracuse: Masters & Lee. 1868.

Norwood; or, Village Life in New England. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. 12mo., pp. 549. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868.

Notice of the eighth volume of Lange's Commentary from Scribner & Co. postponed for want of room.

PLAN OF EPISCOPAL VISITATION—1868.

CONFERENCES.	PLACE.	TIME.	BISHOP.
EAST MAINE	Machias	June 11..	THOMSON.
COLORADO	Golden City	" 18..	SIMPSON.
GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND	Berlin	" 18..	.....
ERIE	Warren, Ohio	July 15..	KINGSLEY.
DELAWARE	Philadelphia, Zoar Church	" 23..	JANES.
OREGON	Salem	Aug. 13..	SCOTT.
DES MOINES	Council Bluffs	" 20..	SIMPSON.
CINCINNATI	Hamilton	" 20..	CLARK.
DETROIT	Ann Arbor	" 20..	AMES.
EAST GENESEE	Bath, N. Y.	" 20..	THOMSON.
IOWA	Burlington	Sept. 3..	JANES.
CENTRAL GERMAN	Evansville, Ind.	" 3..	KINGSLEY.
NEVADA	Carson City	" 3..	SCOTT.
UPPER IOWA	Anamosa	" 3..	SIMPSON.
MICHIGAN	Three Rivers	" 3..	AMES.
NORTH OHIO	Wooster	" 9..	THOMSON.
SOUTHEASTERN INDIANA	Franklin	" 10..	CLARK.
INDIANA	Bedford	" 10..	KINGSLEY.
ILLINOIS	Quincy	" 10..	JANES.
CALIFORNIA	San Francisco	" 10..	SCOTT.
CENTRAL OHIO	Lima	" 17..	THOMSON.
NORTHWEST GERMAN	Galena	" 17..	SIMPSON.
MINNESOTA	St. Anthony	" 17..	AMES.
CENTRAL ILLINOIS	Washington	" 24..	JANES.
WEST WISCONSIN	Mazomanie	" 24..	AMES.
ROCK RIVER	Kankakee	" 30..	SIMPSON.
NORTHWEST INDIANA	Plymouth	" 30..	THOMSON.
OHIO	London	" 30..	KINGSLEY.
TENNESSEE	M'Minnville	Oct. 1..	CLARK.
WISCONSIN	Racine	" 1..	AMES.
SOUTHWEST GERMAN	Pekin	" 1..	JANES.
HOLSTON	Chattanooga	" 8..	CLARK.
GENESEE	Buffalo	" 8..	KINGSLEY.
SOUTHERN ILLINOIS	Du Quoin	" 14..	JANES.
GEORGIA	Atlanta	" 15..	CLARK.
NORTH CAROLINA	Not given	Dec. 10..	Not given.
ALABAMA	Murphree's Valley	" 24..	Not given.
INDIA MISSION	.....	.....	.....
LIBERIA MISSION	.....	.....	.....

CORRECTION.—By a note from Dr. DEEMS, of this city, we are informed that we were mistaken in attributing to him the authorship of "Ecce Ecclesia" in our last Quarterly. We cheerfully make the correction.

Methodist Quarterly Review.

OCTOBER, 1868.

Art. I.—GREEK TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

The third period of the history of the printed Greek text of the New Testament is that of its proximate restoration to its original purity. Just principles of criticism are to be applied to the abundant materials accumulated by the industry and labors of a noble line of scholars, while some of the most valuable materials, and the true methods of reconstruction, are to be discovered as the period advances.

But a large part of the work already performed and properly belonging to the second period must first be done over again. Previous to the time of Wetstein, certain principles of observation and judgment had come to be accepted as laws of criticism. MSS., Versions, and Fathers had been examined, and the authority of each quite fairly estimated. That indefatigable scholar added very largely to the materials previously collected, and in this consists his great service to the cause of criticism. He, however, left them only partially examined, unarranged, and unclassified, "with a kind of idea of indefinite vastness thrown over the whole subject." Much labor was therefore necessary before his successors could make any progress. But what was worse, he had impeached the trustworthiness of an entire class of documents that his predecessors had held in high estimation; he had caused principles, previously deemed sound, to be suspected; he had brought confusion upon the whole subject of textual criticism.

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To bring order out of this chaos was now the first task, and it was not an easy one. Long and patient study alone could prepare the way for an intelligent advance. Not only the MSS. collected by Wetstein, but the entire body of critical materials must be examined, their true character and value ascertained, and their proper place in the classification of authorities assigned. The very principles of criticism must be re-investigated; the old canons must be recovered from the shock so rudely given them, or new and more correct ones be established. And, finally, out of these materials thus weighed and classified, the text must be steadily and consistently reconstructed in accordance with those canons. This task devolved on JOHN JAMES GRIESBACH, who, besides the eminent industry and scholarship which distinguished him, fortunately possessed the nice tact and delicate discrimination so peculiarly necessary in a work of this kind. Perhaps no other scholar of his time equalled him in the qualifications essential to a biblical critic.

Griesbach soon discovered the perniciousness of the theory that mere numbers should decide the value of a reading, as may be readily seen by a glance at the known history of MSS. Copies of the New Testament were sufficiently numerous in the beginning of the fourth century to make their destruction a special object with the persecuting civil authorities, and to cause favor to be shown to those apostates who surrendered them. Large numbers of copies thus perished, and this, combined with the operations of time, especially where papyrus was used instead of parchment, affords a sufficient explanation of the non-existence at this day of any MS. of the first three centuries. The Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, the oldest now remaining, were taken from older copies; but so long as their number diminished at the time of Constantine, that he ordered the preparation of fifty copies of the Scriptures for the use of the Church at Constantinople. The establishment of Christianity as the religion of the empire created a new demand for the sacred volume, both for the public services of religion and for private use. The wealthy would freely pay a large price for them. The Greek of the fourth century would naturally tend to displace the ruder Hellenistic forms, and a smoother and more polished style would be to a certain extent adopted in place of the Hebraic constructions, and rough

provincial expressions. Alike at Constantinople, Alexandria, and Rome, this tendency would prevail, and would continue its influence in the subsequent centuries. But in the West the Greek yielded to the Latin, and the multiplication of copies was chiefly in the latter tongue. Mohammedanism swept over Africa, and put a stop to the manufacture of Christian books in Alexandria, the Leipsic of the ancient world. Future Greek transcriptions must be looked for in the East, and any peculiar tendency existing there would be exhibited in them all so long as their multiplication continued. The mass of more recent copies may then be expected to bear a great resemblance, a family likeness. Suppose now that a thousand MSS. of the thirteenth century are placed by the side of ten of the fifth. It is easy to tell the numerical difference between them; but with our knowledge of the mode of their production, we cannot allow what Griesbach styles "the almost innumerable crowd of younger and common codices" to overbalance, by mere force of numbers, the precious few that have survived the perils through which they have passed.

A thorough study of the materials gathered could not long be continued without observing the tendency to a formation of groups of copies in which characteristic variations are propagated. Bengel had already detected it. Griesbach sought the explanation of it, naturally hoping to find in it the means of demolishing Wetstein's doctrine of numbers. He was thus led to his theory of *recensions*, which is important only as part of the history of the struggles through which the minds of scholars have passed in their endeavors to arrive at the correct text of Holy Scripture. He found three classes of MSS., which he denominated Western, Alexandrian, and Constantinopolitan. He supposed that the early copies, especially those prepared for private use, were gradually interpolated, and that thus, when they began to be referred to as authoritative writings, they were found to contain numerous variations; that at some period, certainly as early as the latter part of the second century, a revision was made with a design of restoring as nearly as possible the text to its original condition; and that both classes of MSS., unrevised and revised, continued to be copied, from the former of which proceeded the Western, and from the latter, the Alexandrian. The Constantinopolitan, so

called from its long use in the Greek Church, was more recent, and flowed from the other two. He frankly admitted, however, that no existing document contained a pure text of its own class, and that in many cases the classes ran into one another regardless of all lines of distinction; and before his death he practically gave up the division between the Alexandrian and Western, showing that no definable boundary line could be drawn.

In revising the text, Griesbach first ascertained by a separate collation the peculiar reading of each class or "recension," and then from a comparison of the three readings endeavored to obtain the true one. He relied on his recensions rather than on independent witnesses. His theory has been exploded, but it does not follow that the facts which he found, but erroneously explained, have no foundation, or that his work is to be rejected. "Astronomical observations by a Ptolemean," as Tregelles illustrates, "may be highly valued as good and useful by those who know the truth of the Copernican system. Facts in chemistry stand good, even though the first observers of those facts explained them on systems now obsolete and exploded. The facts to which Griesbach gave a prominence should thus be distinguished from the *theories* which he deduced from them." Chief among these facts is the value to be ascribed to the most ancient documents in opposition to Wetstein, who rejected as unworthy of consideration whatever accorded with them. The evidence adduced by him showed that the MSS. which had fallen into discredit as guilty of Latinizing, were such as accorded with the citations of Origen, made earlier than the MSS., and that therefore the charge against them must fall. He indeed so far relied upon the independent testimony of ancient patristical witnesses, that he even ventured to correct the text in cases where he could show no authority from any ancient MS. of the New Testament. An instance in point is found in the form of the Lord's Prayer in Luke xi, where he followed the express statements of Origen, confirmed by several of the ancient Versions, in the omission of several of its clauses; but the publication a few years later of the readings of the Codex Vaticanus verified his conclusions.

Griesbach's first edition was commenced at Halle, in 1771, and completed in 1777. He had devoted twenty-nine years

of his life to the studies necessary for its preparation. He had personally examined many MSS., some of which he collated, and he had also very carefully collected the citations of Origen; but his materials were chiefly selected from the accumulations of Wetstein. The twenty years that elapsed before the issue of a second edition doubled the amount of materials for the critic's use.

C. F. Matthæi, a professor at Moscow, having access to MSS. never before collated, undertook their examination, and, 1782–88, published in twelve volumes an edition based upon them, together with a Latin version, which he had found in Russia. He rejected with ridicule Griesbach's system of classification, and adopted none of his own. He poured contempt upon the citations of the Fathers, even going so far as to fancy that MSS. had been habitually and designedly altered to correspond with those citations. This was outstripping Wetstein. It would almost seem as if his judgment was influenced by an overweening partiality for his Russian copies, which, of course, fell into Griesbach's Constantinopolitan family. Others were engaged during this period in the same work. Alter collated a number of MSS. in the imperial library at Vienna. Birch, Adler, and Moldenhauer, three Danish professors, were employed for several years at the expense of the King of Denmark in making collations in Spain and Italy, among which was that of the Codex Vaticanus, the results of which were published. Labor of this kind was performed with greater care than previously; so much so, that the student was usually able to ascertain whether any given MS. was a witness for or against a particular reading. Not only were the new collations published, but some of the more important MSS. also, enabling every scholar to make his own collation at his leisure, a boon valuable in proportion to the freedom of the volume from errata, which in almost any case would probably be less than the mistakes of a collator. The Codex Laudianus (E), a Græco-Latin MS. of the seventh or eighth century, containing the Acts of the Apostles with the omission of a couple of chapters in the latter part, that came from Sardinia into the possession of Archbishop Laud, and was by him presented to the University of Oxford in 1636, had been published in 1715 under the supervision of Thomas Hearne; several

valuable fragments had also been published—the Coislin MS., (H) of Paul's epistles, of the sixth century—the Wolfenbüttel palimpsests, (P and Q,) containing portions of the Gospels, and belonging to the sixth and fifth centuries—and now, in 1786, Woide published the Codex Alexandrinus (A); in 1789 the Codex Borgianus (T), of the fifth century, containing fragments of the Gospels in Greek and Thebaic, appeared; in 1791 Matthæi published the Codex Boernerianus (G) of Paul's Epistles, a MS. of the ninth century, supposed to be the work of an Irish scribe, at St. Gall, in Switzerland, with an interlinear Latin version; in 1793 Kipling issued the Codex Bezæ (D) of the Gospels and Acts. While the second volume of Griesbach's second edition was in preparation, Dr. Barret issued a copperplate fac-simile of the Dublin palimpsest (Z) of St. Matthew's Gospel, a MS. of the sixth century, or rather, such parts of it as he was able to decipher. Besides these, only one other MS. was published previous to the commencement of Tischendorf's editions in 1841; in 1836 the Codex San Gallensis (Δ), a companion of G of the Epistles, and originally forming part of the same volume with it, was issued in a lithographed fac-simile.

Griesbach's second critical edition was therefore prepared under peculiar advantages. It was completed in 1806, though a manual edition published the previous year, and containing simply the text with a selection of the more important various readings, is to be relied on in those places where it differs from the other, as giving his mature judgment respecting the correct text. His theory of recensions was of less practical account than formerly, and greater weight was given to individual authority. The mode of his formation of the text was certainly not the best; indeed, Mr. Westcott thinks that "his chief error was that he altered the received text instead of constructing the text afresh." His plan granted to the received text a critical authority which it never possessed, and treated it as though it had, by its prior publication and long possession of the ground, acquired a sort of prescriptive right. The true method was yet to be found.

We need not pause to trace minutely the progress of the discussion on the theories of recensions that were from time to time proposed. The most important was that of Hug, a Ro-

man Catholic professor of Freiburg, which claimed three distinct revisions besides the unrevised MSS., thus making four families. Dr. J. M. A. Scholz, Roman Catholic professor of Bonn, a pupil of Hug, at first adopted a division of documents into five families, but afterward, finding it untenable, rejected it in favor of the two families as proposed by Bengel, and to which Griesbach had virtually assented before he died; but while they agreed in considering the Alexandrian the more valuable, he held that the true text was to be found in the Constantinopolitan. This is practically saying that the more recent MSS. are of greater value than the more ancient. Scholz felt the importance of tracing the origin of his favorite class to a period as near as possible to the times of the apostles, and therefore assumed that the text during the first three centuries had been preserved in a state of tolerable purity, and from certain approved and standard copies had, by a kind of Church authority, been transmitted to later times with a substantial uniformity. If this were indeed so, it would go far to substantiate his theory. The history of MSS., however, does not confirm it. There is no evidence that the text was preserved in such unusual purity at Constantinople during the first three centuries. No ancient MS. of the Constantinopolitan class exists, and no fragment of one. It is probable that after the ninth century there were several exemplars to which copies made at Constantinople and Mount Athos, then the great manufactories of MSS., were made to conform; and this will account for the general uniformity of the later copies. But that uniformity is chiefly in their common difference from the ancient copies, for they really differ very greatly among themselves. The ancient versions differ more from the Constantinopolitan than from the Alexandrian; and if the citations of the Fathers be appealed to, none earlier than the fifth century correspond with the Constantinopolitan family. The later Latin MSS. show a more perfect uniformity than do the later Greek; while it is a well known fact that the later Latin agree in readings which are very different from those of that version in the time of Jerome. It is also worthy of notice that the later versions follow the same course of modernization with the Greek and Latin, and agree with the more recent MSS. rather than with the ancient. It is plain, then, that the documents

of the last thousand years might be relied on as witnesses in the formation of the text prevalent in the ninth century, but are wholly insufficient for that of the fourth, or of the apostolic age. We are necessarily driven to the conclusion that for a reconstruction of the ancient text we must rely on the ancient witnesses, and reject those readings which not only fail to be supported by ancient evidence, but are contradicted by it.

Scholz nearly doubled the list of known MSS., having discovered in his extensive travels many which were before unknown, thus rendering a great service to the cause. The first volume of his edition was published at Leipsic in 1830, and the second in 1836. His theory led him to different conclusions in numerous cases from those arrived at by Griesbach; and to the preparation of a text not supplementary but antagonistic to his. Nevertheless, in spite of his theory, he frequently adopted the Alexandrian readings against the almost unanimous agreement of the whole Constantinopolitan family. Later in life he appears to have changed his views, and in 1847 expressed his intention to incorporate into the text, in another edition, if his life should be spared, most of the Alexandrian readings which he had formerly placed in the margin.* But death came too soon for that, though not soon enough to prevent his practically placing himself by the side of the other great New Testament editors of the century, and removing a stumbling-block to the confidence which students of the Holy Scriptures may place in the published results of their labors.

No edition of the New Testament has been more misunderstood than that of CHARLES LACHMANN. His aim was not to give the text as contained in the autographs of the sacred writers, but the text that was current in the fourth century. Having eliminated from the list of authorities the mass of recent MSS., he would, from this text as a basis, proceed with new investigations in quest of the original text. The first edition appeared in 1831, with the simple title, "Novum Testamentum Græce. Ex recensione Caroli Lachmann," but without a preface, and with no statement of the MSS. employed, or explanation of the principles upon which the revision had been made, except in a brief paragraph at the close of the volume, from which it was inferred that he was simply

* Alford's Greek Testament, fourth edition, vol. i, Prolegomena, page 73.

a follower of Scholz. For these misconceptions he had only himself to blame. Though careful study of his work might have shown the facts which should have been plainly stated, few had the leisure or inclination for so laborious a search. True, he had given the exposition in a German periodical, but English scholars could hardly be expected to travel so far to seek it, and German scholars did not comprehend it. A clear and full explanation of his object and plan would have led to an immediately higher appreciation of his work of five years, and perhaps have prevented the shameful contumely with which he was assailed, as well as the bitter contests which ensued. Such epithets as "Bentley's ape" were doubtless very convincing arguments against him, but utterly unfit for the case in hand.

When, however, Lachmann's real design began to be understood and appreciated, he was urged to undertake a new edition, giving both the Latin and Greek texts, with the authorities on which they rested. Thus encouraged, he applied himself to its preparation, issuing the first volume in 1842, and the second, which was delayed five years chiefly out of regard for his friend De Wette, in 1850. His Greek MSS., besides A B C D, were P Q T Z of the Gospels, E G of the Acts, and D H of the Epistles; the Latin was the only Version, and the Fathers, Origen and Irenæus of the Greek, and Cyprian, Hilary of Poictiers, and Lucifer, of the Latin. This was too narrow a range of authority. It sometimes reduced him to the necessity of following a single MS. only; but the obvious defense would be, that from a select few of the best witnesses he aimed to present, not the original text, but simply one that was certainly read in the fourth century, not attempting to correct even an unquestionable error. It is manifestly improper, therefore, in a collation of critical texts, or a collection of the various readings adopted by critical editors, as in the margin of many of the Greek Testaments in common use, to include Lachmann with such authorities as Griesbach, Scholz, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, as though, like them, he had claimed to have furnished a critical text exhibiting his deliberate judgment of the true and original reading. They are witnesses to different facts, judges of different questions.

While Lachmann indicated the source to which we must look for the evidence upon which alone a correct text can be formed—

namely, the most ancient documents—the additional honor belongs to him of having first employed a new method of framing it. Griesbach and Scholz had adopted the received text as a basis, departing from it only when convinced of its necessity. Lachmann rejected the received text altogether, and, as though it had never existed, prepared a new one. That it had been printed and reprinted for centuries gave it no authority when the inquiry was for the best attested reading. If it is to stand, it must be because of sufficient evidence; but it cannot be put on trial and received as a witness at the same time. He was right, therefore, when he proposed to accept no word which was not previously proved to be a part of the text which he sought. He did not mend the text, but constructed it afresh.

So Alford justly and strongly remarks, "His real service to the cause of sacred criticism has been the bold and uncompromising demolition of that unworthy and pedantic reverence for the received text which stood in the way of all chance of discovering the genuine word of God; and the clear indication of the *direction* which all future sound criticism must take, namely, a return to the evidence of the most ancient witnesses. For the firm hold which the latter principle has taken—for the comparative absence of blind fautorship of the received text, in spite of repeated efforts to shake the one and to re-establish the other—we have mainly to thank Lachmann."

The name of PROFESSOR TISCHENDORF is more widely known than that of any other living editor of the Greek New Testament, from his numerous editions, his extensive travels and labors, together with his discoveries, collations, and publications of MSS. More than thirty years of his life have been consecrated to these studies. His first edition was a small volume that appeared at Leipsic in 1841, but is now of no importance. His collations had not then been commenced; and he had yet to give a definite practical shape to his critical principles: it is not there that we must seek his text. Strictly speaking, Tischendorf has published but four critical editions, namely: those of 1841, 1849, 1859, and 1866, though the last is called his eighth, and is, as he says, "the eighteenth of all." It is in the second that we first find the text as he concluded it should be revised. But previous to its publication, or preparation even,

vast labors were to be performed. Soon after the issue of his first edition he was enabled, by the munificence of his Sovereign, Frederic Augustus of Saxony, to visit Paris for the purpose of examining its MS. treasures, one result of which was the publication of the Codex Ephræmi (C), perhaps the most valuable palimpsest known. Most of his time until the spring of 1844 was spent in the public libraries of France, England, the Netherlands, and Italy, in the collation or transcription of MSS., and the greater part of 1844 was passed in Malta, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Constantinople, whence he returned bringing with him many documents of value, the most precious of which, in his eyes, were a few loose parchment leaves found in the waste paper basket in the library of the convent of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai, from which the monks were wont to feed their oven fires. Previous to 1849 he personally transcribed a number of MSS., and collated almost every known MS. in uncial letters. He published a collection of MSS. and fragments, ten in number, in the first volume of a series entitled, "Monumenta Sacra Inedita," thus securing more full and correct materials for an accurate revision of the text than any of his predecessors had enjoyed.

The Prolegomena of the edition of 1849 fully described the immense labors of the editor in these transcriptions and collations, and explained his critical principles in the revision of the text. Like Lachmann, he constructed a text from the evidence before him instead of mending an already existing one. The evidence upon which he rested was found in the ancient MSS. from the fourth to the ninth century, not neglecting, however, the testimony of the Versions and Fathers, and of later MSS. where the ancient ones disagree or are evidently corrupted. The older the MS., other things being equal, the greater he held its authority to be. The rules by which he weighed authorities are about the same as others have adopted, while, like them, he found that no set of canons can cover all cases. The edition thus produced is undoubtedly the best that had then ever been issued.

After 1849 Tischendorf continued, as before, his investigations and publications of MSS., several of which, the Codex Claromontanus (D) especially, were made more correct by a comparison of his own collations with those of Dr. Tregelles,

and he also made a second journey to the East in search of additional documents. Ten years elapsed, during which period the number of those who devoted themselves to critical studies, particularly in England, greatly increased, and at the commencement of 1859 his third critical edition, commonly known as the "seventh," was completed. It is superior in many respects to the former one, presenting with great fullness, the witnesses for and against the text adopted, thus enabling the student to avail himself more perfectly of the means of a correct judgment, and is more uniform in the execution of its proposed plan. But without any change in his principles of criticism, he widely departed from them, chiefly by subjective speculations, which, by their arbitrary decisions, led him away from a reliance upon the evidence. The result is a return, in some instances, to the rejected readings of the received text; so much so, that Wordsworth and other defenders of it as against the ancient MSS., have claimed the edition as favoring the cause of the more recent documents. Great complaint is made of its inaccuracies, the little reliance that can be placed upon its citations of Versions and Fathers, and its careless or neglectful treatment of some of the most important Versions. Dean Alford, after some strictures which can hardly proceed from a rivalry in editorship, remarks, "It is not unjust to say, that I have been informed by a friend who has some knowledge of the original languages, that in the case of other Versions, where Tregelles and Tischendorf differ in their statement of the readings adopted and the impressions given by an ancient Version, the English editor is commonly right and the German editor commonly wrong." In proportion as the conviction of untrustworthiness because of these blemishes, precisely such as Tischendorf complains of in Scholz, obtains, his work will fail of supplying the pressing want of the day.

Immediately after finishing this edition Tischendorf set out on a third journey to the East, intending to make Arabia and Egypt the sphere of his search, but especially in pursuit of a MS. which he had seen in 1844, the fragments of which he had taken from the basket, and afterward published under the title of "Codex Frederico Augustanus," in honor of his royal patron. It proved to belong to the fourth century. No

money at his command could purchase it from the monks who, from his eagerness to possess it, had so suddenly inferred its importance; and then to prevent its further mutilation, he frankly told them of its value. The hope of obtaining the MS., or at least of transcribing it, prompted a second journey in 1853. But on arriving at the convent of St. Catherine, to his great disappointment the document could not be found, nor could he obtain any information of its fate. Returning to Europe he announced to the world his discovery of the MS., which in his opinion had found its way into Europe by another hand, or was somewhere carefully concealed. In contemplating a third journey, he received a commission from the Emperor of Russia to visit again the scene of his former explorations for the purpose of examining and purchasing ancient Greek and Oriental MSS., particularly such as would advance the cause of biblical and ecclesiastical science. On the 31st day of January, 1859, he was once more at the convent on Mt. Sinai. For four days with open eyes and ears he mingled with the monks, and then in despair despatched a servant to bring the camels for his return to Cairo. But later in the day, in a walk with the sub-Prior of the convent, he turned the conversation to the Septuagint, copies of his own edition of which, as well as of his Greek New Testament, he had brought with him as presents to the brethren. On returning from their walk the sub-Prior told him that he had a copy of the Seventy, and immediately brought it from a corner of the very room where they then were, wrapped in a red cloth, and laid it on the table. On opening it, Tischendorf saw the identical document of which he had come in search. Turning over its leaves he found that it contained a considerable portion of the Old Testament, and the whole of the New, together with the Epistle of Barnabas, of which it is the only known entire Greek copy, and a portion of the Shepherd of Hermes. This was beyond his dreams; "*quod ultra omnem spem erat*," he says. With the sub-Prior's permission he bore his prize to his cell, and there with a thrilling joy "praised and gave God thanks for bestowing so great a favor upon the Church, upon literature, and upon himself." He could not sleep, and spent the night in copying the Epistle of Barnabas. In the morning he obtained the promise of the Superior to

allow the MS. to be sent to Cairo, that he might transcribe it there, provided permission should be first received of Agathangelus, their ecclesiastical chief in Egypt. According to his arrangements already made he left the convent on the 7th of February, secured the required license, and, on the twenty-fifth of the same month, sat down with two friends to the work of transcription. Two months of labor were devoted to the task. But a MS. of such value, as old as, and probably older than, the oldest previously known, and certainly more complete than any other uncial, should be within reach of the scholars of Europe rather than in a dormitory on Mt. Sinai, where it might at any hour be given to the monks' oven. Its transfer to the Emperor of Russia, the acknowledged head of the Greek Church, was a fortunate thought, and a piece of masterly literary strategy. The various and perplexing negotiations that followed were successful, and Tischendorf was allowed to carry the Codex with him to St. Petersburgh for publication, with the understanding that it should be in the custody of the Emperor until the sanction of the Archbishop should make it his property.

The story of the publication of this MS., now known as the Codex Sinaiticus, is equally interesting with that of its discovery and transportation to Europe. Under the supervision of Tischendorf a fac-simile edition of three hundred copies was printed in 1862 by the direction of the Emperor, who reserved two hundred for presentation to the great libraries, and generously gave the remaining hundred to the editor for his own use; and some fifteen months later Tischendorf issued in the common Greek type an edition of the New Testament portion of the MS., with Prolegomena and a critical commentary superior, it is thought, to those of the parent work. This invaluable help to the restoration of the text is therefore within the reach of every scholar, and in case of any question of its accuracy, a fac-simile copy is comparatively easy of access, even in our own country.

In undertaking a new edition of the New Testament after the publication of this MS., Tischendorf was able to avail himself of the new and more correct published editions of several of the great MSS. The former editions had been of incalculable service, but they were found by repeated collations to

be so inaccurate that for purposes of exact criticism they were unworthy of confidence. Cowper's edition of the Codex Alexandrinus (A), Scrivener's of the Codices Bezæ (D), Laudianus (E), Augiensis (F), and Boernerianus (G), Tregelles's Codex Zacynthius (Ξ), and Hansel's Four Texts of the Gospels (ABCD), together with the fifteen volumes of MSS. published by Tischendorf himself, exhibit in part the advance that the last few years have witnessed. But a satisfactory edition of the Codex Vaticanus (B) was yet wanting, and Tischendorf resolved to secure it. The three collations that had been made of it greatly varied, the two published ones differing in nearly two thousand places. Tischendorf in 1843 had not been allowed to collate it, and was grateful for the privilege of "twice, for three hours at a time," examining it; Tregelles, who in 1846 went to Rome for the express purpose of making a collation, could not obtain permission to even examine the places in which preceding collations differed, but saw it repeatedly, and brought away a few valuable readings in his memory. The edition undertaken by Cardinal Angelo Mai, though fully printed in 1838, was not published till 1858, and was then first suspected and afterward proved to be so incorrect that it only disappointed the whole Christian world. This indefiniteness of knowledge respecting a MS. that had for four centuries existed in the heart of Christendom, the oldest known until the discovery of the Sinai Bible, and venerated as a chief authority for the ancient text, was an outrage on European scholarship that could have been perpetrated only by the jealousy of Papal Rome. In 1866, Tischendorf, presuming upon a letter from Pio Nono, in acknowledgment of a copy of the Sinai Bible received from the Emperor Alexander II., and fortified by French and Austrian diplomatic support, visited Rome, and boldly requested permission to prepare and publish, at his own expense, a fac-simile edition of the Codex. "But the Codex has already been published by Cardinal Mai," replied the Pope. "Yes," said Tischendorf, "and the New Testament has been twice published, but these editions are only for common use; I, on the contrary, wish to publish an exact palæographic copy, so as to show that Mai has in the main given the text accurately, which is now not every-where believed." "But that must be believed, at any

rate," said the successor of the willful fisherman of Galilee; "it is a matter of faith." "Yes," replied the equally stubborn Protestant, "but still it is not believed. On the other hand, it must be believed if I give the text with palæographical accuracy; then there can be no longer room for doubt." "But we can do that ourselves," answered the Pope. His Holiness was fairly made "ashamed," as he confessed to Antonelli, and resolved upon the execution of a fac-simile, for which the types prepared for the Sinaiticus have been forwarded to Rome at the request of the Propaganda. Tischendorf was permitted to study the Vaticanus six hours daily, until he had so far attained the results he sought that he was enabled to issue in 1867 an authentic edition of it from the Leipsic press. In the preparation of his New Testament of 1866, he therefore possessed for the first time the aid of the two oldest MSS. known.

From these interesting recitals we must turn our attention to the labors of other scholars. The editions of Knapp, Vater, Hahn, Meyer, and others, valuable enough in their place, may be passed over as having but little bearing on the history of the text. Though less known than Tischendorf, DR. SAMUEL PRIDEAUX TREGELLES, of Plymouth, England, is approaching the completion of an edition of the New Testament upon which more than thirty years of toil have been expended, and which, if we mistake not, will surpass in excellence any hitherto published. His study of the editions of Griesbach and Scholz early convinced him that the true mode of reaching a correct text was by resting every word on ancient authority. In 1838 he prepared a specimen from Colossians ii, 2. "I took the common Greek text," he says, "and struck the words out in all places in which the ancient MSS. varied *at all;* I then assumed the uncancelled words as genuine and indisputable; and as to the gaps thus made in the text, I filled them in (unless preponderating authority required an omission) as I judged the ancient evidence to demand." Unaware of Lachmann's plan, he had independently and through a different path reached the same result, supposing that he stood alone in wholly casting aside the "received text" and in an absolute reliance on ancient authority. In June, 1844, he published a text of the Revelation formed on

these principles, with an English translation, and at the same time gave a statement of the critical principles on which he had acted, and announced his intention of an edition of the entire New Testament. A second edition of the Revelation was issued in 1848, in which it was said, as no previous editor could say, that every word rests on the MS. authority of at least twelve hundred years old, and nearly all on evidence fourteen hundred years old.

He at first accepted the readings furnished by preceding editors, but soon found it necessary to collate again the uncial MSS. for the correction of their numerous errors. To this work he applied himself, first collating a MS., then comparing his collation with any others that he could obtain, and finally re-examining the MS. in every passage where the least discrepancy was found. This course was calculated to produce the accuracy which is conceded to him, and the "absolute certainty as to the readings of the MSS." which he claims. He has been able to often correct the collations of Tischendorf, and in several instances his habit of tracing in fac-simile an entire page of every MS. which he collates, has settled disputes in which the persistent German would not surrender. These labors were diligently prosecuted for several years in the various libraries of Europe. Brought into intimate association with Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, enthusiasm in a common study, as well as the courtesy of Christian gentlemen, forbade a jealous rivalry, and led to a generous co-operation, notwithstanding some irreconcilable differences in opinion. It was thus that he aided in securing a correct publication of the Codex Claromontanus, as well as other important MSS. He has collated every known uncial MS. or its printed text, besides a few cursives, and has also examined and made a fac-simile page of nearly all that have been published; and while his accuracy in these labors is unsurpassed, he has undoubtedly extended them further than any other living scholar. In the publication of MSS. he has done but little, being satisfied with giving his valuable assistance in that department to others whenever in his power, and perhaps compelled by impaired eye-sight to withhold himself from it for the purpose of a more steady devotion to the collations which he deemed so essential. Yet it should not be forgotten

that we are indebted to his skill and patience for the restoration by chemical agents and the deciphering of all the recoverable readings of the Dublin palimpsest (Z) of St. Matthew's Gospel of the sixth century, thus completing and correcting the labors of Dr. Barrett, of half a century earlier.

Dr. Tregelles gave a full statement of his studies and critical principles in his volume on the "Printed Text" in 1854, and again in his edition of Horne's Introduction in 1856. His countrymen were therefore prepared to receive the first part of his Greek Testament, containing St. Matthew and St. Mark, which appeared in 1857. The second part, completing the Gospels, appeared in 1861; the third, comprising the Acts and Catholic Epistles, in 1865; and the fourth, containing the Pauline Epistles from Romans to Thessalonians inclusive, is intended to be issued during the present autumn. The last part will include Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Revelation, with the necessary addenda. Accompanying it is the Latin Codex Amiatinus, of the first part of the sixth century, the oldest and best known copy of the Latin version of Jerome, from his own collation. Tregelles's plan is, (1.) To give the text of the New Testament on the authority of the ancient witnesses, MSS., and Versions, with the aid of the earlier citations, so as to present, as far as possible, the text best attested in the earlier centuries. (2.) To follow certain proofs when obtainable, which carry us as near as possible to the Apostolic age. (3.) So to give the various readings, as to make it clear what is the evidence on both sides; and always to give the whole of the testimony of the ancient MSS. (and of some which are later in date but old in text) and of the Versions as far as the seventh century, and the citations down to Eusebius inclusive.

Griesbach had intimated the approach of the period when the mass of critical aids would advantageously be diminished rather than increased, and later editions have realized its necessity. Tregelles has drawn the definitive line that forbids the acceptance of any reading as ancient except it be found in some ancient document, that is, one belonging to a period anterior to the eighth century, or, if written later, demonstrated by "Comparative Criticism" to contain an ancient text. Such are 1, 33, and 69, three cursives of the tenth, eleventh, and

fourteenth centuries respectively, whose texts, copied from some ancient exemplar now lost, are far more important than those of most of the later uncials. In this narrowing down of the number of the authorities we see a greater probability of arriving at the text of the early Church. It is true, as Dr. Strong has suggested,* that "it is by no means certain that our present oldest copies contain all the oldest readings; later MSS. may have come through purer channels, and be really better authorities," though it does not follow that they may belong to the so-called Constantinopolitan family—indeed, it is pretty certain that they will not. The questions of Alexandrian and Constantinopolitan families, however, Dr. Tregelles ignores, for he is unable to make a practical and satisfactory division of texts except into ancient and modern; and all of these "later MSS." that have come through pure channels are sure to be detected by the tests of Comparative Criticism. What better MSS. of either class may yet be brought to light no man can tell; one can never argue about what he knows, and can know, nothing. And it is certain that in some instances our oldest copies do *not* contain the oldest readings. The versions and citations of the Fathers often demonstrate a still older one.

The versions examined and used by Tregelles are four of the Latin and an equal number of the Syriac, together with collations prepared by other hands, of the Memphitic, Thebaic, Gothic, Armenian, and Ethiopic. The citations from the Fathers are made with the greatest care, all being examined and re-examined by himself.

The result is an edition which, so far as it has progressed, challenges acceptance because of its scrupulous fidelity and thorough accuracy, giving the student what none of its predecessors have afforded, an assurance of the ground on which he stands. If the oldest documents agree in an undoubted error, Tregelles does not, like Lachmann, adopt it: he states it, and gives the grounds for preferring another reading; and in all cases of doubt, he states distinctly the reasons for his conclusion. The text thus rests upon evidence, and the evidence is fully stated. The orthography, the ν ἐφελκυστικόν, the ancient forms of λαμβάνω and its derivatives, as in λήμψεται, etc., and

* See Methodist Quarterly Review for October, 1853, page 565.

other peculiarities of the approved readings are adopted in the text, for the simple reason that the evidence demands it.

Dean Alford's Greek Testament, in four volumes, has meanwhile made its appearance, and in 1865 it passed to a fifth edition. As the commentary is its most important feature, it could hardly merit a place in the history of the text were it not for the radical change in the critical principles adopted in the fourth edition, issued in 1859. Alford's previous texts had been based on a combination of both ancient and modern documents; but the practical difficulties in the way of a reliable result gradually led him to a recognition of the supreme authority of the ancient MSS. and Versions. He also found the subjective criticism which he had previously so freely used—that, for instance, which leads one critic to adopt a given reading because it accords with the style of the writer, and another to reject it because it varies from his style—to be unsafe. His present text is therefore fairly placed upon the foundation of the ancient authorities, and the mass of cursive MSS. is swept from the digest as uncertain and questionable evidence. It is certainly significant that both Scholz and Alford have been led by more thorough investigation and the fullest experience to renounce the views of a life-time, and to adopt and act upon those which they had opposed. It indicates the utter hopelessness of finding the original text except in the direction pointed out by Lachmann.

Alford loudly complains of Tischendorf for his failures in the application of his principles, and again Tregelles for his fidelity to them; and then, adopting the same principles, he takes a position midway between them, claiming that there are cases in which subjective considerations, which he confesses are untrustworthy, demand the rejection of readings in favor of which the evidence preponderates, and the insertion of readings based in reality on conjecture. The door therefore which he closes he opens again; and, if the text ought to rest on evidence, in so far as he departs from it the results attained are unreliable.

It is not to be supposed that there is any substantial difference in the texts of Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Alford; and yet it is just such differences as do exist that have implied men for two centuries to these critical studies. The agreement of the three against the received text exhibits the re-

markable progress that has been made since Griesbach commenced his labors. We rejoice in what has been done; but we also feel that the great desideratum of the present hour is a complete edition of the New Testament in which a scrupulous accuracy in collation and transcription, a just weighing of authorities, a firm adherence to the principles adopted, an unwavering fidelity to the ancient evidence, and the exercise of a correct judgment shall have combined to form the text. If in such a text there be any cases of doubt or suspected errors, let them stand confessedly as such until competent evidence shall substitute the true reading. These characteristics eminently belong to those parts of Tregelles's edition already issued; and when completed it will undoubtedly be accepted as the nearest approximation extant to the original text, as inspired by the Holy Ghost. The spirit in which he has prosecuted his work is, as was Bengel's, full of a profound reverence for the word of God. A pure, Christian humility and devout prayer for heavenly guidance have attended every step; and probably no sacred critic has ever more devotedly laid the results of his studies at the foot of the cross.

But much yet remains to be done before the best possible text will be attained. Little further assistance can be expected from the nearly two thousand MSS. now known, and in this department the chief reliance for additional criticism must be on such as may be hereafter brought to light. The importance of the Versions and Fathers is now fully understood, and each of them must also pass through the same process of collation and revision to which the Greek MSS. have been subjected. Considerable attention has already been given to this work, and it will be diligently prosecuted until these aids to criticism shall have been restored, as far as possible, to their original forms. The result of such a vast expenditure of time and toil will be worth the cost, even if it do no more than give certainty to what is now in doubt, though it be in but the minutest particulars of the sacred word.

The reader will ask for the results already attained. The reply is ready. Instead of a text but slightly changed from that of Erasmus—who, as Griesbach said, "formed his text *as best he could* out of a very few quite late MSS., in the absence of all critical helps, beyond the interpolated Vulgate and a few

inaccurately edited works of the Fathers," and therefore full of uncertainty—we have a text formed from the oldest MSS., with the aid of the earliest Versions and Fathers, and so far perfected that there remain less than two thousand places, including the questions of the order of the words, inflection, orthography, etc., in which there is any doubt whatever as to the correct reading; and of these, as will be justly inferred, few affect the sense, fewer still are of doctrinal importance, and all together do not affect a doctrine hitherto held by the Christian Church. It is moreover clearly shown that the received text, though substantially correct, needs considerable amendment; and, on the other hand, that our authorized version, while needing a revision at the hands of competent scholars, which it is not likely soon to receive, is so generally correct that the skeptic may be challenged to point out in it any material error, and the illiterate reader may confidently and safely rest upon its teachings his hopes for time and eternity.

As Tregelles has well said, "No one need fear the results of sound criticism. God, who caused his Scripture to be written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, has so providentially watched over its transmission, that he has preserved to us certain historical evidence for forming a judgment as to what the Apostles actually wrote; and having this evidence thus placed before us in the providential care of God, we need no more fear the results of this kind of testimony as bearing on the text of Scripture, than we do the results of that which relates to the transmission of the books themselves."

The divinely-instituted Supper was allowed in its transmission through human hands to suffer abuse, but providential watchfulness preserved the means for its restoration to its original simplicity and purity: so the divinely-given word, that in the hands of men became corrupted, is through God's care of the requisite means restored almost to the very orthography of the original autographs. Inspiration and transmission are therefore not antagonists. We trust that the day is not remote when the pure word of God will be in the hands of all readers of Holy Scripture; but it behooves every teacher of that word to be so familiar with its corrected text that he will not, on the one hand, build upon what criticism has rejected, and on the other, may use to edification what it has supplied.

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Art. II.—ROMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES.*

[Second Article.]

The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory. Baltimore. 1855.
Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac for 1858. New York.
Sadlier's Catholic Directory, Almanac, and Ordo for 1867 *and* 1868. New York.
The American Ecclesiastical Almanac, by Prof. Alexander J. Schem. New York. 1868.
The American Cyclopedia. Articles: Roman Catholic Church in Annuals for 1861 and 1867, inclusive.
Brownson's Quarterly Review from 1844 to 1864, inclusive.
The Catholic World; a Monthly Magazine of General Literature and Science; from 1865 to 1868, inclusive.
Census of the United States from 1790 *to* 1860, inclusive.

We come now to the most difficult part of our undertaking—to ascertain the exact status of Roman Catholicism in the United States at the present time. For although we have been a vigilant observer of its progress for years, and have gathered almost every thing available that would be likely to throw any light upon the problem, it still remains a most difficult one to solve with any satisfactory degree of accuracy. For, in order to ascertain either its present status or relative strength as compared with Protestant Churches, or its rate of progress for years past, we need reliable statistical data, not only for the last year, but for many previous years. But just here we are met with the difficulty that no such data exist. There are several Catholic Almanacs, as enumerated above, costing a dollar each, and quite full and complete in certain directions, but not one from which can be ascertained the number of communicants, priests, colleges, periodicals, Churches, monasteries, convents, and schools in the Roman Catholic Church in this country. All of them give some of these statistics, but none of them are full and complete. We can therefore fully indorse the remark of Father Hecker, that "the number of the faithful is not easy to determine accurately," though we cannot agree with him in the manner in which he accounts for the fact, namely: that "a false delicacy prevents the Americans from including the statistics of religious belief in their census

* Seven pages on the status of Romanism in Canada, South America, and Mexico were canceled by the author after being set up, to make room for a more extended examination of its status in the United States.

tables."* Americans expect all denominations of Christians, who are willing the public should know their actual numbers, to publish their religious statistics, and this all Protestant Churches do.

But in the absence of full and accurate statistics we must use such as we have, and make up for deficiencies from such other sources as may afford the necessary information.

In the first place there are, in all our large cities especially, certain evidences of strength and progress that impress the most indifferent observer. The numerous and costly churches and colleges, seminaries, monasteries, and convents, that are crowning the best localities; the hundreds of parochial and other schools; the increase of priests and nuns and "sisters" seen in our streets; the numbers that attend the churches; the frequent and immense processions; and the influence the Romanists exert upon Common Councils and State Legislatures, in obtaining almost any thing they desire, are all indicative of numbers and strength, and of either intense devotion to the system on the part of the people, or oppression and extortion on the part of the priesthood. To all this we should add the bold and defiant tone assumed of late, and the frequent boasts of some of their chief men, that they are soon to have the control of the government itself, and to shape its laws and administer its affairs in the interests of the Church. One or two samples may not be out of place.

When the Protestant ministers of New York complained in June last of an immense German Catholic procession on the Sabbath, with regiments of soldiers, and bands playing, which prevented people from getting to church, and broke up several Protestant congregations, the *New York Tablet* said:

> It does not become our Presbyterian fellow-citizens to assume any airs of superiority, to call our peaceable and orderly processions outrages, and say "it is high time they are resisted." The streets of the city are ours as much as they are theirs, and we have as much right to march in procession through them with music and baton as they have. They have their processions when they please, and nobody talks of preventing it.

The plain import of such language is, We shall do as we please, law or no law, and whether you like it, or can have

* *Catholic World*, April, 1865.

any worship in your churches or not. The same sentiment is reiterated in the following passage:

But it is said the procession was on Sunday, and broke the Sabbath. Now as Sunday is not, and never was, the Sabbath day, we cannot see how a Sunday procession can break the Sabbath. The Sabbath is Saturday, the seventh, and Sunday is the first day of the week. Sunday is the Lord's day, and the Church makes it a holiday in honor of our Lord, who on that day rose from the dead, and she prescribes to all Christians the manner of keeping it; and a religious procession on that day, such as our friends had a few Sundays since, violates no rule that she has ever laid down for the observance of her children. If Protestants choose to be Sabbatarians, and keep Sunday as the Jewish Sabbath, for which they have no authority, Jewish, Christian, or Pagan, that is their affair; only we protest against their imposing their manner of keeping it on us. They may keep it as the Jewish Sabbath if they please, but we claim the liberty of keeping it as a Christian holiday, within the rules prescribed by the Church.

If this is not adding insult to injury we should like to know what would be. In reply to the complaint about blocking up the streets, the *Tablet* further says:

The procession filled up the streets and inconvenienced those who were on their way to meeting! But this only proves that the Catholic Germans are a numerous body, in some respects a formidable body, and it will be wise not to attempt to abridge any of their rights as citizens or Christians. We must all put up with inconveniences in this world, and if our Protestant countrymen find no greater inconvenience than occasionally a crowded sidewalk and splendid bands of music playing in honor of religion, they need not make any very loud complaint.

Seriously, the clamor of the sectarian press and the protests of the ministers and sectarian Sunday-school teachers, are very foolish. Catholics are increasing rapidly in the United States, and it is to be expected that they will introduce and observe Catholic usages, and these, all the world knows, differ from those of Puritans. With Catholics religion is joy, and worship is a perpetual feast; Catholics rejoice in God, and praise him with the whole heart and soul. You can never make them accept the Puritanic gloom, put on the Puritanic long face, and whip the beer-barrel if it works on Sunday.

Here we have an open avowal that, despite the law of the land and the rights of Protestant Churches, the Romanists intend to make a "*holiday*" of the Holy Sabbath, and disturb us as much as they please; and that the best thing we can do is to hold our peace and get used to it. "The Catholics are

increasing rapidly, and it is to be expected that they will introduce Catholic usages," etc. And as to the German Catholics, "They are a numerous and formidable body," and we had better not attempt to resist them! And such was the tone of the Papal press upon the subject throughout the country.

Upon the other point,—the future ascendency and course of Romanists in this country,—Father Hecker said, in a public lecture delivered in the Cooper Institute a few months since, that in the year 1900, if not before, the Roman Catholics would have the political majority in the United States, and that it would then be their duty to take the control of the government, and administer its affairs in the interests of the Church. "And," said he, "it shall be the mission of my life to educate the Catholics of America up to this idea."

Such declarations openly made, from rostrum and press, indicate either a consciousness of strength and rapid growth, or a purpose to deceive; to inspire courage on the one hand and fear on the other by their bold and defiant utterances.

But as our object is not to make out a case, or prove a point previously assumed, but to ascertain facts as they are, the claims of the Roman Catholics themselves, as to their strength and numbers, should first be fairly and fully stated. For the more intelligent presentation of the subject we will arrange the different elements of ecclesiastical power under appropriate captions:

I. The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in this Country.

According to Sadlier's Catholic Directory for 1868, the territory of the United States is divided into seven Provinces, which are presided over by as many Archbishops. The names of the seven Provinces, with their several Archbishops, are as follows:

Baltimore, Spalding,	Oregon, Blanchet,
Cincinnati, Purcell,	St. Louis, Kenrick,
New Orleans, Odin,	San Francisco, Alemany.
New York, M'Closkey,	

Each of these Provinces contains several Dioceses, with a Bishop at its head, and several of them have Vicarates, (which

seem to be classed as Episcopal Sees,) with Vicars Apostolic at their head. Thus the Province of Baltimore contains eight Dioceses and one Vicarate; Cincinnati has eight Dioceses, and New York nine. New Orleans contains six, and St. Louis eight, and two Vicarates; and San Francisco has two Episcopal Sees and one Vicarate. Each Archbishop is also the Bishop of the See in which he resides.

These Provinces respectively cover a large extent of territory. Take that of New York, for instance; it embraces the Episcopal Sees of New York, Albany, Boston, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Burlington, Hartford, Newark, and Portland; or, in other words, the whole of New York and New Jersey, and all of New England. Over all this territory Archbishop M'Closkey presides, deriving his authority direct from the Pope.

In addition to the Sees previously existing, and in response to the petition of the Second Plenary Council, held in Baltimore October 7, 1866, the Pope has created nine new Episcopal Sees, which are now in process of organization, namely: those of Columbus, Ohio; Rochester, N. Y.; Wilmington, Del.; Scranton, Pa.; Harrisburgh, Pa.; Green Bay, Wis.; La Crosse, Wis.; St. Joseph, Mo.; and Grass Valley, Cal. To these were added the Vicarates Apostolic of North Carolina, Idaho, Colorado, and Montana. The entire ecclesiastical hierarchy in the United States now consists of seven Archbishops, fifty-three Bishops, and seven Vicars Apostolic. Of these higher orders the number and titles are certainly quite formidable and imposing; and of the perfection of their organization and discipline, and their purpose to work the machinery to its utmost capacity, there can be no doubt. A new inspiration of zeal and courage seems to have fallen upon them, and if they do not subjugate the whole country to their control it will not be their fault.

II. Number and Character of their Priesthood.

Numerically their priesthood is in nowise alarming. With only 3,248 priests in all the land against about 25,000 Protestant ministers, one can see no reason why the Pope should ever rule this country. Why should not the 6,689 effective ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church (more than two to one) be able, with their successors, to hold this land for Christ in

spite of the Pope and Romish Archbishops, and Bishops and priests, till Christ appears to raise the dead? If faithful to God they *can* do it, and with their colaborers of other names we trust *will* do it against earth and hell.

But besides the 3,248 priests now in the field, there are 913 clerical students in their ecclesiastical schools, who will be entering the priesthood during the next four years. A lack of priests, and especially of American born priests, has been a sore embarrassment to American Romanism for years; but they are beginning now to get over this difficulty; and the prospect is, that their priesthood will increase hereafter much faster than it has hitherto done, and that they will be more American and far more efficient than the imported priests with which most of their Churches have hitherto been manned.

As to the culture and ability of their priests, they are both greatly overrated by Protestants generally. They have generally a kind of classical education, but it is usually very defective. They are well drilled in Papal Church history and other lore; can tell you all about the saints, and their wonderful miracles; but in science and general literature they have but little knowledge. Once in the parishes, with little or no preaching to do, and a Liturgy for every thing, few sermons to prepare, and little occasion for study, and living high, and associating little with the world, unless it be with priests, or with the most ignorant classes in community, the mind stagnates, and loses all its love for study, and ability to think and labor. The result is, that notwithstanding the college diploma, and a little memorized Latin in the services, the Romish priesthood are, intellectually, among the weakest men in the nation. How seldom do we hear of one who can make a decent speech of ten minutes in public, or write a readable lecture or newspaper article? Upon the platform or in debate they are in no respect equal to the average of Protestant ministers; so that if their success was to be inferred from the ability of their priests there would be little to fear.

III. Cathedrals and Churches.

In nearly all the large cities they have one or more immense Cathedrals, either completed or in process of erection. Some of

these are estimated to accommodate from ten to fifteen thousand people, and will cost from half a million to a million of dollars. And what is very peculiar for churches, they are nearly all built with subterranean passages and grated windows below, as if to serve the double purpose of a foundation for a church and a fortification."

Of the relative strength of Catholics and Protestants as measured by their church buildings respectively, we have no means of arriving at all the facts, except as they were in 1860. We shall, therefore, first ascertain how matters stood at that date.

In 1860, according to the United States census of that year, there were in the Republic 54,009 churches of all kinds, of which only 2,550 were Roman Catholic, or about one in twenty-one. As compared with the five principal denominations respectively they stood as follows:

Roman Catholics	2,550
Episcopalians	2,129, or nearly equal.
Congregationalists	2,234, or nearly equal.
Presbyterians	5,034, or double.
Baptists	11,210, or 4½ to 1.
Methodists	19,816,* or 8 to 1.

Putting these five Protestant denominations together, they had at that time 40,429 churches, or $15\frac{8}{10}$ where the Romanists had one. These five Protestant denominations then owned seventy-four per cent. of all the churches in the land.

In 1850 the relative number and value of churches, and the number of sittings, were as follows:

	Churches.	Value.	Sittings.
Total	38,186	$87,328,800	14,234,825
Methodists	13,282	14,822,870	4,343,579
Baptists	9,375	11,020,855	3,247,029
Roman Catholics	1,221	9,256,758	667,825

In 1860 the relative strength of the three denominations stood as follows:

	Churches.	Value.	Sittings.
Methodists	19,883†	$33,093,371	6,259,799
Baptists	11,221	17,799,378	3,749,554
Roman Catholics	2,255	26,774,119	1,404,437

* This includes all branches of Methodists, as the census makes no distinction.

† Here also we include all Methodists.

And now a third comparison will exhibit the actual and relative gain of each during the decade:

	Churches.	Value.	Sittings.
Methodists	6,697	$18,270,501	1,916,220
Baptists	1,846	6,778,523	502,525
Roman Catholics	1,329	17,517,361	736,612

It is thus seen that the total value of the Roman Catholic churches built from 1850 to 1860 was about equal to the value of all the Methodist churches built during the same period.

The total number of churches in 1850 was 38,186, and in 1860 54,009. The entire gain in ten years was 15,853 churches. Of these the Catholics gained 1,329, and the Protestants 14,524, or nearly eleven to one.

Let us now extend the comparison to some of the individual States, especially those in which, in the early history of the country, the Romanists had the whole ground. We begin with Maryland.

"Maryland, the germ of the American Church, owes her religious prosperity to the first English Catholic settlers; and the Church in Kentucky is an offshoot of that in Maryland."* In 1775, that is, ninety-two years ago, there were 40,000 Catholics in the Colonies, of whom over 13,000 were in Maryland. Romanism was first established in this country by Lord Baltimore, where Baltimore now stands, and for some years no other religion was known or tolerated. How is it now? Out of 1,016 churches in the State the Romanists have 82, or less than one in twelve.

In DELAWARE they have six churches out of 220, or one to every thirty-six and two-thirds. Other denominations respectively have as follows:

Friends	10, or nearly 2 to 1.
Baptists	12, or 2 to 1.
Episcopalians	27, or 4½ to 1.
Presbyterians	32, or 5½ to 1.
Methodists	131, or 22 to 1.

Of the value of $846,150 in church property in the State the Romanists own but $51,300, or sixteen and one half per cent. Other denominations own as follows: Baptists, $44,000;

* *Catholic World*, April, 1854.

Episcopalians, $154,000; Presbyterians, $254,000; Methodists, $282,000.

FLORIDA was settled by the Spaniards, and at an early day was wholly Catholic. Now the Catholics have only 17 churches out of 319, or one in eighteen. The Baptists have 110, or six and a half to one Roman, and the Methodists 153, or nine where the Romanists have one.

LOUISIANA was settled by the French and Spanish, and at first was wholly Catholic. The first Protestant church in the State was built in 1817, or only half a century ago. Now the Protestants have 473 churches where the Papists have 99, or nearly five to one. The Baptists have 161, and the Methodists 199.

In PENNSYLVANIA the Romanists have 271 churches out of 5,337, or about one in twenty. As compared with the principal Protestant denominations in the State they stand as follows:

Romanists	271.
Episcopalians	203, or 68 less.
Baptists	402, or 131 more.
German Reformers	478, or 203 more.
Presbyterians	723, or 452 more.
Lutherans	730, or 459 more.
Methodists	1,573, or 1,302 more.

There are in the State 5,066 more Protestant than Roman churches; and the value of their churches is but three out of 22½ millions. The average value of the 203 Episcopal churches is $8,630 more than the average of the Catholic; the one being $11,070, and the other $19,700. In 1850 there were only 3,596 churches in the State. In 1860 there were 5,337. The gain was 1,740. Of these the Romanists gained 131 in ten years, and the Protestants 1,610, or 12½ to one.

In NEW JERSEY the Romanists have 61 churches out of 1,123, or one to every 18½. The Baptists have 130, or over two to one; the Presbyterians 211, or nearly four to one; the Methodists 404, or over 6½ to one.

In NEW YORK the Romanists have 360 churches out of 5,287—one in fourteen. As compared with the principal denominations they stand as follows:

Romanists	360
Congregationalists	231, or 129 less.
Reformed Dutch	287, or 73 less.
Episcopalians	411, or 51 more.
Presbyterians	715, or 355 more.
Baptists	765, or 405 more.
Methodists	1,683, or 1,323 more.

It is thus seen that, taking the Baptists and Presbyterians separately, they have each twice as many churches in the State of New York as the Roman Catholics have; while the Methodists alone have over four and a half to their one. Taking all Protestants together, they have fourteen and a half churches where the Catholics have one throughout the State.

But we have not space to pursue these local comparisons further. The best we can do is to group the NEW ENGLAND STATES, and compare only Catholics and Protestants. In such a comparison (and it is the only fair one) Romanism and Protestantism stand thus in New England:

	Catholic.	Protestant.
Maine	31	1,136, or 36 to 1.
New Hampshire	12	669, or 56 to 1.
Vermont	27	670, or 25 to 1.
Massachusetts	88	1,548, or 17 to 1.
Rhode Island	23	287, or 12 to 1.
Connecticut	43	759, or 17 to 1.
Total	224	5,069 Average, 22½ to 1.

If we make a similar group of SOUTHERN STATES the disparity will be still greater:

	Catholic.	Protestant.
Alabama	9	1,865, or 208 to 1.
Georgia	8	2,383, or 299 to 1.
Mississippi	17	1,424, or 85 to 1.
North Carolina	7	2,263, or 324 to 1.
South Carolina	11	1,256, or 115 to 1.
	52	9,191

Average disparity for these five States, one Roman church to 177 Protestant.

Such was the actual and relative status of Romanism and Protestantism in 1860, as measured by the number of their churches. And it is the only just standard now available, first, because it is the only census extant that includes all

Protestant denominations; and, second, because there has been little if any difference in the growth of the two parties since that time. Nevertheless, we must endeavor, as far as possible, to ascertain their present position in this respect, and their progress since 1860.

The present number of Roman churches is 3,366, with 117 others in process of erection. Here, also, as in regard to priests, the number is not alarming. The Baptists alone have now 12,955 churches,* or nearly four times as many; and the Methodist Episcopal Church alone 11,121, or about three and two thirds times as many. What proportion their churches now sustain to the whole, numerically, it is impossible to ascertain, though it is not likely that the ratio has been materially changed during the last seven years. If the Romanists have been building better churches than formerly so have other denominations. And even if they have gained upon Protestantism in this respect, (which we do not believe,) it is still perfectly safe to say that, take the whole land together, Protestants have twenty houses of worship where Romanists have one.

Of the relative progress in church building since 1860 the following table will represent the facts so far as Baptists, Methodists, and Catholics are concerned:

	1860.	1868.	Gain.	Per cent.
Methodists	9,754†	11,121	1,367	14·02
Baptists	11,221	12,955	1,734	15·45
Roman Catholics	2,550	3,366	816	32·00

From these figures it is apparent that while the Roman Catholics have built only about half as many churches since 1860 as either the Baptists or the Methodist Episcopal Church, the percentage of increase on the churches they had in 1860 is more than twice as great. They have added thirty-two per cent. to the original number, while we have added but fourteen per cent., and the Baptists but fifteen and a half in the same period. At the same rate of progress for the next seven years the Catholics will have 4,443 churches.

But let us take in another element of comparison—the *value* of the churches. And as we have not the estimated val-

* American Baptist Almanac for 1868, page 48.

† The Methodist Episcopal Church only, excluding the Church South.

ue of the Roman Catholic Churches at the present time, we must again go back to the United States Census of 1860. Taking the statistics there furnished, we compile the following tabular view of the actual and relative cost of the churches of the various denominations.

	Churches.	Total value.	Average Value.
Methodist	19,883	$33,098,371	$1,660
Baptist	11,221	19,799,378	1,764
Presbyterian	5,061	24,227,359	4,788
Congregational	2,234	13,327,511	5,965
Episcopalian	2,145	21,665,698	10,100
Reformed Dutch	440	4,453,850	10,122
Roman Catholic	5,550	26,774,119	10,491
Total of all denominations	54,009	171,398,432	3,145

From these figures it is seen that in 1860 the Roman Catholic churches were more valuable on an average than those of any other denomination, and those of the various branches of the Methodists the least so: one Catholic church being equal to 6$\frac{34}{100}$ Methodist churches, and 5$\frac{94}{100}$ Baptists. This great disparity has probably been somewhat reduced during the last seven years, as we have been building more good churches proportionately during these years than formerly.

From 1860 to the present time the Romanists have gained 816 churches, and the Methodist Episcopal Church 1,397. Estimating these churches at double the average value of those built prior to that period, (for they would cost about twice as much even if they were no better,) we have this result: 1,367 Methodist churches at $3,320 each, amount to but $4,538,440; while 816 Catholic churches, at $20,982 each, amount to $17,121,312. It would thus appear that the Roman Catholics have expended about four times as much money in building churches since 1860 as the Methodist Episcopal Church has; and we are unable to see wherein this estimate is an unfair one, or can possibly misrepresent the facts.*

Two other things should be noticed in connection with the foregoing table—the facts that while the average value of all the churches together was $3,145, that of the Methodist Episcopal churches was but $1,660, or about half the general average value; while the Roman Catholic churches averaged more

* The value of our Church property has increased much more than four and a half millions since 1860, but it has not been mainly by the erection of new churches. All church property has nearly doubled in nominal value since that time.

than three times the general average value. Of the aggregate value of all the churches, $171,398,432, the Catholics owned only $26,774,119, or fifteen and six-tenths per cent. of the whole. There is therefore a vast disparity between Romanism and Protestantism as a whole, not only as to the aggregate number of churches respectively, but also as to their aggregate values. Protestantism then owned, and still owns nearly seven times the value in houses of worship, and twenty times the number that Romanism owns.

If we pass from *numbers* to *capacity* we shall find the advantage equally on the side of Protestantism, so far as aggregates are concerned. The entire number of church sittings in 1860 was 19,128,751, of which the Roman churches furnished but 1,404,437, or $7\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. Their churches are therefore very costly for the number of sittings they afford, each seat costing $19 on an average, while those of the Methodist Episcopal Church cost but $5 88 on an average. It is thus apparent that Methodism furnishes nearly four times as many church sittings for the same amount of money as does Roman Catholicism. So much for churches.

IV. Colleges and other Educational Agencies.

In the "*Catholic World*" for 1855 the whole number of Roman Catholic colleges is given at sixty-eight, twenty-nine in the Southern States, and thirty-nine in the Northern; and yet another table published in the same magazine, gives the number for 1861 as twenty-nine. Sadlier's Catholic Directory for 1868 gives the number of "Ecclesiastical Institutions" at fifty. We suppose these must be their colleges, as they mention no others. If this be correct then they have 50 out of the 455 colleges in the United States, or about one in nine.

Among the principal colleges are St. John's, Fordham, N. Y.; St. Francis Xavier's, Manhattan, N. Y.; Georgetown College, D. C.; College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass.; St. Vincent's, Westmoreland, Pa.; Christian Brothers, St. Louis, Mo.; the University of Notre Dame, St. Joseph Co., Ind.; St. Louis University; and St. Joseph's, Troy, N. Y.*

* "Troy University," on Mt. Ida, which we Protestants allowed to fall into the hands of our enemies.

In none of their publications do we find any statistics of *male* seminaries; but we find in a table quoted from the "Metropolitan Catholic Almanac," a report of 134 "Schools for girls" in 1861. Of course they must have some seminaries for young men, but the number is not large. They have a wonderful penchant for educating "girls," the future mothers of the country.

Among their most noted female seminaries are the Academy of Mt. St. Vincent, just below Yonkers, on the east bank of the Hudson; the Academy of the Sisters of Mercy, at Manchester, N. H.; the Ursuline Academy, near Columbus, S. C.; St. Mary's, Vigo Co., Ind.; St. Elizabeth's, Madison, N. J.; the Academy of the Sisters, etc., near Wheeling, Va.; St. Agnes', Memphis, Tenn.; St. Bridget's, Titusville, Pa.; St. Frances', Emmet Co., Michigan; and Holy Angel's, Buffalo, N. Y.

Besides these, collegiate and academic buildings are going up in various parts of the country; but we must not enumerate them. Of parochial schools the number is very great, and is rapidly increasing. Archbishop M'Closkey, in reporting the Diocese of New York, says, "Parochial schools in nearly all the churches of the Diocese." And this is now coming to be the case in all the large towns and cities. In all these schools the most intensely Catholic books are used, as we show elsewhere.

But we can spare no more space for this topic. Enough has been said to show that Romanism depends largely upon its educational institutions to influence the Protestant population. Especially is this true of their female schools. While they pretend not to teach Romanism in them, they estimate that seven of every ten Protestant girls who enter them become Roman Catholics. And while thousands of their own children grow up unable to read or write, they will take a young girl from a prominent Protestant family, almost as a gratuity, for the privilege of perverting her to the Roman faith. They have no more successful agency at work in this country than their various female academies; and all Protestant parents who do not wish their children ruined should keep them from Roman Catholic schools, as they would keep them from the gates of death.

V. Monasteries and Nunneries.

These institutions are seldom called by these names in this country. They are either called "schools," as most of the nunneries are designated, or male and female "Religious Institutions." Of the monasteries, where men go to live under vows of celibacy and poverty, there are 128 in the United States, and of nunneries 286. The number of inmates in these institutions is nowhere hinted at. What the monks do in these "Male Religious Houses" Protestants must not be curious to know. Of one thing, however, we can all be certain, and that is, that if all men were to serve God in the way these monks profess to do, we should soon have a world without inhabitants.

The nunneries are of various grades. Some have schools connected with them, and a portion of their inmates go abroad occasionally. Others are the life-long prisons of all who take the vail and enter them. Some, if not all, are used as jails, in which to confine and reclaim those who become Protestants. Of this class is the "House of the Good Shepherd," New York, where several young women are now confined, perfectly imprisoned, with abandoned women, for having "turned heretics." The plea is, that they wish to convert them back to the true faith, to save their souls; but it is as perfect an inquisition, in principle and in fact, as ever existed in Spain.

To this portion of the Roman machinery the attention of the American public will ere long be aroused. There are hundreds in these Romish Bastiles who in an evil hour have taken vows and entered them, but have mourned over their folly ever since, and long to be set at liberty; and others who, like Miss Mary Ann Smith, of Newark, N. J., are imprisoned solely because they have become Protestants.*

And yet it appears that we have some three hundred of these religious prisons in full operation in this country. And

* The institution in which Miss Smith is confined receives $25,000 a year, we believe, from the State treasury. And yet it is ruled by a "Mother Superior," and even the Governor of the State could not get into it. Besides, the inmates earn every cent of the $2,000 per month which it costs to sustain it. So Father Doane affirms. What then becomes of the $25,000 from the State treasury? Does it go to help build Catholic cathedrals?

while we have inspectors of alms-houses and prisons and schools and asylums, no person in the nation is ever allowed to explore one of these fortresses, to see one of its inmates, or to inquire how they are treated, or whether they are lawfully confined or not. Will the American people allow such religious prisons to exist? or will they in due time demand that their doors shall be opened, and that no person shall be imprisoned on our free soil except for crime, and upon due process of law?

VI. Periodical and other Literature.

In 1855 the Romanists had twenty-one periodicals, of which one was a Quarterly, (Brownson's,) one monthly, and nineteen weekly. One of them, the *Southern Journal* of New Orleans, was published "every Sunday morning." Four of the weeklies were German. Twelve of these periodicals have been discontinued during the last ten years. This is a terrible mortality among Roman Catholic periodicals, over fifty per cent. of the whole in ten years! But they seem to have since recovered all they have lost. They have now thirty-three periodicals, namely: five monthlies, two semi-monthlies, and twenty-six weeklies. Eleven of them are in German, one in French, and the balance in English. Six of them are published in New York, one in Boston, three in Philadelphia, two in Baltimore, one in Charleston, S. C., one in Albany, N. Y., one at Notre Dame, Ind., two at Cincinnati, two at New Orleans, one at Pittsburgh, Pa., two at St. Louis, Mo., two at St. Paul's, Minn., one at Atlanta, Geo., two at Buffalo, N. Y., three at Chicago, Ill., one at Louisville, Ky., one at Cincinnati, Ohio, and one in San Francisco, Cal. We have the names of the entire list, both of the living and the dead, but withhold it for want of room.

Of the above thirty-three periodicals, one, the Sunday-School Messenger, is very small. The Catholic World is large and ably edited; and the Pilot, Freeman's Journal, Tablet, Universe, and Telegraph are also ably edited; but their circulation is limited compared with that of our ablest Protestant journals.* The eleven German papers indicate the superior culture and taste for reading of the German Catholics.

* So the writer was informed by one of their principal editors.

As a whole, these thirty-three publications are a powerful agency for evil in the land; but as compared with the number of Protestant periodicals, they are of small account. The following brief table will show this fact:

Roman Catholic periodicals	33
Baptist*	36
Methodist	32
Total of all denominations †	277

It is thus seen that in the number of their periodicals the Romanists about equal the Methodists and Baptists respectively, and yet, from the limited circulation which many of their issues have, it is not probable that they circulate over one third as many papers as either the Methodists or Baptists. They have eleven and one half per cent. of the religious periodicals, and may possibly circulate ten per cent. of the religious periodical literature of the country.

There are eighteen Catholic book-stores in the United States, namely: six in New York, three in Boston, one in Albany, two in Philadelphia, three in Baltimore, one in Chicago, one in Pittsburgh, and one in Cincinnati. All these are private establishments, except one, the "*Catholic Publication Society*," though they receive the denominational patronage, and several of them are officially indorsed. Four or five of them are large establishments, and publish extensive catalogues of books. P. O'Shea, of New York, for instance, has a catalogue of seven hundred and sixty-four different volumes. The Sadliers, of the same city, publish three hundred and twenty-one different American, and two hundred and eighty-four foreign books. Lucas Brothers, and John Murphy, of Baltimore, are also extensive publishers.

The *Catholic Publication Society* has its office in New York, and is a regular Catholic Book Room. It was started in 1865, and now publishes twenty-nine different volumes, and thirty-one different tracts of its own. All their tracts are sold at actual cost, and are being sent out extensively by mail, in assorted packages and otherwise, all over the land. Especially is this true of the West. And in the East some of their tracts have been distributed at ferries, and in omnibuses, street-cars, and rail-road cars, to the number of hundreds of thousands.

* See list in American Baptist Almanac for 1868. † Census of 1860.

lic. Every book, therefore, which they issue tells for Romanism, whether it be a breviary or a school-reader; while a large proportion of the books issued by Protestant houses have no direct denominational bearing whatever. The influence of Roman Catholic literature in building up their false faith is not therefore to be estimated by the number of books they print as compared with Protestants.

VII. Number of Romanists in the United States.

Of the number of Romanists in the country no accurate statistics can be obtained, as the priests keep no parish records of their members, and no priest or Bishop ever knows how many members he has in his parish or diocese. Of course, then, their numbers can only be arrived at by estimate, and various writers will estimate differently. The following are samples of such estimates, Catholic and Protestant:

Dr. Baird, (Protestant,) 1857	3,500,000
Catholic World, 1865	4,400,000
Catholic World, 1866	5,000,000
Prof. Schem, (Protestant,) 1868	4,500,000
Our own estimate, 1868	3,248,000
Our own estimate, (of adults only,) 1868	1,786,400

Here is a wide disparity of numbers, such as can never exist in regard to Protestants. Let us see how these different results are reached. In the first place it is evident that in all cases, except one of our own, the figures are intended to represent "Catholic population," that is, men, women, and children. Then there is a difference of eleven years of time between some of the estimates. But how are the figures obtained?

Father Hecker tells us frankly how he gets his. He multiplies the number of priests by 2,000, and gives us the product as the number of Catholics.* This certainly is a "short and easy method;" but whether the results are accurate or not is another question. Let us investigate.

In the first place the estimate of 2,000 members (men, women, and children) to each priest is an exaggeration. It is true that many thousands attend several of their largest churches; but such churches have several priests attached to them. At the same time great numbers of their churches do not represent a thousand, and many not five hundred of Cath-

* *Catholic World* for April, 1865.

olic population. Besides, if Father Hecker's rule in 1865 is a just one, they should now claim 6,496,000; as their 3,248 priests, multiplied by 2,000, give that result. But they have never yet set up so preposterous a claim.

The census tables show that 45 per cent. of the entire population are under fifteen years of age, and about 30 per cent. under 10. If, then, we allow each priest 1,000 population on an average, and deduct 30 per cent. only, or 300 for children who do not attend church, it leaves 700 adults for the congregation; or, deducting 45 per cent., all under fifteen, as not being adult members, we have 550 left as members on an average for every Roman Catholic priest in the land.

There are in the Methodist Episcopal Church 1,146,080 members, nearly all adults, or over fifteen. There are at the same time 6,689 stationed ministers. Divide the former by the latter, and we have 171 members to each minister on an average. If, then, we allow each Catholic priest 1,000 population, and 550 adult members, it gives him more than three times the average adult members that Methodist ministers have; and 2,000 population to each priest would give them 1,100 adult members on an average, which every one must see is an over estimate.

We believe, therefore, that they cannot average over 1,000 population, or 550 adult members to each priest; or 1,786,400 adults, and 3,248,000 population in the aggregate.

Take another estimate: In 1860 they had 2,550 churches, affording, in the aggregate, 1,404,437 sittings, or 550 sittings to a church on an average. They have now 3,366 churches, which, at 550 sittings each on an average, amount to but 1,748,000, or within 38,400 of our former estimate. The reader will note the coincidence between the estimated number of members and the actual capacity of their churches—550 to each priest, corresponds exactly with 550 seats in each church on an average.

As if anticipating that some skeptical Protestant might dispute his estimates, and urge the above facts and figures, Father Hecker puts in a caveat in advance, by saying that "Calculations founded upon the statistics of church accommodations given in the United States Census are not applicable to our case; because the Catholic churches, especially in the large

cities, are thronged two or three times every Sunday by as many distinct congregations, while the Protestant Churches have but one service."

Very true of "cathedral churches in the large cities," but not generally true elsewhere. A vast majority of their churches are not "thronged," nor even filled on the Sabbath. We therefore adhere to our estimate founded upon the number of Priests and churches, that there are not to-day more than 1,786,400 adult members, and 3,248,000 Catholic population, men, women, and children in the Republic.

In a comparative point of view the Romanists stand thus: there are now in the United States, as per census estimates, 40,322,854 inhabitants; and from other sources we estimate about 6,000,000 of professed Christians. Of the entire population the Catholics have about one twelfth instead of one fifth, as they claim; and of the professed Christians a little less than one third. Such we believe to be the actual and relative numerical status of Romanism in the United States.

VIII. Relative Progress for the last Ninety Years.

Upon this point our "Roman Catholic brethren" shall first speak for themselves. In the *Catholic World* for April, 1865, we have the following table:

	Catholics.	Whole Pop.	Proportion.
In 1808.....	100,000	in 6,500,000	or 1-65th
In 1830.....	450,000	in 13,000,000	or 1-29th
In 1840.....	960,000	in 17,070,000	or 1-18th
In 1850.....	2,150,000	in 23,191,000	or 1-11th
In 1860.....	4,400,000	in 31,000,000	or 1-7th
In 1868.....	5,000,000	in 40,000,000	or 1-8th *

If these figures were to be trusted it would appear that the Papists have more than doubled during each decade since 1808. But it is evidently an exaggerated representation.

In the article on the *Roman Catholic Church*, in Appleton's Cyclopedia for 1864, which was evidently prepared by a Catholic, this table is reproduced in substance, and it is added that

> The increase between 1840 and 1860 was 125 upon each hundred, while the nation only increased by 36 to a hundred; between

* We add this line from other sources.

1850 and 1860 the increase was 109 upon a hundred, while the nation increased only thirty upon a hundred. Should things go on only as they have hitherto done, the Catholic will be one-fifth of the whole population in 1870, and nearly one third before 1900.

This is more moderate than Father Hecker in his Cooper Institute lecture, as he then expected a political majority by 1900 at latest. And yet, as already shown, all these estimates are exaggerated by nearly one half.

The average increase of the population of the country from 1790 to 1860 was 34·6 per cent. for each decade. Now allowing the Romanists to have had 450,000 members in 1830, as they claim, and to have increased on an average at the rate of 35 per cent. for each decade since, it would give them at the present time a membership of 1,911,417, as the following table will show:

	Members.	35 per cent.	Amount.
1830.....	450,000	157,500	607,500
1840.....	607,500	212,725	820,225
1850.....	820,225	286,077	1,106,145
1860.....	1,106,145	387,150	1,493,295
1868.....	1,493,295	418,122*	1,911,417

This is 125,017 more than our previous estimate; and in our opinion more than they would amount to to-day if actually counted.

But if Romanists have outstripped the growth of the population so have other denominations, and so has the ratio of Church members to the population as a whole. Excluding the first decade of the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on account of its wonderful progress, and including the decade of decrease by the great secession, the average increase for every ten years since 1800 is over one hundred per cent., or sixty-five per cent. greater than the average increase of the population. Even last year and the year before our net increase was at the rate of over one hundred per cent. for every ten years. This is the most that Romanism has ever claimed in its most jubilant moments.

We have thus gone over the whole field, investigating the status of Romanism in this country in the light of the most reliable statistics and facts to be obtained, and by the aid of

* Estimated for eight years only.

many carefully conducted and laborious computations. As we said at the outset, our sole object has been to ascertain the *truth*, whether welcome or unwelcome to us or our readers. We have taken the dimensions of Romanism, actual and relative, in these United States as to its ecclesiastical hierarchy, priesthood, churches, colleges and schools, convents and monasteries, periodical and other literature, publishing houses, present numbers, and relative growth, and the following are our conclusions drawn from the whole:

1. The Romish Church in this country is perfectly districted and organized, under capable and energetic leaders, archbishops and bishops especially; and was never before as hopeful of success, or as defiant in its tone and spirit, as at the present time.

2. Though the number of their priests is small compared with the number of Protestant ministers, yet they are sufficient to man all their churches, and are rapidly increasing. And what is more alarming, many of them are American born. Brownson was born in this country. Doane, of Newark, N. J., is the son of an Episcopalian Bishop. Hecker, of New York, is the son of a Presbyterian father and of a Methodist mother, still belonging to one of our New York Churches, and two priests in the East are the sons of a Congregational minister. And we know of three cases, two in the West and one in the East, where the sons of Methodists have become Roman Catholic priests; two of the three being sons of Methodist traveling preachers! And what is more, these renegade Protestants are the most zealous, efficient, and *intolerant* of all the Papal priesthood in this country.

3. In the erection of costly churches they are outstripping every single Protestant denomination in the land; are rapidly filling the land with monasteries and nunneries; and are already on the road to vast accumulations of real estate, such as have led to oppression, rebellion, bloodshed, and confiscation in England, Germany, and elsewhere long since, and in Italy and Mexico during the last decade. And so as to their schools; the Jesuits are rapidly undermining our public

* Several elaborate tables, prepared expressly for this article, and to show how the results given have been reached, are necessarily excluded for want of room, and must go to the public, if at all, in some other form.

school system, and getting control of the educational interests of the country, so far as the children of Romanists are concerned, and even of the public schools of many of our cities. All these are evil omens for the future peace and well-being of our country.

4. In regard to *numbers* the Romanists are probably about three and a quarter millions strong all told, or more numerous than any other denomination in the land. For although all Methodists put together would outnumber them, the Methodist Episcopal Church has little more affinity for the Southern Methodist Church and the former Protestant Methodist Church than it has for other Protestant bodies.

5. Romanism has grown rapidly in the country for the last half century, and was never growing more rapidly than at present. It has nearly or quite kept pace with the growth of the population, and may now be even gaining upon it. But this is no more than Protestantism as a whole has done, and is far less than the average progress of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its progress, therefore, would of itself afford no ground of alarm, but from the terrible character of the system, and its world-wide alliances with politics and with every species of intrigue, and also with the most dangerous elements in society.

6. In its periodical and other literature it is already formidable, and is taking most active and efficient measures to fill the land with its doctrines, and attack Protestantism right and left, in lecture and sermon and bound volume and tract and periodical and school-book. Never was Romanism doing half as much for itself in this respect as at the present time.

7. Of its elements of success and resources in other respects, its designs upon the American Republic, and the best means of thwarting its purposes and assuring the triumph of the true Church of God, we have not room here to speak. Of one thing, however, we may speak with confidence, and that is, that the idea of *reforming* the Roman Church, or of successfully resisting Romanism without writing and speaking against it, pointing out its errors, and warning Protestants against it, would give this whole land to Popery in twenty years. Look at it? While they are challenging controversy by periodical and lecture and tract and bound volume, and flooding the land

with their errors, some say we should stop exposing, or writing against it, and cease to antagonize it, except as we do so by loving and caressing it! Is this God's method of treating error? Did either Christ or the Apostles adopt this policy? Did the early Christian fathers manage thus with Paganism? Have not all our victories over Popery hitherto been won by antagonizing and exposing it? What were Luther's celebrated *theses* but a challenge to Popery, the acceptance of which cost her millions of adherents?

How has it been in Dublin, where Cardinal Cullen himself admits that five thousand Catholics a year abandon Popery and become Protestants? We have just read the history of these missions; and the great weapon, first and last, has been *controversy.* "Controversial Classes" were established in various localities, to which Roman Catholics were invited, and thus, as well as by controversial tracts, magazines, lectures, and sermons, the truth of God entered the minds of the Papists, they saw their errors and forsook them. Of course when we speak of controversy and antagonism we mean kind and Christian discussion; but the idea of meeting Romanism without antagonism and discussion, is not only to adopt a policy never employed as to other errors, but to abandon the beaten path of success hitherto, for an impracticable experiment.

Romanism has resources at command which Protestantism does not possess, and would scorn to employ; and, on the other hand, it will have difficulties to encounter here which it has not encountered elsewhere, and to which Protestantism is a stranger.

Yet their only hope in all the earth is these United States, and they will contest the ground with the energy of desperation. And though they must ultimately fail, and Babylon must fall, yet unless the Protestant pulpit and press awake, and do more to arouse the nation to our danger, to confront Romanism in all its designs, and to warn Protestants and others of its purposes and encroachments, we shall awake one of these years to find Papists in all the high places of the nation, with the control of cities and states, our Sabbaths abolished, our educational system in ruins, Romanism established and sustained by law, (as it already is partially in several places,) our religious freedom gone, and all to be recovered only as they have been regained elsewhere, through revolution and blood-

shed. And the American people cannot awake one day too soon if by timely and well-directed efforts they would avert such a calamity. Resistance now, or a religious war within twenty years, is the alternative before us.

Art. III.—RECENT ASTRONOMY AND THE MOSAIC RECORD.

The last few years have witnessed a rapid progress in astronomical science. In particular, the remarkable disclosures made by the spectroscope have made valuable additions to our stock of positive knowledge, and at the same time have given a fresh, strong, and definite impulse to physical speculations. These speculations bear directly upon certain old questions that have puzzled philosophers since philosophy began, such as the method of the world-formations and their community of origin; and certain more modern ones, such as the similarity of their structural plan and the identity of their material elements. The spectroscope, both aiding and supplementing the telescope, has furnished us with facts on these points so richly suggestive, of such rare scientific value, of such splendor even, that there now seems good warrant for affirming that between the earth and sun and stars there is a physical fellowship so intimate and manifold that all dispute as to the unity of the universe of worlds may reasonably be regarded as settled. It also causes to pass before our eyes in the heavens the wonderful vision of vast masses of nebulous matter, of such conditions and of such forms as to render the supposition probable that they are slowly shaping themselves under the action of the great cosmical forces into suns or stars, and of which some are apparently only entering on the work of the first creative day, and others apparently have but just passed beyond it, entering on the second.

In the department of meteoric astronomy considerable progress has also been made. The meteors, heretofore regarded as erratic wanderers through space, have been raised to the dignity of a classification among the orderly, regular members of the

solar system. The shooting stars are no longer lawless, random visitors, but they hold a definite structural relation to the solar system. Many of them are probably older than the sun, and, like sun and stars and planets, they travel their orbital rounds in steady obedience to natural law. They travel alone, and they travel in groups and swarms, and their numbers run up into the countless billions, and so full do they fill the interplanetary spaces that at a moderate estimate two hundred millions pass into our atmosphere every twenty-four hours, either singly, or in the brilliant swarms of the meteoric showers of August and November. But however interesting these facts and the inferences grounded on them may be, we shall confine our discussion to the facts and theories to which the new method of analyzing light by means of the spectroscope brings new and important testimony.

It seems audacious in man that he should apply those precise, technical, scientific terms which are used to denote methods of nature, processes of evolution or growth, of structural plans, of states and kinds of matter, to bodies so remote from him in space, that the swift light that can girdle the globe seven times in a second must travel hundreds of years and more before it can reach him; and more audacious still that he applies these terms with as much dogmatic assurance as the chemist names the substances he analyzes in his laboratory.

Of all the scientific attempts to account for the existing structure of the solar and stellar systems, the nebular hypothesis is the most celebrated and the most satisfactory. We propose to show the accord between a fair exposition of this theory as a scientific statement of astronomical facts and the Mosaic record as a phenomenal, pictorial statement of the same great facts occurring in the same order of succession in time. The one is given by the insight of the reason following the double guidance of the working of known dynamic laws, and of inductions from observed facts; the other, given as it would appear to the sense of sight, and under the influence of common notions, expressed in common language, and conveyed by imagery drawn directly from the senses. This nebular theory we presume to be pretty well understood by the thinking and reading public, and we shall briefly state it here only in order

the more clearly to show the harmony between its application in recent astronomy and the astronomical record in Genesis.

The theory claims that the matter now composing the sun and planets was anciently a vast, nebulous, rotating spheroidal mass, extending far beyond the orbit of the outermost planet. This rotating spheroid, suffering contraction and condensation about a central point, must thereby have received an acceleration of surface velocity, which developed a centrifugal force that opposed and finally equaled the centripetal. This retreating of the nebulous mass centerward, and the consequent successive equalizations or balancings of the centripetal and centrifugal forces, led to the successive detachments of equatorial zones, or shells, or rings of matter, which rings might remain permanently in the ring form, as in the case of the rings of Saturn; or might break and eventually roll up into one large planet with or without moons, as is the case with the earth and Mars; or break into many permanent fragments, as appears now in the ring of the minor planets, or asteroids, between Mars and Jupiter.

But whence the separation of this solar mass from other like stellar masses? whence its matter and its forces? whence its rotation about an axis and its ancient spheroidal shape? These are pertinent questions, and to answer them we must give a brief exposition of that bold, but comprehensive scientific hypothesis, according to which, by the instrumentality of existing physical forces, and out of certain primordial nebulous matter, have sprung the countless hosts of heaven, whether sun or star or planet or moon or comet or shooting star. It is a sublime endeavor to co-ordinate existing facts, and to seize the principles that underlie them, and thereby to travel along the lines of the working of these principles back to other facts claimed to have existed untold ages ago, and which pertain to the times and the processes in the great creative efforts, like those which took place when our solar system

> "was a fluid haze of light,
> Till toward the center set the starry tides
> And eddied into suns, that wheeling cast
> The planets."

The sun and his planets comprise but a mere point of space in that vast assemblage of stars called the Milky Way. In

the beginning—whenever that was, for neither shrewdest scientific inference nor keenest observation of facts can do any thing better than vaguely guess at another epoch prior to this period, which we may regard as a primal one in physical science, as a starting point, a principium, a beginning of the creations,—in the beginning, then, science assumes matter as existing, as endowed with properties, as in the state of a diffused cosmical vapor, and operated on by the known physical forces. But whence this tenuous diffusion of matter? Probably by the action of heat. If so, whence the heat? Perhaps heat is only another name for atomic repulsion; whence, then, this atomic repulsive force? Or if matter is only antagonistic and diremptive forces, holding positions in space, whence these forces and their holding of positions in space? Science confesses, with the Christian doctrine, that prior to this supposed primitive form of matter and its endowment with forces, whether immediately prior or with other unknown creative periods intervening it matters not, there must have been an all-wise Intelligence and an almighty Power holding the necessary relation of First Cause to both the state and the law of these earlier distributions of matter and force in space. Here Christian doctrine and science are one. In the beginning, then, suns, planets, comets, nebulæ, resolvable and irresolvable, were the undistinguishable parts of a measureless mass of a diffused nebulous vapor, a primordial "fire mist," to which had been given the action of gravity and of a divisive motion toward great centers of force, which primal centers and motions remain until now in the individualized suns and stars and their proper motions in space.

In tracing further this dynamic evolution of worlds we need only consider our own and the nearest stellar systems. These originally were not spheroidal, but extremely irregular in form, and in this fact lies one of the secrets of nature in her genesis of worlds. Sphericity at this stage of stellar evolution was impossible, and for illustration we take the solar system as a typical creation. After the centers of attractive force had been established, that the outlying and surrounding masses of vaporous matter should be at equal distances from the solar system, and of equal density and of equal volume with it, is as improbable as that the cumuli clouds should be of equal size,

density, and distance from the surface of the earth. These would, therefore, constitute so many centers of unequal and unequally-distant forces acting on the solar mass, which would compel it to part irregularly, unevenly, from the surrounding masses; and accordingly a surface evenness along the lines and planes of parting was an impossibility. Nebulous mountains and valleys, millions of miles high and deep, would now mark the irregular surface of a mass that feels and obeys the force of gravity in every molecule. Forces push matter most rapidly along the lines of least resistance, and that in this case, owing to the attraction of the surface elevations for each other, would be toward the vacant spaces of the surface depressions, and thereby would be generated surface streams, cross, counter, and concurrent, which, in passing toward the center, would finally cause motion about it, instead of rest or equilibrium at it. Shake violently a vessel of water, and the different currents and eddies will finally be merged in one controlling current; just so with these divergent world-currents, the larger and more violent would absorb the smaller, and blend them into an over-mastering one. This dominant surface current, combined with the motion of the condensing mass, would acquire a spiral line of movement, which would acquire increased velocity as it swept during the long ages in that spiral line down toward the center. When the condensation had reached the orbit of Neptune the centrifugal force held the exterior portion in perfect balance against the centripetal along the now formed equatorial zone. The more inferior portion still settling toward the center, this exterior part, thus held in poise between the two forces, was left rotating in a ring. The matter in this ring was not so equably diffused, nor so free from the primitive turbulence of the varied currents, but that it could have a point or points of rupture, and, after the rupture, roll up into a secondary nebulous sphere, which in its turn, and in like manner, contracted and ejected a moon-ring, that likewise broke and formed a tertiary sphere, and then, both still condensing, a point was reached where the intense energy of the chemical forces supervening upon the action of gravity among the closely aggregated particles, fashioned Neptune and his moon into solid globes. In like manner the parent nebulous mass cast in succession the planets and their moons from Nep-

tune to Mercury. After the detachment of the latter, whose small mass and small centrifugal force did not allow a moon-ring to be formed, the central mass kept contracting, until, at length, a degree of condensation was reached at which the full force of chemical affinity leaped to its fiery energy in combination and combustion, and thus converted it into a vast storehouse and laboratory of light and heat, whose incessant activity through the countless years has left a present power sufficient, at the distance of the earth, for raising sixty millions of cubic miles of water from the freezing to the boiling point in one minute of time. This enormous, uninterrupted expenditure of energy suggests the query, although we shall not discuss it, as to the source of the replenishment, and whether in the long run of thousands of years there may not be such an abatement of the heat-force that the sun will finally lose its luminous power, and so disappear as other stars have disappeared.

Inasmuch as the sun has heat and light, the theory requires that the planets and their moons, having been created by the same genetic forces out of the same body of materials, and by the same method, should at some early period of their history have been self-heated and self-luminous. The other planets we cannot subject to examination, but our own globe gives abundant testimony on this point. The increasing intensity of heat as we descend into the interior of the earth, springs of hot water, three hundred active volcanoes, earthquakes, the igneous rocks of the earth's crust, and other facts, attest the former fierce energy of the earth's heat. The rugged, broken surface of the moon, marked with crater-like depressions, miles in depth and breadth, the very fac-similes of the craters of extinct terrestrial volcanoes, warrant the belief in the moon's former burning state. These facts point back to a time when the earth shone self-luminous, like a star of the smaller magnitude. And when the earth had so far cooled that a crust was formed over the entire surface, and thereby its light had gone out forever, the people of other worlds, it may be, may have taken note of a star that disappeared, and may have felt the dim forebodings we might feel when we read of stars that have disappeared or waned because of the probable like extinguishment of their light through loss of heat. But while the earth

was being buried beneath the opaque crust of rock and sea and soil, it was only passing through a series of preordained changes necessary for fitting it up and furnishing it as the abode of intelligent creatures made in the image of the great Creator.

We omit the discussion of the evidences in favor of the theory arising from the direction of the orbital and axial motions of the planets, as also the evidences from the close coincidence of their actual orbital velocities with the velocity acquired by a fall through a space equal to half the distance to the nearest fixed stars. Mathematically the theory fits the facts. We shall refer only to the testimony given by the spectroscope, or the analysis of light, by which the vast and distant heavenly bodies are made to disclose the kinds and the conditions of the substances composing them, and thus to add new and unexpected but strong confirmation of the nebular hypothesis. For a clear understanding of these facts a brief exposition of the principles and method of spectrum analysis is necessary.

The spectroscope is essentially a prism to decompose the light, which has first passed through a narrow slit, together with a telescope to examine the spectrum formed by the decomposed rays beyond the prism. The spectrum thus formed is, in some cases, crossed at right angles to its length by narrow lines, and since each substance has its own system of lines and colors, and since these lines are invariable in position for the same substance, it is evident that we have here a precise and wonderful means of analysis applicable to bodies that give out light, whether burning in a flame before us, or in the sun or remote star. The spectra thus formed are of three kinds: First, an incandescent solid or liquid, whose light is passed through burning gases, has a spectrum marked by narrow dark lines. The luminous vapors have robbed the light of certain colors, and their absence is indicated by these dark lines, and the substance whose light is intercepted is of the same kind with the substance that intercepts. Second, an incandescent body, solid or liquid, passing its light directly through the prism, gives a *continuous* spectrum marked only by broad colored bands. A continuous spectrum with no narrow lines indicates a solid or liquid body. Third, a luminous *gaseous* body gives a spectrum marked by *bright* lines, and

"each element and every compound body that can become luminous in the gaseous state is distinguished by a group of lines peculiar to itself."

The light of the sun when subjected to this test gives the continuous spectrum marked by the dark lines; the light of the moon gives the same, as would be expected, since its light is only the reflected light of the sun. It may, therefore, be confidently affirmed that the sun is an intensely hot solid body enveloped in burning gases. The nebular theory supposes the stars were formed on the same plan with the sun. Consulting the spectrum analysis, and with more faith than ever Greek consulted the Delphic oracle, it replies clearly and intelligibly with the continuous spectrum and the dark lines, and thereby affirms that what before was a speculative deduction, a belief resting on mere analogy, is now an established fact, namely, that the stars, like the sun, are intensely-heated solid or liquid bodies enveloped in incandescent vapors. Of one type are sun and stars; by one pattern have they been created; a structural unity holding among them bears witness to a oneness of creative forces, and to a sameness of method of generation. But the query arises, Is this similarity of plan accompanied with an identity of substances? Is this structural unity among the worlds in space combined with a sameness of material? Again consulting spectrum analysis we get the coveted information. In illustration of this point we quote from the address of W. Huggins, F.R.S., of England, delivered in 1866 before the British Association. The quotation begins with his comparison of the elements in the star Aldebaran with terrestrial substances: *

> These *terrestrial* spectra appeared in the instrument as you now see them on the screen in juxtaposition with the spectrum of the star. This closely double line is characteristic of sodium. You see that it coincides line for line with a dark line similarly double in the star. The vapor of sodium is, therefore, present in the atmosphere of the star, and forms one of the elements of the matter of this brilliant but remote star. These three lines in the green are produced, so far as we know, by the luminous vapor of magnesium alone; these lines agree in position exactly, line for line, with three dark stellar lines. The conclusion, therefore, appears well founded that another of the constituents of this star is mag

nesium. Again, there are two strong lines peculiar to the element hydrogen. Both of these correspond to dark lines of absorption in the spectrum of the star. Hydrogen, therefore, is present in the star. . . . Other corresponding lines are probably also present, but the faintness of the star's light limited our comparison to the stronger lines of each element.

Sixteen terrestrial elements were thus detected in Aldebaran. In the same manner the terrestrial elements may be compared with those existing in the sun, among which we find iron, potassium, sodium, and others. Heretofore gravitation has seemed to be the great bond by whose delicate, but enormous and far-reaching power all things were bound into the unity of one creation; now, however, the disclosure of a general plan of structure, among the brighter stars at least, combined with variations in that general plan, reveal a unity of a higher order than the mechanic rigidity of the law of attraction. Two or three of the stars examined give no evidence of the presence of hydrogen; other stars give it in varying proportions. Certain lines in the spectra of stars seem to indicate the presence in them of elements not found in the earth or sun. The Scripture phrase, "One star differeth from another star in glory," is translated by science, One star differs from another in the proportions of its chemical or elementary substances, and, therefore, in color and brightness. Light, more than gravitation, declares the oneness of the universe and the oneness of its Author.

If sodium, for instance, is volatilized in a flame, its light gives the *bright* lines. In like manner the rays from other luminous gases give bright lines. The nebular hypothesis supposes that the nebulæ which the telescope cannot resolve into stars may be gaseous matter, cosmical vapor, "world-dust," primordial material, out of which the worlds are fashioned by dynamic and chemical processes, and, therefore, it would be expected that some of these irresolvable nebulæ would present the earlier and gaseous stages, through which the diffused nebulous matter was passing in its development into suns and planets. And accordingly, while the light from the resolvable nebulæ gives the continuous spectrum and dark lines, and thereby declares they are clusters of suns, swarms of stars, yet others of the irresolvable class give the *bright* lines, and

thereby declare that they are only masses of luminous gas; and of all indicating a gaseous condition not one has been resolved into stars by telescopes of highest power; on the contrary, certain bright points in nebulæ, which astronomers had heretofore called stars, the spectroscope reveals their gaseous character, and shows that these bright points of light are not stars, are only cosmical masses of vapor in an advanced stage of condensation, probably in the first of their creative periods; are possibly at that particular part of the creative process in which our sun was as designated by the words, "And God said, Let there be light, and there was light." Moreover, those elements that are the most essential in the support and regulation of life on the earth are the elements most widely diffused among the stars, so that "the soil we tread, the air we breathe, the water we drink," are, in some respects at least, like those of other worlds. But though nature may construct from the same materials and by the same plan, yet is there variety in her works. No two leaves are precisely alike in all the forests, and no two stars just alike in all the hosts of heaven. Star differs from star in chemical constitution; one general plan of structure, varied by special adaptations. If, as stated above, the stars which do not indicate the presence of hydrogen are devoid of it, then are they worlds without water, and to what forms of life adapted we cannot even guess. Yet again, there is evidence that now, as of old, the physical forces can work sudden cosmical catastrophes. The seemingly changeless aspect of a star for thousands of years is no guarantee against an abrupt thorough change in its condition, whether that change be a destructive one, or preparatory to the forms and functions of living beings. Such a change was witnessed in the case of a star in the Northern Crown in 1866. In this constellation a brilliant star suddenly blazed forth. The spectroscope analyzed its light, and reported the flames of burning hydrogen. The spectrum consisted of two parts, one like that of the sun, marked by dark lines; the other like that from a burning gas. The evidence seems complete that here was a celestial body like our sun, and probably with dependent planets filled, as ours, with forms of life, but on which, by possibly collision with another star, or some local convulsion, vast quantities of hydrogen were suddenly set free

to enter into new fiery combinations of such intensity that the heat, as measured by the light, was increased over thirty-fold. For twelve days the flames raged, and then the star had waned down from a brilliant one of the second to a feeble one of the eighth magnitude. There is no absolute repose anywhere within those limits of space in which the Divine Power has energized itself in world-creations. The rotting leaf, the rust of iron, shooting stars, changes in the form of nebulæ, in the color and brightness and position of stars, all declare that motion is the normal condition of all things, whether the motion be through slow secular changes, or sudden and violent, like the quick burning of a star, or the oscillations of an earthquake.

A part of the history of creation is thus written in the heavens, and is to-day legible to man. The evidence from meteors, comets, and temporary stars adds assurance to that of the fixed stars and nebulæ in confirmation of the theory of the nebular genesis of worlds. We have brought to our view vast masses of cosmical vapor, or luminous gas, occupying immense regions and in diverse shapes varied from strange, fantastic whirls to forms of geometric regularity, and exhibiting, apparently, the successive earlier stages of world-formations, some condensed to bright points, others yet filling the vast spaces.

With the history of creation as interpreted by the nebular theory, and illustrated by the revelations of the spectroscope, we now proceed to compare it with the Bible history, and to show that the great leading events of the one correspond to those of the other, both in kind and in the same order of succession in time.

In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. The word "created" is sometimes taken as meaning the *origination* of matter, but we prefer to render it as meaning the fashioning, the constructive use of materials already existing; and we do so for two reasons: One, that it is more in harmony with the etymological force of the Hebrew original, Jewish rabbins to the contrary notwithstanding, just as the translating word "created" signifies a growth, a building up, a fashioning out of materials already existing; the other, that in a history proposing to describe the creations, both of worlds and of those forms of life which are to perpetuate themselves by known methods of natural law, and according to certain

typical patterns, and which perpetuation and propagation is now going on in traceable and definable processes; in a history of such wonderful things it seems eminently fitting to name the lawgiver and designer, with reference to the *work done*, rather than to the mere production of the material for the work. It is the wonderful *works*—the creations, the nature, or that which rises from birth to birth in the orderly series of connected events—the production of things endowed with forms of beauty and functions of utility, and not the mere hard matter out of which they come—that make the burden of the thought in this opening passage. *In the beginning;* for there was a beginning of the present order of existences. The pure reason, reading the facts of science, offers an emphatic contradiction of the assumption of an eternal, reverse series of organized things. But when this beginning was it is not probable we can ever know. None of our present divisions of time avail us here, not even the magni anni, or the great secular years that complete themselves in cycles of thousands and millions of our common years. From the known laws and methods of the cooling of hot bodies an estimate may be ventured as to the years it has taken the earth to cool down from its ancient molten condition to its present. We also can compute with tolerable exactness the distance in space from which particles of matter fell that now form the earth; but for fixing the date of this beginning, physical science can give no other than random guesses, which will also appear from this consideration, that the traces of any great primordial changes occurring prior to the period when the earth was without form and void, have been lost beyond human recovery in the complex result, in the tangled webs, in the intricate net-work, of past and present existences, and in the interplay of the ever-active forces, at least so far as time measurements are concerned. In the first verse the Author of the creation is named, and in the succeeding ones, the steps, the stages, the chronologic series, of the great creative events are given, and given not in technical scientific terms, but in common language, expressing facts as they strike the sense of sight, or phenomenally, optically; and they are, therefore, well adapted to their purpose of conveying their meaning to all men, however varied their grades of culture may be.

And the earth was without form, and void; or, was *confusion and emptiness.* We have seen that the earth, in its first stage as an independent thing, existed as a rotating ring of matter detached from the interior contracting mass. This ring breaking, it is evident that unless broken into many nearly equal portions, as in the case of the asteroids, the lighter and smaller portions would ultimately be gathered into the denser and larger. Parts in advance would be drawn back, parts behind drawn forward, the outlying drawn inward, and the inlying drawn outward, and so forming diverse currents of matter flowing from all sides toward a common center, and forming a spheroidal mass, in which the mingling of these diverse and unequal currents must give tossings and surgings and whirlings to and fro in the aggregated mass that are fitly described as a *confusion* and *emptiness*, a world "without form, and void." The Hebrew words convey to us the image of a confused mass, empty of those determinate forms, organic and otherwise, that characterize an advanced state of a creative process. Not less do opposing winds generate the confused motions of a whirlwind than did these primordial, world-forming, diverse currents generate a confusion throughout the primitive sphere. The theoretic dynamical deduction of events agrees with the written word. And this, too, even though this "confusion and emptiness" be made to refer to times immediately prior to that when "darkness was upon the face of the deep," and to which the earlier "confusions" of matter had perpetuated themselves in the tumultuous tossings and whirlings of the dense, steamy vapors that must have overhung the seas yet hot from a former fiery condition.

And darkness was upon the face of the deep. The evidences are numerous and conclusive that the earth was at some remote period of its history a fiery liquid mass, which state could have been produced by the chemical combination among particles of matter brought into close and violent contact, as before described; but the molten mass kept cooling by the radiation of heat into space, until at length the cooling of the exterior part occasioned the formation of a rigid crust over the entire surface, hiding forever the light of the earth as a self-luminous body, and which may, therefore, now be classed among the lost stars. This extinguishment of light must place

the earth in striking contrast with its previous conditions; utter darkness must come upon the face of the deep. Science avers that there was a time in the history of our globe when its light went out and thick darkness came. There was as yet no light of the sun, for it, the last formed of the members of the solar system, had not yet reached the point of condensation by which it became the source of light and heat. Its light at the brightest was like the dim haze of a planetary nebula. The radiation of heat still continuing, and the cooling of the crust and atmosphere following, the dense atmosphere, surcharged with steam and gas, condensed its steamy vapors into the waters covering the earth. We may regard the word *deep*, here, as synonymous with the *waters* of the following sentence; but the theoretic facts will hold equally good with the written word if, like the Septuagint, we interpret the deep as meaning an abyss, or the darkness resting on the wild, turbulent mass of gaseous vapors that ensphered the earth before it had cooled low enough to allow of the condensation of vapors into waters. A thick darkness vailing this earth in its early history is a fact fully warranted in the evolution of a world according to the nebular theory.

And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, for God said, Let there be light, and there was light. It will be seen that we have translated the connecting particle (*vau*) by *for* instead of *and*, as in the common version. "The Hebrew is very scanty in its conjunctions, and, therefore, the particle *vau* is often employed not only to denote sequence, or connection in order of time, but also to show the ground or reason or motive of what is said and done."* This being in accordance with its uses in the Scriptures, as defined by the best Hebrew lexicographers, and which special uses are to be determined by the nature of the connection that must hold between the ideas intended to be expressed, we employ it here to give the *causal* connection of events or facts described. Holding to this reading of the passage, we will now see what should be the order and the kind of events according to celestial dynamics and physical principles; see what fact or facts should be evolved by a nature organized by the divine power and wisdom, so as to move and work in these grooves of change

* Tayler Lewis.

which we call natural law, for the physical forces are the creating ministers of the divine will. After the contracting nebulous spheroid had cast off in succession Earth, Venus, and Mercury, and the contraction still continuing, a degree of solar condensation was reached, at which the forces of chemical affinity between the closely aggregated particles of matter leaped quick to their full and fierce energy in combination and combustion, and then and thereby that central mass became our sun, a vast storehouse and laboratory of intense light and heat. The light and the heat go together, they are here one power; the heat is the working force, and the light reveals the work done. This heat-light acted disturbingly upon the atmosphere and waters enveloping the earth, and as the earth rotated on its axis it brought in swift and periodic succession every surface part under that powerful, disturbing influence of the intense solar heat, which developed or set in motion those air currents or winds (called in Scripture the breath of God) which moved among the vapors that had position on and above the waters, and stirred and tossed them into a tremulous, uneven motion that followed the track of the sun around the world of waters as winds now move with swaying motions upon the face of the earth. This new solar heat generating air currents, and so stirring the steamy vaporous canopy that lay fog-like on that world of waters into tremulous movements, gives the same optical image that the Hebrew words give which denote a phenomenal picture of a "tremulous motion acting and re-acting, an undulating, a communicating of pulsations." The disturbing, current-forming action of the solar heat on the heavy, steamy, fog-like atmosphere which lay close to the waters, gives us the very same sense-imagery that the Mosaic record does; but the former gives the fact as an occurrence within the domain of physics, a phenomenon in the plane of cause and effect; the latter, however, refers the cause of these physical facts back to rest where they only can ultimately rest, in a supra-natural power and word. The light, accompanying and disclosing the effects of solar heat, and, therefore, phenomenally including it, closes the first grand epoch of the creative periods. First in time the earth, and after it the light and heat-bearing sun, was the natural order of this creative process, and theoretically and scripturally the facts agree.

And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. The word *firmament*, denoting, etymologically, something expanded or spread out, is usually interpreted of the rain-bearing clouds arching above the world of waters, with the interval of a transparent atmosphere between them. And this, as we shall see, was just what must have taken place in the earlier history of the earth as a visible result of changes in the atmosphere wrought out in the on-going of a nature working in the plane of traceable causes and effects. At the close of the first period the earth and seas were still warm, and the clouds were probably formed as fogs are, and so lay heavy and close to the surface of the waters, the like of which takes place now in the polar seas whenever the warmer currents come to the surface. With the cooling of the globe and the continued action of the heat from the sun there came changed conditions of the atmosphere. No longer the optical aspect of a steamy atmosphere, close muffling that world of waters in fog-like clouds, but a transparent atmosphere, broken, however, doubtless here and there, by fog-clouds that still hugged the seas. Aqueous vapor is called by Tyndall and others invisible gas, that becomes visible by coming into contact with some cooler portions of the atmosphere, and therefore it is, that poetically and truthfully clouds are called the visible capitals of invisible columns of saturated air. The clouds are the visible parts of watery vapor, which vapor decreases rapidly in density as we ascend toward the upper regions of the air, and with far greater rapidity than the density of the air decreases. In general a cubic foot of air near the ground contains fine grains in the shape of invisible vapor, and at the height of five or six miles there seems to be almost an absence of vapor.—*Annual of Scientific Discovery*, 1864. This gives a comparatively low limit of the aqueous vapor cloud-line. Now these two facts—the visible clouds formed from vapor in the higher and colder regions of the air, and the comparatively low upper limit of the vapor cloud-line—enable us to interpret the Mosaic record of the second day's work. While the waters were yet hot and the atmosphere warm, the cooler regions that could condense the invisible vapors into the high visible clouds and rain were far above the limit of the atmospheric capacity for vapor, and

hence as yet no cloud-capitals appeared. The earth and atmosphere kept pouring their heat into space, and accordingly the cooler regions of air passed slowly downward until they met the air saturated with watery vapor, and which they chilled and changed to clouds that give the rain. Water rises perpetually from the sea and land as invisible vapor, reappears above the earth as clouds, returns to the earth as rain, and between the water on the earth and the water in the cloud is the transparent interval, which to the sense of sight is as a vaulted arch surmounted by an expanse of clouds. We may thus find that a strongly contrasted change in the appearance of things when determined by the nebular theory from the constitution and course of nature, agrees in its salient features with the Mosaic description of atmospheric phenomena.

And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear, and it was so. The earth's heat was still losing itself in space. The heat of the sun, great as it was, probably greater than now, was not sufficient to repair the loss, and hence the liquid interior of the globe must contract in volume. At the same time the solid, rocky, rigid exterior crust could not equably follow the diminishing volume of the interior mass, and since from having cooled later, and from other local causes, some parts were thinner and weaker than others, the surface, being subjected to the pressure of the overlying water and the attraction of gravity, would consequently bend irregularly. Accordingly, with the above conditions there must have been upheavals and depressions, both by slow age-long subsidence and oscillation, and occasionally by quick paroxysmal convulsions. The general result of these ancient flexures of the earth's crust yet abide in the continental areas and the ocean basins. In this "flexing" of the crust of the earth, parts would be "puckered" up into mountain ranges, and down into valleys. The elevated parts became the dry land, and the depressions the beds of the seas. The cooling of the earth, the sequent diminution of the interior mass, the unevenly formed crust, must have given flexures to the surface that have been compared to the wrinkling of the skin of a drying apple, whose "wrinkles are mountain chains" and elevations of land, whereby the waters would be drawn off and gathered into seas.

In close accordance with this view a portion of the one hundred and fourth psalm, describing with Hebrew brevity the creation of the world, gives us, by the marginal reading, a vivid, poetic picture of this part of the creative work. "Thou coveredst it with the deep as with a garment, and the waters stood above the mountains. At thy rebuke they fled, at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away. Up go the mountains, down go the valleys into the place thou hast founded for them." The occasional paroxysmal changes of the rocky crust, causing the well-known geological "joints" or "faults," where the dislocated parts, snapping asunder and falling down suddenly through great spaces, must have been attended with a heavy thunderous sound, and with the rush and roar of the driving waters, which, to the religious mood of Hebrew thought, seemed fit symbols of the divine power which thus manifested itself in the great movements of nature, and so furnished the occasion for the above magnificent passage, "At the voice of thy thunder they hasted away."

We omit the question of the origin of plants on the third day. Our argument includes the facts pertaining to astronomy only, remarking, however, that science is unable to solve the mystery that lies about the origin of a nature organized so as to develop organic forms with or without life. To bridge the passage from inorganic matter to the *first* parent organic forms empowered to reproduce themselves in the lines of natural succession, by natural causation only, is impossible to science. To detect an absolute beginning in force and in matter for the multifarious kinds of organisms in the possession of life by a series of detected and definable changes, is beyond the skill and knowledge of man. We may trace the highest organic forms back to its small simple cell-form, with its nucleus and germinal dot; but whence that plastic power that of two cells, between which no difference can be made to appear, shall cause one to eventuate in man and the other in a stupid oyster, with no interchange in the line of their propagated successors forever, who can tell? The natural every-where confesses the supra-natural or the divine. But there are portions of the movements and growths of nature of which man may read the beginning and the end as the working of present physical causes; and the division of the land and sea is one of them.

Since the teachings of geology place the introduction of plants subsequent to and closely following upon the rising of the continental and insular areas, we shall assume this fact without discussion.

And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years. It is agreed by commentators that the text refers, not to the *creation* of the sun and moon and stars, but to the *ordaining*, the *appointing* of them to their *uses* in determining and regulating the seasons and years. In our modes of thought and speech the *use* for which a *thing serves* is sometimes put for that for which it is made; what a thing *does* is that for which it was created; we substitute final causes for the practical uses. Again, great events may be named or described, not from the producing forces, but from the produced results, the visible *outcome*. An ultimate and very striking phenomenal result of a series of changes may, and often does, give name to the whole process. Keeping these principles of thinking and of naming in mind, the fourteenth verse admits of an obvious interpretation. There were present to the mind of the writer the great uses which sun, moon, and stars served. The doctrine of use is apparent, also, from the contextual clause: (He made) *the stars also;* that is, for signs and seasons. The uses of the stars for determining times and seasons are among the earliest records of our race. Thus Æschylus makes Prometheus declare that until he taught mankind, "they had no sure signs either of winter, or flowery spring, or fruitful summer; but they did every thing without judgment until I showed them the risings and the settings of the stars." The rising of the Pleiades marked the approach of winter. Hesiod directs the farmer when to reap and to sow by the rising and setting of certain stars.* The Egyptians used the star Sirius (Sothis, Dog Star) to mark the approaching inundation of their narrow valley. We imitate the ancient Egyptians in our dog days, which are a traditional time-relic of an old ancestral custom of determining seasons by the heliacal rising or setting of the Dog Star. The uses of the moon for marking seasons and times are too well known and obvious to be specified. When the light broke upon the world forming the antithetic

* Whewel.

close of the first day, there were, thenceforth, periodic alternations of comparative heat and cold, the changes of day and night, the phases of the moon, and the ebb and flood of tides. If so, why was there no naming or appointing the sun and moon to their uses until the fourth day? We submit that it was for the sufficient reason that the great cycles of apparent changes—the cycle of the year-seasons as a series of striking contrasts, of varied phenomenal facts, with the subordinate changes and variations dependent on them—did not and could not exist till the fourth day. There could be no external signs of the seasons until the land had been clothed with vegetation. The annual changes of heat had no external, palpable, optical result before the luxuriant vegetation of that early period—subject then as now to the variations of heat and climate, and consequently to growth and decay, to the leafy greenness of spring and the sere and yellow aspects of autumn—had given the visible, external symbols of the great changes of the seasons and of time-measurements. The sun on its hottest days shining on sea and barren land and dull gray rock, furnished no perceptible contrast to the sense of sight with the appearance of the land and sea on the coolest days, for as yet the earth was too warm and the sun too powerful to allow other than a snowless, iceless climate from the equator to the poles. On and from the first day the earth rolled on in its orbit, its axis then, as now, inclined to the ecliptic, its surface subject to the annual and diurnal variations of heat and light; but until the earth was robed in mosses and grasses and forests, there could be no regularly recurring series of phenomenal contrasts and resemblances, that to the eye determined the year and its seasons, and which has furnished mankind with the standard unit of time-measurements; and, until the more important uses and standards of measure are given, the minor ones need not be named. Before this period, light and darkness had existed, the moon had waxed and waned through all her phases, the thermal and mechanical principles had long operated; but the course of things had not found manifestations in phenomenal results that strongly impress the senses and the thoughts of mankind by their picturesque changes until the green, leafy, luxuriant spring could pass through the golden tints of autumn to the barren aspects of winter. And, moreover, when the

forms of life which were to be regulated and modified by them began to appear, then, and not till then, are the light-bearers represented as appointed to their uses. Mankind early learned to recognize the sun as the source of the vicissitudes and the periodic variations during a year. When from his low southern altitude he begins his march northward, then, drawn by the irresistible power of light and heat, there follow in his train birds, and beasts, and grassy plains, and leafy forests, and flowers, and fruit, and golden harvests. Then, when from the northern tropic he begins his retreat southward, there again follow him, marching under the control of inexorable physical laws, birds in flocks, and beasts in herds, and leafless forests, and icy plains. With the sun thus advancing and retreating in perpetual alternation, the line of verdure moves to and from the poles, and becomes for mankind the sign of the seasons. And it is only when the unseen forces, the things that do not appear, have worked themselves out into antithetic, palpable contrasts that they furnish the signs for determining seasons and years.

A comparison of the nebular hypothesis with existing astronomical facts seems conclusive of the truth of that famous hypothesis. The theory is established with as much certainty as pertains to most inductive sciences. An application of the theory to the creation of this world by means of dynamical and physical principles now operative, demands a series of progressive changes that are in remarkable harmony with the Mosaic record. And while at the "beginning" of things, or at the beginning of special creations, there must be an outgo of a divine, a supra-natural power and wisdom passing into and redetermining the on-going of nature; yet after that, there may be the orderly evolutions of space-worlds and time-worlds (or those divided successions of existences which we call ages, epochs) according to laws which the human mind can both read and trace, and thereby make the Written Word and the Works agree to the fair satisfaction of the scientific and the religious thought of the nineteenth century.

Art. IV.—HISTORY AND ORACLES OF BALAAM.

We propose to review the history and sayings of a mysterious personage of olden time, a remarkable character, dwelling in the midst of heathens, and yet possessing a knowledge of the true God; cut off, apparently, from all communication with Jehovah's people, and yet holding a position far above the mass of idolaters; a personage whose acts and words suggest various interesting questions on which we hardly know what opinion to form, and which, from their envelopment in the shadows of remote antiquity, all speculation and investigations of critics fail to decide. As might be expected in such a case, different opinions have been given respecting the character of Balaam.

Some of the Christian fathers, and a few of the more recent interpreters, regard this seer of Aram as at first a true prophet of Jehovah and a deeply pious man, but afterward corrupted by the temptations of Balak and the lust of worldly honor. This view is favored by the fact that Balaam seems to have been in the habit of receiving oracles from the true God, and professes utter inability to do or say any thing that God opposes. He holds communication with Jehovah at his own home, and in the land of Moab he utters only such words as Jehovah puts into his mouth. But there are other facts which show most clearly that Balaam was not a true prophet of Jehovah. In Joshua xiii, 22, he is called emphatically THE SOOTHSAYER, (הַקּוֹסֵם,) a designation utterly inappropriate to characterize a true prophet of the Lord. Also, the record before us shows that he was accustomed to make use of enchantments, (xxiv, 1,) a practice in which no true prophet could indulge. This is further shown by the messengers taking the rewards of divination in their hands, (xxii, 7,) as if Balaam was known to practice divination as a trade, and thus learned to "love the wages of unrighteousness." 2 Peter ii, 15. While, therefore, we cannot regard Balaam as a true prophet, the facts already cited of his intercourse with Jehovah seem as clearly to indicate that he was something more than a mere heathen soothsayer.

With these facts before them, a number of modern divines

(*Hengstenberg, Kurtz, Otto Von Gerlach*, and others) regard Balaam as a kind of mixed character, combining in himself a considerable knowledge of Jehovah and his truth with many of the best features of Polytheism. *Hengstenberg* remarks: "There were certainly in Balaam the elements of the knowledge and fear of the Lord; but he had stopped with the elements: he had never attained a fundamental conversion. There certainly were conferred upon him single clear flashes of light by the Spirit of God; but this prophetic gift appears throughout not as a comprehensive and certain one, so that we dare not number him among the true prophets." *Kurtz*, a little more positively, says: "He was a heathen soothsayer and a prophet of Jehovah at the same time; a syncretist, who thought and hoped that he might be able to combine the two upon his peculiar stand-point, and hold them both with equal firmness." So far the position of these interpreters is well taken, and, withal, satisfactory. They also seem to grant that some knowledge of the true God might have been gathered from traditions of the ancient patriarchs who had lived in Mesopotamia. But they assume too readily that Balaam's frequent use of the name *Jehovah* must be accounted for on naturalistic grounds. By this name God was not known to the ancient fathers, (Exod. vi, 3,) and, therefore, they conclude that tidings of the wonderful works wrought in behalf of Israel, such as convinced Jethro that Jehovah was greater than all gods, (Exod. xviii, 1, 11,) and such as were reported through many nations, (see Joshua ii, 10, 11; ix, 9, 10,) had reached the ears of Balaam, and were eagerly inquired after and used by him to further the interests of his own occupation. It is true that Balaam may have heard such reports, and gathered some knowledge of Israel's God in the manner here described, but his use of the word Jehovah may be explained on other grounds. The power that put human language in the mouth of an ass might surely put in Balaam's mouth expressions unknown to him before, and this very fact the seer himself repeatedly declares. (Num. xxii, 38; xxiii, 12, 20, 26; xxiv, 13.) It is evident from the beginning to the end of Balaam's oracles, that if ever God lifted a prophet out of himself, and made him utter things beyond his knowledge and desire, it was in this case. Perhaps, also, this history received some finishing strokes from the hand

of Moses, who recorded it and the sayings of Balaam in the book of the law.

But there is no sufficient evidence to show that Balaam was at all acquainted with the history of Israel previous to his intercourse with the messengers of Balak. On the contrary, his repetition of the words of that message, (Num. xxii, 11,) without the slightest intimation of other knowledge concerning Israel than that which the message itself contained, argues strongly against the position of the above-mentioned divines, that reports of the miracles of the exodus had served so largely to develop his prophetic character. And further, there is no evidence to show that Balak believed him to be a prophet of Jehovah, as many commentators have assumed. On the contrary, it is hardly supposable that a heathen king would apply to a prophet of Jehovah, and expect him to curse Jehovah's own people.

The most consistent and tenable hypothesis respecting this mysterious personage is, to regard him as really a heathen soothsayer, but of a rank above the common position of men of that craft. He was a kind of eclectic prophet, gathering his system and practice partly from some knowledge of the true God and partly from heathenism. Possibly he belonged to a family in which the practice of augury was hereditary. As he advanced in years and made independent investigations in his art, he came in contact with traditions of God's ancient worthies, which at that time probably prevailed to some considerable extent in Mesopotamia, whence Abram had emigrated, and where afterward Jacob had sojourned nearly twenty years. Gathering up these remains of Monotheistic antiquity, and combining them with the best features of Polytheism, he sought to bring his art to the greatest possible perfection. Had he not loved so well the wages of unrighteousness, and coveted so earnestly the honors of Balak, he might, by the divine communications concerning Israel, have attained to a purer knowledge of God, and possibly have passed over from the position of a heathen soothsayer to that of a true prophet. As it was, however, Jehovah used him, with all his imperfections, as an appropriate instrument to declare among the Moabites the glory of Israel, and also among all nations, wheresoever this record is read, his power to make all his

creatures, of whatsoever land or tongue, subserve his purposes of wisdom and of grace.

ANALYSIS OF THE RECORD.

1. Balak's alarm and his two embassies to Balaam. Num. xxii, 2–21. 2. The miraculous incident on Balaam's way to Moab. Num. xxii, 22–35. 3. Balaam's reception by Balak. Num. xxii, 36–40. 4. The oracles, with their attendant circumstances. Num. xxii, 41, to xxiv, 24. (First oracle, etc., Num. xxii, 41, to xxiii, 12; second, Num. xxiii, 13–26; third, Num. xxiii, 27, to xxiv, 13; fourth, xxiv, 14–24.) 5. Separation of Balak and Balaam. Num. xxiv, 25.

I. Balak's Alarm and his two Embassies to Balaam. (Num. xxii, 2–21.)

Verses 2–4. Balak, (בָּלָק, *emptier, waster,*) the name of the king of the Moabites, and Moab, originally the name of one of Lot's sons, (Gen. xix, 37,) but afterward applied both to his descendants and the country they inhabited, in this passage are used interchangeably. Verse 3. *And Moab feared . . . and felt a sense of horror by reason of the children of Israel.* קוּץ thus differs from גּוּר, the latter meaning properly to turn one's self, or shrink back, through *fear*, while קוּץ indicates *loathing* and *horror*. Verse 4. *And Moab said to the elders of Midian.* What relation existed between Moab and Midian besides their local contiguity is not clear. But these Midianites were evidently a different tribe from those to which Jethro belonged. (Exod. ii, 16.) See more about them in chapter xxxi. By the *elders of Midian* we are to understand chiefs or *sheiks* of that tribe. In verses 13, 14, and 15 they are called שָׂרִים, and in Joshua xiii, 21, נְשִׂיאִים, *princes*. The words of Balak, "*Now shall this company lick up all our environs as the ox licks up the green verdure of the field,*" are, as *Hengstenberg* remarks, in the highest degree appropriate in the mouth of a shepherd prince conversant with the habits of cattle; and they indicate the sensitive perceptions which characterize the language of uncivilized tribes.

Verse 5. *Messengers*, that is, an embassy composed of elders of Moab and of Midian. *Balaam, the son of Beor.* Vitringa derives the name בִּלְעָם from בַּעַל and עָם, that is, *lord of the people*. Gesenius from בְּלִי, *not*, and עָם, *non-popularis*, that is, *a foreigner*. But the more probable etymology is that of Simonis, who takes it from בָּלַע, *destruction*, and עָם. Thus it

corresponds with the Greek *νικόλαος*, *people-conquering*, which some think is to be taken symbolically in the expression *τὰ ἔργα τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν*. Rev. ii, 6. בְּעוֹר, *Beor*, from בָּעַר, *to consume*, has a similar meaning. *Bosor*, in 2 Peter ii, 15, is generally regarded as a Chaldaism for Beor. פְּתוֹרָה, *local*, *at* or *to Pethor*, the name of the place where Balaam lived. Some suppose the word is derived from פָּתַר, *to interpret*, and so called because it was largely inhabited by magicians. Persons of this craft were anciently accustomed to congregate in particular localities. (Strabo, xvi, 1, 6.) The Vulgate translates by *ariolum*, *a soothsayer;* but Deut. xxiii, 5, shows that it was the name of a place in Mesopotamia. *The land of the children of his people*, that is, Balaam's people. Instead of בְּנֵי עַמּוֹ, some MSS. have בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן, *children of Ammon;* but there is no evidence that the Ammonites ever extended as far east as the river Euphrates. *He covers the eye of the land. Eye*, by metonymy, for *face* or *surface*. This hyperbolical expression of the Moabitish king shows what an impression the sight of Israel's encampment had made upon him.

Verses 6–13. Balak evidently held to the belief of heathen antiquity, that the words and incantations of magicians might control the actions of the gods. He had heard of Balaam as being a prophet of peculiar influence and power. Report had it that all his blessings and all his imprecations were effective. But there is no proof here or elsewhere that Balak knew him to be a prophet of Jehovah, as *Hengstenberg* and others assume. The form נַכֶּה may be the *Piel. Inf. Const.*, or the first person *Fut. Hiph.* of נָכָה, *to smite*. It is the simplest construction to regard it as the infinitive, and this is favored by the analogy of אוּכַל לְהַלָּחֵם in verse 11. Verse 7. *Divinations in their hand*, that is, rewards of divination. So in 2 Sam. iv, 10, בְּשֹׂרָה, *good tidings*, is to be understood as rewards of such tidings. These rewards were the earnest-money by which Balaam was to be influenced. Verse 8. *Lodge here to-night*, for the night with its darkness and silence was the appropriate time for soothsayers to receive divine communications. Verse 9. *God came to Balaam*, either by a dream or a vision of the night. (Compare Gen. xx, 3; xxxi, 24; Num. xii, 6.) But would Jehovah hold habitual intercourse with a soothsayer? Yes, we reply, with such a soothsayer as Balaam

seems to have been. Hitherto Balaam seems to have "lived up to all the light he had," and was earnestly and honestly devoted to his calling. (See the introductory remarks.) Verse 11. This repetition of Balak's message naturally implies that Balaam himself had no previous knowledge of the Israelites. Verse 13. He is obedient to the heavenly vision, but the words with which he dismisses the messengers indicate a desire in him to go with them. They amount to this: I would like to go and accommodate your king in the matter he desires, but Jehovah has denied me the pleasure of doing so. It was, perhaps, the very mildness of this reply that encouraged Balak to send a second embassy.

Verses 15–21. *Chiefs more numerous and more honorable than those.* By these he hopes to overcome the reluctancy of the distinguished soothsayer. Verses 18, 19. The first part of Balaam's answer to these more honorable messengers was truly noble, but it was utterly spoiled by his inviting them to tarry with him, and thus willfully exposing himself to their temptations. In his heart he wished to go with them and obtain the promised honors, yet will he again consult Jehovah. When a man prays God to let him sin, no doubt he will have his desire. Verse 20. *If to call thee the men have come*, that is, *If merely to call thee*, rise and go; but I charge thee to utter that, and only that, which I speak to thee. In the previous charge, verse 12, the command of Jehovah was not so much against his mere going to Moab as against his cursing Israel. Some have thought that this permission to go with the messengers argues changeableness in Jehovah, since he here allows what he had previously forbidden. But it rather shows how vividly true the narrative is to the experiences of human nature. The change, if any, is to be viewed from the human stand-point, not the divine. It is Balaam that has made the change, and our narrative is simply a part of God's dealings with him put into words. Verse 21. וַיַּחֲבֹשׁ אֶת־אֲתֹנוֹ, *and he saddled his ass.* (Compare Gen. xxii, 3.) The modern saddle was not then known, but pieces of cloth or garments (Mark xi, 7) were *bound* (חָבַשׁ) on the back of the animal. The oriental ass is a nobler animal than the mulish creature which we of America are prone to associate with the name. "Every natural history and every book of travels assure us

that in the East the ass is not the same lazy and submissive animal as in the West. According to Eastern notions, therefore, especially in antiquity, there is no trace whatever of the ill odor which we associate with the very name of an ass."—*Kurtz.* (See the Biblical Dictionaries on the word.)

II. The Miraculous Incident on the way to Moab. (Num. xxii, 22–35.)

Verse 22. Balaam evidently set out on his way to Moab with a hearty good-will. He coveted the honors and riches which Balak was able to bestow, and would gladly have cursed Israel were it not for the divine prohibition. Because he went with this feeling in his heart *God's anger was kindled*, and the angel was ~~sent~~ to trouble him in his journey. מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה, *angel of Jehovah.* The same Divine Person that at a later day appeared to Saul of Tarsus on his way to Damascus, but not yet known as Jesus of Nazareth. Saul's going to Damascus, like this of Balaam to Moab, was of such a nature, and with such an object, as must needs excite the anger of the Lord. לְשָׂטָן לוֹ, *for an adversary to him*, that is, to put an obstacle in his progress to destruction. Those who obstruct our progress in an evil way are our best friends.

Verses 23–27. It is a well-known fact that irrational animals, as by instinctive presentiment, become sensible of remarkable phenomena more readily than man. They are first to discern the approach of storms and earthquakes, and it is said they are quick to see the so-called "second sight," and show signs of affright. In this case, however, there need be no difficulty. This angel was not a corporeal nature, but could reveal himself or remain unrevealed at pleasure; (verse 31;) and his revealing himself to the ass first was in perfect keeping with his design of making the dumb ass rebuke the madness of the prophet. (2 Pet. ii, 15.) The three efforts of the ass to avoid the angel are graphically described. First, she simply *turns out of the way and goes into the open field.* Next, *in the hollow pass* (מִשְׁעוֹל) *of the vineyards*, with a wall on either side, *she presses herself against the wall, and squeezes the foot of Balaam against the wall.* Then at last in *the narrow place*, with no room to turn right or left, *she crouches down under Balaam.* Then, for the third time, he smote her בַּמַּקֵּל,

with the rod (perhaps a *divining rod*, compare Hos. iv, 12) which he carried in his hand.

Verse 28. *And Jehovah opened the mouth of the ass.* This miracle of "the dumb ass speaking with man's voice" has been the subject of much controversy and the cause of much false exposition. "Since the time of the Deists," says *Kurtz*, "no scoffer at the Bible has been able to resist the cheap gratification of a ride on Balaam's ass." With those interpreters who regard it as a myth or a fable we have no controversy here, for the denial of the supernatural lies at the bottom of all their exegesis. But many Jewish, and not a few Christian authors explain this miracle as an internal vision, having reality only in the consciousness of Balaam. So especially *Tholuck*, *Hengstenberg*, and *Robbins* (in *Bib. Sacra*, 1846). The character and ability of these divines, and their well-known attachment to the truths of revelation, demand that this exposition be carefully examined.

Robbins commences his argument with the statement that the angel was seen by Balaam in vision, and not with the natural eye. But this is an assumption for which there is no sufficient proof. We have no more reason to suppose this angel was seen by Balaam in vision than that the three angels mentioned in Gen. xviii, 2, were seen by Abraham in vision. But even granting that the angel was perceived by the internal sense, it by no means follows that the speaking of the ass was perceived in the same way, and had no external reality. These divines themselves acknowledge that the angel was really there; why, then, deny the reality of the ass speaking? The record plainly and positively says, "Jehovah opened the mouth of the ass;" and an inspired apostle says as positively, "The dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet." All must admit that these passages, taken naturally, indicate an external communication; and it is a law of interpretation that the natural meaning must be taken as the correct one, unless there be controlling reasons to the contrary. *Hengstenberg* makes the assumption that the words of the ass were a divine revelation to Balaam, and that he was in such a state of prophetic ecstasy as that referred to in chapter xxiv, 3, 4, 15, 16. And he makes, further, the remarkable statement that the wonder of the case is *in what the ass said*,

not in the fact that she spoke. But to all this we may reply, there is no shadow of evidence that Balaam was in a state of ecstasy on this occasion. On the contrary, his ignorance of the angel's presence, and his beating of the ass in such madness of fury, are facts which show that he was far from that ecstatic frame of mind which is adapted to receive divine communications. Then surely there is nothing *in what the ass said* that is marvelous. Every dumb beast, when subjected to cruel treatment, by its very looks seem to speak such language. But the most marvelous thing of this whole narrative is that the ass spoke an articulate language, "spoke with man's voice." If there is any miracle recorded here it is this of the ass speaking. But *Tholuck* wonders how it is that Balaam shows no astonishment at this miracle. If the beast really spoke, he argues, would not the prophet have leaped off in amazement and cried for help? *Hengstenberg* urges the same argument, but admits, after all, that little can be made out of a mere *argumentum e silentio.* But there is no sufficient reason to suppose that Balaam was not astonished. It is altogether likely that he was greatly amazed, though no account of it is given. But we must also mark the following considerations: Balaam was wrought up to the greatest excitement of passion, and foamed with wrath against the offending animal. This would naturally restrain his astonishment to some extent. Then we must not forget that he was a soothsayer, accustomed to the experiences of wizard life, and frequently in contact with the marvelous, and, therefore, such a miracle would not amaze him as much as it would an ordinary person.

It is argued further that the Moabitish messengers were with him, and also his two servants, but they observed no such miraculous scene. But, we may well ask, how is it known that they did not observe all this? They might have witnessed the whole affair, and yet no record of their thoughts or actions be made. Or it is very possible that in winding along those narrow lanes between the vineyards, Balaam was sufficiently separated from them for all these things to have occurred without their knowledge. The statement that he went with them, or they with him, does not imply that in all their journey they were all close together. All these *argumenta e silentio* savor too much of that rationalistic criticism which

often meddles more with what is *not* said than with what is plainly recorded, and which has thereby often made ludicrous work in Old Testament exegesis. Believing, then, that there is no sufficient reason for departing from the natural meaning of the passage, we proceed with our comments.

Verses 29–33. *And Balaam said to the ass.* It is altogether unreasonable to assume from these words that Balaam felt no astonishment at the speaking of the ass. But, as intimated above, we must also take into account the passionate fury of a wizard. הִתְעַלַּלְתָּ בִּי, *thou hast repeatedly vexed me.* (See Fürst, Lex. on עָלַל.) Verse 30. הֲהַטֵּב הֵטַבְתִּי לַעֲשׂוֹת לְךָ כֹּה. Observe the force of the *Inf. Absol. Have I ever at all managed to do to thee so?* Verse 31. *And Jehovah opened the eyes of Balaam*, for, like the disciples on the way to Emmaus, his "eyes were holden." Luke xxiv, 16. (See Lex. on קָדַר and שָׁחָה.) Verse 32. כִּי־יָרַט הַדֶּרֶךְ לְנֶגְדִּי, for headlong *is the way before me;* that is, thy way is leading thee headlong to destruction in my view. This, then, sufficiently accounts for the miraculous incident by the way. Though Balaam persist in his strong desire to grasp the honors promised him, yet will Jehovah give him sufficient warning of his danger. This obviates the objection that this narrative indicates changeableness in the character of God. Compare the use of יָרַט in Piel, Job xvi, 11, the only other place in which it occurs. Verse 33. *Perhaps she turned away from me, for now I might even have killed thee and let her live.* The traditional rendering, "If she had not turned aside, surely," etc., is not tenable, nor is there sufficient ground for making אוּלַי equivalent to לוּלֵא, or לוּלַי, as *Fürst* and *Knobel*. The angel seems to hint to Balaam that perhaps his faithful beast, from affection for its master, had turned aside to save his life.

Verses 34, 35. *I have sinned*, not so much in failing to see the angel, (*Robbins*,) for it was the angel's province to conceal or reveal himself at pleasure, but the sin was rather in his headstrong desire to please Balak and receive his gifts. This desire so enslaved his soul as to prevent his giving proper attention to his way. A thoughtful man would have cast about to see what frightened his beast, and would have checked his fury at once when he heard the miraculous speaking. Verse 35. *Go with the men.* A command. Having

thus far persisted in his willful course, he shall now go on, and as a punishment for his rashness shall be compelled to utter oracles of blessing upon Israel, and so lose his much coveted rewards. *And Balaam went on with the princes of Balak*, who, if not present during this scene, were at least not far separated from him. It has generally been supposed that this scene occurred not far from the borders of Moab.

III. Balaam's Reception by Balak. (Num. xxii, 36–40.)

Verses 36–39. *And Balak heard that Balaam was coming.* The chiefs of Moab had probably sent some one ahead to notify the king of their coming. On this city of Moab and the border of Arnon compare chap. xxi, 13–15. Verse 37. These words of the king contain an implied reproof for Balaam, as if the latter suspected in Balak inability to bestow the promised gifts. Verse 39. *Kiryath Chutzoth, City of Streets*, or, according to the Samaritan, *City of Visions;* that is, a place noted for soothsaying and divine communication. The topography of the country east of the Jordan is so little known that speculation as to the sites of many of these places is of no value. Verse 40. *And Balak sacrificed oxen*, etc. He did this both as a thank-offering for Balaam's safe arrival, and also to secure the divine favor and blessing upon the enterprise in hand. So among the heathen, burnt-offerings were not only thanksgivings for past favors, but prayers for future good. That these offerings of Balak were made to Jehovah, and not to the gods of Moab and Midian, as *Hengstenberg* and others hold, is by no means clear. More probably the heathen king sought to propitiate all the gods, among whom he reckoned Jehovah as only one powerful deity. *And he sent to Balaam and to the chiefs*, that is, he sent to their tents portions of the meat slain for sacrifice, (compare 1 Cor. x, 18–20,) from which it appears that the king was not then in immediate company with Balaam and the chiefs. Some have thought it strange that when Balaam went with Balak to the place of the burnt-offering the latter is said *to have sent* to him any thing. But surely it would be alike proper to say *he sent* the meat to him whether he were ten rods or ten miles distant.

IV. The Oracles of Balaam. (Num. xxii, 41 to xxiv, 25.)

These oracles are, by universal consent, allowed to be among the very finest specimens of Hebrew poetry. The parallelism is accurately sustained, and the style is characterized by energy, dignity, and beauty.

First oracle, and its attendant circumstances. (Num. xxii, 41 to xxiii, 12.)

Verse 41. Balak proceeds without delay to make arrangements for Balaam to curse Israel, and first takes him up to *Bamoth Baal*. *Knobel* regards this place as identical with the modern Jebel Attarus, a place observed by Seetzen and Burkhardt in their travels, and marked by stone heaps. But, as we have remarked above, all speculation on these points must, for the present, be unreliable and unsatisfactory. The country east of the Jordan must be more thoroughly explored by learned and judicious travelers, who shall be capable of rendering reliable judgment on matters of biblical topography, before the commentators can be justified in making positive statements as to the identity of these places. *And he saw from thence the end of the people.* וַיַּרְא may be either in Kal or Hiph. *He* (Balaam) *saw thence*, or *he* (Balak) *showed thence*, etc. Our view of chap. xxiii, 13 must decide whether by קְצֵה הָעָם is meant merely *the end*, that is, *one end* or extremity of the camp of Israel, (*Hengstenberg*,) or the *uttermost part*, that is, the whole people to the uttermost end of the camp. (*Gesenius*, *Kurtz*.) Certainly the most natural signification of the words favors the former view.

Verses 1–3. *Seven altars—seven bullocks—seven rams.* The sacred symbolism of the number seven was known even among the heathen. Balaam wished seven bullocks and seven rams to be offered all at the same time. This could not easily be done on one altar, therefore the seven. Verse 2. *Balak and Balaam sacrificed bullock and ram upon the altar.* בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ, *on the altar*. The word is here to be taken in a general sense, not as if meaning on one of the altars only. In common language one is often said to do a thing himself, which, in fact, is done by others whom he orders. Balaam orders the altars built, and the victims sacrificed. Balak executes the order by his servants, perhaps by attendant priests. In the sacrificing

both the king and the prophet may have assisted. Nagelsbach, quoted by *Hengstenberg*, shows that princes were wont to regulate the sacred rites, and even at times to administer them without temple or grove, or even the assistance of a priest. Verse 3. *Take thy stand beside thy burnt-offering*, as becomes the devout worshiper. Compare Judges xiii, 19. וְאֵלְכָה, *and I will go aside*, according to the custom of those who resort to secret methods to learn the will of the gods. *Perhaps Jehovah will happen to meet me.* These words, taken in connection with chap. xxiv, 1, which states that he went not as usual *to meet with omens*, (לִקְרַאת נְחָשִׁים,) quite clearly indicate the religious stand-point of Balaam. A true prophet of Jehovah could not be accustomed to resort to augury. Evidently, therefore, Balaam was a real soothsayer, as stated in Josh. xiii, 22. דָּבָר מַה־יֵּרָאֶה, *the word of whatsoever he shows me*, that is, the oracle of my vision, the statement of what he lets me see. מַה occurs after a noun in the construct in this place only. שֶׁפִי, *Sept.* εὐθεῖαν, *Vulg. velociter.* But a comparison with the passages in Isaiah (xli, 18; xlix, 9) and Jeremiah, (iii, 2, 21; iv, 11; vii, 2, 9; xii, 12,) where the word occurs, clearly establishes the meaning *bald height* or *naked hill.* It comes from שָׁפָה, *to rub, to make bare.* Compare Isa. xiii, 3, הַר נְשָׂפָה, *bare mountain.* Such bald heights the heathen soothsayers were accustomed to select for the practice of augury.

Verses 4–7. *God met with Balaam*, probably in the way the soothsayer expected, by means of the auguries which usually brought him into communication with the Deity. Realizing the Divine Presence, Balaam calls attention to the altars and sacrifices he had ordered to propitiate him. Jehovah puts an oracle in his mouth, and orders him to return and utter it in the ears of Balak. Verse 7. The term מָשָׁל, *parable, proverb*, is applied to the oracles of Balaam (here, verse 18, and xxiv, 3, 15, 20) because of their sententious excellence and power, and the highly poetical character for which they are distinguished. The position of *Hengstenberg* and others that this term serves to distinguish them from the utterances of true prophets is by no means tenable, for a brief examination, by means of the Concordance, will show that some of the grandest poems of holy men of God are called by this name. Compare especially Psalm lxxviii, 2.

THE FIRST ORACLE. (Num. xxiii, 7–10.)

7 From Aram Balak leads me,
The king of Moab from the eastern mountains!
Come, curse for me Jacob,
And come, vent anger against Israel.
8 How shall I execrate? God has not execrated him;
And how shall I vent anger? Jehovah is not enraged.
9 For from the summit of the rocks I see him,
And from the hills I survey him.
Lo! a people that dwells in separation,
And among the nations reckons not himself.
10 Who has counted the dust of Jacob,
And by number, the fourth of Israel?
Let my soul die the death of righteous ones,
And let the end of my life be like unto him!

Verses 7–11. *Aram*, that is, Mesopotamia, as is seen from Deut. xxiii, 5. (4.) This also serves to show that הָרֵי־קֶדֶם means *mountains of the east*, not *mountains of old*, as in Deut. xxxiii, 15. The mountains on which Balaam stood probably suggested to him the mountains of his own land. Verse 9. כִּי, *for*, introducing the reason for Jehovah's refusing to be angry, or curse Israel. *The summit of the rocks* and *the hills* refer to the high places on which Balaam stood. The connection of thought seems to be this: Jehovah is not angry against Israel, *for* in prophetic vision I see that he has separated him from all nations, and decreed for him a glorious future. The separation of Israel from all other nations is well known, and their spiritual separateness, of which the national was expressive, saved them from utterly perishing by exile. And while the other great nations of antiquity have passed away, Israel still survives, and is destined to a glorious restoration in the Church of the new covenant. (Rom. xi, 26.) Verse 10. *Dust of Jacob.* Compare Gen. xiii, 16, and parallel passages. There is no need of inquiring whether Balaam was acquainted with the promises made to the patriarchs. It is Jehovah that speaks in these oracles, and surely, then, his thoughts may resemble those with which he blessed his people at other times. מִסְפָּר is an accusative of definition, to be taken adverbially, and in the grammatical construction מִי מָנָה is to be supplied from the previous clause; *who has counted, by number, the fourth of Israel.* Many understand by *the*

fourth of Israel a reference to the division of the nation into four camps, as described in chapter ii, and suppose that from Balaam's present position only one of these divisions could be seen. This might have been, but surely the seer might have said the *fourth*, *fifth*, or *tenth* part of Israel without any such particular allusion. *Let my soul die*, equivalent to *let me die*. נֶפֶשׁ is often thus put for the person himself. יְשָׁרִים, *righteous ones*, such as gave prominence and character to Israel. Righteousness was the glorious ideal of this people. For this they were separated from all other nations; for this all their laws were given, and though they were frequently rebellious, yet in one of the darkest periods of such apostasy there were seven thousand in Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal. (1 Kings xix, 18.) Compare the word יְשֻׁרוּן in Deut. xxxii, 15; xxxiii, 5, 26. אַחֲרִיתִי, *my end*, that is, *the end of my life*, as the parallelism shows. The older commentators generally held that reference is here made to the blessed immortality of the righteous—their future state. But there is nothing in the words or in the context to establish this view. Rather, to die the death of the righteous and have an end like theirs, in the conception of that age, was to die at a good old age, full of years and full of honors. Compare the death of Abraham, Gen. xxv, 8, and of Jacob, Gen. xlix, 33. How different the end of Balaam! See Num. xxxi, 8. Compare, also, the conversation of Solon and Crœsus, as given in Herodotus i, 29–33.

Verse 11. *What hast thou done to me?* Language of confusion and dismay, as if his cause were lost. בֵּרַכְתָּ בָרֵךְ, *thou hast blessed blessing*, that is, thou hast blessed them in the fullest manner.

Second oracle, and its attendant circumstances. (Num. xxiii, 13–26.

Verses 13–17. Balak now leads the seer to another place, as if he thought locality might have an influence on his mind. A question somewhat difficult to decide is, whether from this second position they could see the whole, or only a part, of the Israelitish encampment. This will be decided by our rendering of the words אִם קְצֵהוּ תִרְאֶה וְכֻלּוֹ לֹא תִרְאֶה. If we make תִּרְאֶה expressive of *present time*, then the natural inference will be, that from the second position all Israel would be visible. Thus: *only his end thou seest, and all of him* (that is, Israel)

thou seest not; that is, come to another place, from which thou mayest see him; from our present position thou seest only the end of his camp, and not his whole extent. There are three reasons for adopting this construction: 1. These words of Balak were spoken on the spot where Balaam uttered his first oracle, and where they first beheld the Israelites. Hence the reason for taking וּרְאֶה in the *present tense.* 2. The words קְצֵה חָעָם, chapter xxii, 41, mean properly *an end of the people*, that is, one end or extremity. Therefore if any change of view was sought, we naturally conclude that it would be a fuller, clearer one. 3. Further, if Balaam had at first seen the whole extent of Israel's encampment, could Balak imagine that he would lose the impression by withdrawing a little way to some place where he could see only a part? This is hardly supposable. There would be manifest policy in first showing him only a part of the camp, since the sight of the whole might awe him; but having first awed him by the sight of the whole, he could not well expect him to forget the impression when he came to see a part. From the top of Pisgah, then, we conclude Balaam saw the whole of the people. Still the view was a distant one. Though he saw the whole encampment it was not a near and distinct view. Hence he was afterward led to Peor, (verse 28,) where he could see distinctly the camps of the different tribes. (Chapter xxiv, 2.) Accordingly, therefore, from the first position he saw only the end of the Israelitish encampment; from the second all the people were visible, but at a distance; the third position afforded a near and vivid prospect of even the tribe divisions. Verse 14. Further than the remarks above indicate, the exact geographical position of *the field of Zophim* (or of *the watchers*) *on the summit of Pisgah* cannot now be defined. Here the same preparations are made as on Bamoth Baal.

THE SECOND ORACLE. (Num. xxiii, 18–24.)

18 Arise, O Balak, and hear;
Listen to me, O son of Zippor!
19 Not man is God, that he should lie;
Nor a son of man, that he should repent.
Has he said, and shall he not do?
Or has he spoken, and shall he not cause it to stand?
20 Behold, to bless, I have received;
Yea, he has blessed, and I may not reverse it.

21 He has not beheld iniquity in Jacob,
And he has not seen misery in Israel.
Jehovah, his God, is with him,
And the shout of the King in his midst.
22 God has brought them out of Egypt,
As if the services of the wild ox were his.
23 For there is no incantation against Jacob,
And no divination against Israel.
In time it shall be told to Jacob,
And to Israel, what God has done.
24 Behold, the people as a lioness shall rise,
And as a lion he shall lift himself.
He shall not lie down till he devour the prey,
And drink the blood of the slain.

Verses 18–20. קוּם, *stand up*, a call to mental elevation, for Balak was already standing. (Verse 17.) בְּנוֹ instead of בָּן, וֹ being an antiquated form, apparently almost obsolete in the time of Moses.

Verse 19. *That he should repent*, that is, change his course of feeling and action. This verse is a refutation of Balak's notion that the mind of God might be changed by the incantations of a soothsayer. Verse 20. בָּרֵךְ לָקָחְתִּי, *to bless I have received, sc.*, a commandment. The subject of בֵּרַךְ in the second stich is אֵל understood.

Verse 21. *He has not beheld iniquity in Jacob*, etc. But the history of the Israelitish nation shows that iniquity and sin prevailed to a great extent among them. How, then, can this statement be true? Divines have differed much in their explanations. The *Vulgate* takes אָוֶן and עָמָל in the sense of idolatrous worship: "There is no idol in Jacob, neither is seen an image (*simulacrum*) in Israel." But this is a departure from the proper meaning of the words. Others have taken אָוֶן in the sense of *affliction*, and then give substantially the same sense as the *Septuagint*: "There shall not be affliction (μόχθος) in Jacob, neither shall misery (πόνος) be seen in Israel." But אָוֶן means *wickedness*, and not affliction. *Hengstenberg* has ably shown that in those passages where it has usually been rendered *sorrow*, the more defensible meaning is *sin*. Others take הִבִּיט and רָאָה in a modified sense; some rendering: "God has not noticed their sins with a view of punishing them," that is, he has not imputed sin to Jacob, etc.; others giving בְּ the sense of *against*—God has not per-

mitted, or cannot bear to see, iniquity practiced against Jacob, such as Balak was now trying to do. But this is hardly satisfactory. Dr. *A. Clarke* suggests that the terms Jacob and Israel may refer to the patriarch himself after he received the name Israel, a view of the passage which no consistent interpreter can for a moment accept, for in verses 7, 10, 23, and chapter xxiv, 5, 17, the terms cannot have such a reference, and it would be highly arbitrary thus to construe them here. The one great objection to all these criticisms is, that they arbitrarily twist the natural meaning of the words. Then, after all, they also fail to remove the real difficulty of the passage, for *idolatry*, *affliction*, *punishment for sin*, and *defeat by their foes*, had all been seen in Israel. Better, then, to understand by Jacob and Israel, not the nation considered merely according to the flesh, but the יְשָׁרִים, *righteous ones*, referred to in verse 10, whose happy death the prophet ardently desired. Balaam's prophetic vision takes in, not the Israel of this or that particular age, but the true Israel of all time. Such is the general meaning of the terms Jacob and Israel in these oracles of Balaam. Jehovah's relation to the true Israel is graphically set forth in Psalm xci. *Shout of the King in his midst*—that is, the shout of joy at the presence of so glorious a king as Jehovah, who was indeed their King. (Exod. xv, 18.) The shout of the people when the walls of Jericho fell, (Josh. vi, 20,) and when the ark came into the camp, (1 Sam. iv, 5,) serve to illustrate the meaning here.

Verse 22. תּוֹעֲפֹת רְאֵם לוֹ—literally: *as services of a wild ox to him.* The *English Version* translates רְאֵם *unicorn*, after the *Septuagint*. The *Vulgate* has *rhinoceros*. But it is now generally agreed that the *buffalo* or *wild ox* is meant. Greater lexical difficulty attaches to the word תּוֹעֲפֹת, and scholars are not agreed as to its etymology. The *Septuagint* renders it δόξα, *glory*; *Vulgate*, *fortitudo*, *strength*, which our authorized version and other more ancient versions adopt. Gesenius renders *swiftness*; Fürst, *splendor*, that is, *the horns* of the buffalo. But if the word comes from רוּעַ, as all admit, which means *to be faint and weary*, the very opposite of being *strong and vigorous*, (compare Isaiah xl, 28–31,) it would seem rather unnatural to derive the meaning, either of *swiftness* or of *strength* or *glory*, as applied to the horns.

We suggest, therefore, the meaning *services*, the performance of toilsome labors for the benefit of others. The sense of the passage would then be this: "God brought Israel out of Egypt as miraculously as if he had called to his (Israel's) aid the services of the wild oxen of the desert, those most untractable of beasts. A similar thought is expressed in Exod. xix, 4, where Jehovah is said to have delivered Israel from Egypt as if he had borne them on eagles' wings. Also in the only other two places where the word occurs, *services* is the simplest and most suitable meaning. Thus, Job xxii, 25: "The Almighty shall be thy golden ore, and *silver of services shall be thine*," that is, the silver rewards of labor. Psa. xcv, 4: "In his hand are the depths of the earth, and the *services of the mountains are his*;" that is, the mountains serve to show forth his greatness and glory. לוֹ refers to Israel, not God. The plural suffix ם in the word מוֹצִיאָם, preceded and followed by the singular ו, seems to have been designed to avoid a repetitious sameness.

Verses 23–26. *No incantation against Jacob*, etc.; that is, no arts like those which Balaam seeks to use shall prevail against or injure Israel. כָּעֵת, *according to the time; Septuagint*, κατὰ καιρὸν, *at the opportune moment;* that is, at the right time, in due season, *it shall be said to Jacob and to Israel what God has done.* The usual explanation of this verse is this: Augury and divination are not practiced among the Israelites, but God has other methods of communicating his acts and words at the proper time directly to his people, namely, by his own prophets. Compare, for example, Exod. iv, 29–31. But we regard the following as the more simple and natural meaning: None of these incantations shall be successful in injuring this people, and in due time it shall be told to the Israelites how the king of Moab brought Balaam from the East to curse them, and how wondrously God turned the curse into a blessing. (Deut. xxiii, 5.) This was a wonderful work in their behalf, and was accurately communicated to Israel, either by Balaam himself or some one of the Moabites. Verse 24 is a prophecy of the conquests of Israel that were nigh at hand, the first of which, and perhaps the one particularly referred to here, was the utter spoliation of the Midianites. Chapter xxx, 1–20. Verse 25. גַּם קֹב לֹא תְקַבֶּנּוּ, literally, *also*

cursing, thou shalt not curse him; also blessing, thou shalt not bless him. But גַּם, with לֹא thus repeated, as in Isa. xlviii, 8, is equivalent to *neither, nor.* So we may properly render: *Neither shalt thou curse him at all, nor shalt thou bless him at all.* In his rage Balak resolves to hear no more such oracles. But as Balaam again reminds him that he can utter only what Jehovah puts into his mouth, he concludes to try once more, and takes him to another place, whence he may have a still more distinct view of Israel. See on verse 13.

Third oracle, and its attendant circumstances. (Num. xxiii, 27, to xxiv, 13.)

Verse 28. *The summit of Peor, which is seen over the face of the desert.* This summit seems to have overhung the Israelitish encampment; perhaps it was the nearest mountain pinnacle from which Israel was visible. *Hengstenberg* understands הַיְשִׁימֹן, *the desert*, to mean the plains of Moab, where Israel was encamped.

Chapter xxiv, 1, 2. Balaam sees that it is useless to resort to augury, for God declares through him that no such art shall succeed against his chosen people. He therefore waits for the divine afflatus. כְּפַעַם בְּפַעַם, *as time by time* he was wont to do, and therefore could not have been a true prophet of Jehovah. Verse 2. *And he saw Israel*, etc. This impressive sight served to prepare him for the spirit of ecstatic prophesying.

THE THIRD ORACLE. (Num. xxiv, 3–9.)

3 Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor,
And oracle of the man of the closed eye;
4 Oracle of him who hears the sayings of God,
Who the vision of the Almighty beholds,
Falling down, and with eyes unvailed.
5 How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob!
Thy dwellings, O Israel!
6 As valleys are they extended,
As gardens along the streams;
As aloes which Jehovah has planted,
As cedars along the waters.
7 And there shall flow water from his buckets,
And his seed shall be by many waters.
Higher than Agag shall be his king,
And exalted shall be his kingdom.
8 God brought him out of Egypt,
As if the services of the wild ox were his.

He shall devour the nations, his enemies,
And their bones shall he craunch,
And smite his arrows through.
9 He croucheth, he lieth down as a lion,
And as a lioness, who will rouse him up?
They that bless thee are blessed,
And they that curse thee are cursed.

Verses 3–9. שְׁתֻם some render *open*, others *closed*. *Septuagint* has ὁ ἀληθινῶς ὁρῶν, *who sees accurately*. *Vulgate*, *obturatus*, *stopped up* or *closed*. The meaning *to open* has nothing in Hebrew usage to support it, and its advocates appeal to the Talmud to sustain their views. But the meaning *to close* is shown from the kindred word סָתַם, (עֵתָם, Lam. iii, 8,) which occurs repeatedly in Hebrew in the sense of *stopping*, *shutting up*, *hiding*. This meaning is also sustained by the corresponding Arabic word, and the Chaldee סְתַם. The *closed eye* here refers to the external vision, the outer senses, which were held in abeyance as the seer fell down under the force of the divine afflatus, (compare 1 Sam. xix, 24,) and in prophetic ecstasy found his internal vision, the spiritual *eyes*, *unvailed*. Verse 7. *Shall flow water from his buckets*. *Gesenius* understands here "a metaphor drawn from water as flowing from a bucket, and applied to the *semen virile*," thus indicating that his posterity will be numerous. See his Lex. under דֶּלִי, and compare *Fürst*. But *Hengstenberg* well observes that water is never used to designate the *semen virile*, not even in Isa. xlviii, 1, where Judah is simply represented under the figure of a fountain. Likewise unsatisfactory is *Cocceius's* explanation, that reference is made to an abundant supply of water, and that זֶרַע in the next clause means *seed-corn*. We prefer to understand here the nation personified as a man carrying *two buckets* (דְּלָיו is the dual) overflowing with water—an image in harmony with the figures of the previous verse, and representing in a general sense abundance of blessings. *His seed by many waters*, in the next clause, refers not only to the great extent of territory occupied by his posterity, but also its fertility, as a land abundantly watered. Compare Deut. viii, 7. *Agag*, not the name of a particular king, but the title of the Amalekite kings in general, as *Pharaoh* of the Egyptian, and *Abimelech* of the Philistine kings. The king of the Amalekites is mentioned, perhaps, because this

nation was one of the most bitter, if not the most bitter, of Israel's foes. In verse 20 he is called the *chief of the nations*, and he was the first to molest the Israelites in their journey through the desert. Exod. xvii, 8. *His king* and *his kingdom* are terms that refer prophetically to the development of the nation into an organized kingdom under Saul and his successors, which kingdom broke, not only the power of Amalek, (1 Sam. xv,) but also the power of many other nations. Verse 8. See on chapter xxiii, 22. The latter part of this verse indicates the terrible struggle and utter destruction Israel shall make of his conquered enemies, as, for example, the inhabitants of Jericho and of Ai. (Josh. vi, 21; viii, 24.) Verse 9. Compare chapter xxiii, 24. The nations learn to dread Israel's martial prowess, as men do to disturb the sleeping lioness.

Fourth oracle, and its attendant circumstances. (Num. xxiv, 14–24.)

Verse 14. יָעַץ, *to counsel, to advise.* This announcement respecting the future relations of Moab and Israel contained *advice* for Balak. He should have learned from it how to conduct himself toward Israel. בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים, *in the end of the days.* Compare Gen. xlix, 1. "For any particular age, the end of days commences when such anticipations of salvation as are not yet fulfilled, but occupy the forefront of hope, patient waiting, and ardent longing, first begin to pass, by means of their fulfillment, into the sphere of reality."—*Kurtz.* But it is useless to argue, as *Hengstenberg* does, that the expression *end of the days* may not refer to *future times* indefinitely. This latter meaning is the preferable one here, as in other passages. The sentiment is: I will advise thee of what Israel will do to thy people *in coming days.*

THE FOURTH ORACLE. (Num. xxiv, 15-24.)

15 Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor,
And oracle of the man of the closed eye;
16 Oracle of him who hears the sayings of God,
And knows the knowledge of the Most High;
The vision of the Almighty he beholds,
Falling down, and with eyes unveiled:
17 I see him, but not now;
I survey him, but not nigh.

There shall go forth a Star from Jacob,
And a Scepter shall rise up from Israel;
And he shall smite through the two sides of Moab,
And destroy all the sons of tumult.
18 And Edom shall become a possession,
And Seir shall become a possession—his enemies!
And Israel shall acquire power.
19 And one from Jacob shall rule,
And destroy the fugitive from the city.
20 And he saw Amalek,
And took up his parable, and said:
First of the nations is Amalek;
But his end!—unto (the condition of) one that perishes!
21 And he saw the Kenites,
And took up his parable, and said:
Enduring is thy dwelling-place,
And set upon a rock thy nest.
22 But Kain shall be for consuming—
How long?—Asshur shall lead thee captive!
23 And he took up his parable, and said:
Alas! who shall be after God brings it to pass?
24 And ships from the side of Chittim!
And they afflict Asshur, and they afflict Eber,
And even he!—unto (the condition of) one that perishes!

Verse 17. *I see him*, that is, the star mentioned below. *I survey him;* שׁוּר, *to look around, to observe.* Compare the use of the same words in chapter xxiii, 9. What is here described Balaam sees in prophetic vision far out upon the *distant future, not now, not nigh.* The words *star* and *scepter* refer not to a single ruler, considered apart from all others who should govern Israel, but rather *the royal dominion as exercised by Saul and his successors.* This interpretation is supported by the analogy of verse 7, where Israel's *king* is manifestly not one sole individual, but in a more general sense, the succession of Israelitish kings; just as Agag is used in the same verse, not of one particular person, but of the Amalekite kings in general. It is further supported by the term *scepter*, which more naturally suggests the general idea of dominion, than the individual exercising such dominion. Both terms, *star* and *scepter*, taken together, therefore, beautifully indicate *the kings of Israel exercising dominion*—all considered in the abstract as one. This interpretation stands opposed on the one hand to the reference of the terms exclusively to David, as *Grotius* and many expositors after him

have held, and on the other to the exclusive reference to the Messiah, as some of the Jews, most of the Christian fathers, and many of the more modern divines. Our interpretation, of course, includes David, who smote Moab, Edom, and Amalek, (2 Sam. viii, 2; xii, 14,) but in accordance with the far-reaching scope of prophetic vision, it may, like other prophecies of similar import, have a secondary and more spiritual reference to the Messianic kingdom. To exclude the more natural historical interpretation, in order to make way for the Messianic, is exceedingly arbitrary. No service is done the cause of sacred truth by such uncritical attempts. The same may be said of arguments urged to show the identity of this star with that of the Magi, Matt. ii. This prophecy may have been in the mind of the Evangelist when he wrote of the "star in the east;" it may not have been. *He shall smite through the two sides of Moab*, that is, from one side to the other, throughout its whole extent. פַּאֲתֵי is the construct dual form of פֵּאָה. קַרְקַר, from קָרַר, *to dig*, is variously rendered. But the *Septuagint* προνομεύσει, *shall plunder*, and *Vulgate*, *vastabit*, *shall lay waste*, evidently present the true idea; for the parallel מָחַץ, *to smite through*, requires קָרַר to have a corresponding signification. Compare its use in Isa. xxii, 5. בְּנֵי־הַמְּרִי־שֵׁת, *all the sons of tumult*, or *confusion*. Many, following the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*, render: *all the sons of Seth*, and understand all mankind as descended from Seth, the third son of Adam, Gen. iv, 25. But it would be strange to represent heathen nations devoted to destruction as the children of him who took the place of pious Abel. Another view, which refers the name to some now unknown tribe of the Moabites, is altogether unsatisfactory. Modern critics are generally agreed that the word שֵׁת is from שָׁאָה, *to make a noise*, and a contraction of שְׁאוֹן, Lam. iii, 47, and synonymous with שָׁאוֹן, *tumult*, which comes from the same root. Compare parallel passage in Jer. xlviii, 45. Thus it becomes another designation of Moab, as Seir is of Edom, Israel of Jacob, and Eber of Asshur, verse 24.

Verses 18–20. *Edom shall become a possession*, that is, a possession of Israel. For the fulfillment of this prophecy see 2 Sam. viii, 14. *And Seir . . . his enemies*, that is, Israel's enemies. אֹיְבָיו, *his enemies*, is, grammatically, in apposition

with both Edom and Seir, which terms are used interchangeably in the poetic parallelism. עָשָׂה חַיִל means here *to acquire power*, including wealth of vast possessions. Compare the use of the terms in Deut. viii, 17, 18, and Ruth iv, 11. Verse 19. This verse indicates still further the destructions to be wrought by the kingdom of Israel. Even the solitary fugitive that has escaped from the pillaged city shall be cut off. יֵרְדְּ, *Apoc. Fut.* of רָדָה, *to rule*, "is used designedly without any definite subject, in order to suggest that not an individual, but a whole race was intended; not a single king, but a succession of kings, a regal government."—*Hengstenberg.* Verse 20. *He saw Amalek*, not with his bodily eye, for that was closed, but with the unvailed eyes of his spiritual vision. See on verses 3, 4. *First of nations*—Not most ancient of nations, as some understand, for there were nations older than Amalek; nor yet the first of the nations that opposed Israel, (Exod. xvii, 8,) for such an explanation of the terms is certainly far-fetched; but *chief of nations*, most distinguished of the kingly powers that came in the line of Balaam's vision. This view is sustained by the reference in verse 7 to Agag, the king of Amalek, with whom the king of Israel is compared, where Agag seems to be taken as a representative of all the heathen kings. אַחֲרִיתוֹ עֲדֵי אֹבֵד, literally, *his end unto one perishing*, that is, his end or future destiny, as a nation, reaches to the distressing condition of one who perishes utterly. Gesenius and others regard אֹבֵד as an abstract noun meaning *destruction*, but it is properly the Kal participal of אָבַד, *to perish*. On the end of the Amalekites, see 1 Sam. xv, 7, 8.

Verse 21. *The Kenites.* Who were these? The Kenites are mentioned Gen. xv, 19, as a Canaanitish tribe in the time of Abram; but since no other mention of such tribe occurs, we cannot coincide with Hengstenberg's position that a Canaanitish tribe of this name was in existence at the time of these oracles, and stands here as a representative of the Canaanites generally. We prefer to take the work *Kenites* as another designation of the *Midianites*. In Judg. i, 16, Moses's father-in-law is called the Kenite, but in Num. x, 29, he is called the Midianite, which fact shows that these terms were interchangeable. The term *Kenite* seems to have been

chosen from its similarity in sound to קִנֶּךָ, *thy nest*, of which he was about to speak. It would, indeed, have been strange, if, in these oracles against the nations hostile to Israel, no mention had been made of the Midianites, now in league with Moab for the destruction of the chosen people. If, then, these Kenites were identical with the Midianites that bordered on Moab, the reference to their strong dwelling-places in the rocky fastnesses of that district becomes very clear.

Verse 22. *Kain shall be for consuming.* It would have been a more simple construction to have used the pronoun אַתָּה, *thou*, instead of Kain: *But thou shalt be for consuming.* Yet, in Hebrew poetry, such sudden change of person is common, and קַיִן seems to have been chosen because of its resemblance to קִנֶּךָ, at the close of the preceding line. The meaning of the verse is: "Thou, Kain, shalt be gradually consumed by war and adversity, until the Assyrians carry into captivity the remnant of thee that is left after all these afflictions." We have no historical account of the Midianites' captivity in Assyria, but this is by no means sufficient to set aside the above most natural interpretation of the passage. In the absence of all historical record to the contrary, we may conclude from this very prophecy that such was the end of these Kenites. *Hengstenberg* and others most unnaturally understand this captivity of Israel: *until Asshur carry thee* (Israel) *into captivity.* But, besides the unnaturalness of the reference, it has against it the decisive objection, that in reference to Israel, Balaam can utter *only blessings*, not cursings.

Verses 23, 24. מִי יִחְיֶה מִשֶּׂמוֹ אֵל, literally, *who shall be from setting it God*, that is, from or after the time of God's appointing it. שׂוּם, *to set, appoint, establish*, here points to the completion of such appointment, and may best be rendered by *accomplishes*, or *brings to pass.* Sentiment: who of all these hostile nations shall be in existence after God accomplishes this, namely, what he has just foretold; for, as he proceeds to show, even Asshur, the last-named power, shall also come to nought. Verse 24. *Chittim*, a name applied to Cyprus, one of whose chief cities was Citium. It was a principal station for the maritime commerce of the Phœnicians, and all fleets sailing from the west to the east must pass by the *side of Chittim.* The power coming from this western

quarter, which was to oppress Asshur, was the Macedonian under Alexander the Great. In 1 Macc. i, 1, Alexander is described as coming from *the land of Chittim.* עֵבֶר, *the country beyond,* is used here as a proper name, *Eber,* and is synonymous with Asshur, though perhaps a more comprehensive word. This mighty western power shall grievously oppress Asshur, *and also* the peoples beyond the Euphrates. וְגַם־הוּא עַדֵי אֹבֵד, *and also he unto one that perishes.* Not even shall Asshur be, when God brings all this to pass. He also shall be like Amalek. (Verse 20.) Well, then, might Balaam utter the exclamation of woe in the last verse, (אוֹי, *alas! woe to me!*) for he sees the last bitter judgment is to afflict the children of his own people. The pronoun הוּא, *he,* may possibly refer to the Macedonian power. *And* (in turn) *even he* (the western power from Chittim) *shall come to nought.* This uncertainty in the reference is all the more impressive. The vision of the seer stretches on into the distant future, until it loses itself amid the fall of the successive hostile powers.

V. Separation of Balak and Balaam. (Num. xxiv, 25.)

Verse 25. *And Balaam arose, and went and returned unto his place.* לִמְקֹמוֹ, *toward his place,* that is, his home. This does not necessarily mean that he returned unto his home in the east, but rather that he turned that way. All that we know of his subsequent history is recorded in chapter xxxi, 8, 16. He went to the Midianites, and counseled them as to the most successful method of inducing Israel to sin. It is possible that he may have returned to his home in the east, and then came back again among the Midianites. At all events, when the Israelites avenged themselves on the Midianites, they found Balaam among them, and slew him with the sword.

One question claims a passing notice here. How came the history and oracles of Balaam to the knowledge of Moses and the Israelites? *Hengstenberg* thinks that after Balaam had failed to receive his desired honors from the king of Moab he went to the camp of the Israelites, which was not far off, and made all this known to Moses, but receiving no thanks or kind attention there, he returned to the Midianites, and, in retaliation for the cold reception he had met with in Israel, sought to injure them by his evil counsels. Another supposi-

tion is, that some chief of Moab or Midian preserved an accurate record of the oracles as they were uttered, and transmitted it to Israel through some such medium as Cozbi, chapter xxv, 15, 18. The most probable hypothesis is, that Balaam himself wrote out his oracles, and made a full communication of all his works and words to the Israelites when he fell into their hands; but this communication did not save his life, and he fell by the edge of the sword. Compare the note on chapter xxiii, 10.

Art. V.—WILLIAM COWPER.

The Poetical Works of William Cowper. With Notes and a Memoir, by John Bruce. 3 vols. London: Bell & Daldy.

Genius consists in unusual ability to know or feel, and to express. This expression may take the form of painting, sculpture, music, eloquence, or poetry. A half century of Cowper's life had passed before it was known that he possessed more than one element of genius—sensibility, or capacity to feel. At the age of fifty it was discovered that the retired invalid of Olney had a power of expression which would give him a place among the most distinguished poets of the world. Cowper possessed power of expression with his pen alone. He was too diffident to open his lips in public, and too retiring to appear well in conversation with any save his most intimate friends. Yet he possessed an unsurpassed power of felicitous expression with the pen.

Invalid and recluse as Cowper was, there seems to have been a rare fascination in him which made all who came near him his firm friends. The Unwins were bound to him in closest friendship as long as they lived. His cousin, Lady Hesketh, manifested in substantial ways a sisterly affection for the poet. Her sister Theodora, still more devoted, remained a spinster for his sake. Impulsive, generous, energetic John Newton, so much a contrast with Cowper, was yet so devotedly his friend that for many years they were "seldom seven successive hours separated." Joseph Hill was true to the friend of his youth through every vicissitude, and Hayley de-

clared that he found in Cowper a congenial spirit. William Bull, the Throckmortons, Bagot, Johnson, the lively Lady Austen, were friends whom Cowper has enshrined in his letters and his poems.

The charm which surrounded Cowper in his life attached to his name and memory after death. No literary man has ever had more numerous or more friendly biographers. Taylor, Memes, Greatheed, Seeley, Hayley, Grimshawe, and Southey told the story of his life soon after his death. Subsequently, every few years, the public has demanded new editions of his works and fresh recitals of his life. The best of the poet's editors and biographers is the last—John Bruce. Strange as it may appear he is able, nearly seventy years after the poet's death, to give us letters not before published, and facts not hitherto known to the public.

It is a fact no less creditable to the reading public than to Cowper that new editions of his works are so frequently demanded. It is indicative of a healthful condition of the public mind. Cowper is fortunate in having two classes of readers, both of them large and respectable. One is a large and constantly augmenting class who love poetry, and read it for its own sake. They are charmed by the beautiful creations of the poet's fancy, and love to behold the beautiful light with which he invests the English landscape and the English society of eighty years ago. Another class, caring but little for poetry as such, are delighted with the pages of Cowper for the vein of piety which runs through his verse.

No one who has human sensibilities, though he love neither poetry nor piety, can fail to be interested in the story of his life. The Cowper family was possessed of considerable social influence and political power in England. Spencer Cowper, the grandfather of the poet, held a high judicial office. The poet's father was an eminent divine, and chaplain to the king. His mother, Anne Donne, was of royal ancestry, being able to perform the remarkable genealogical feat of tracing her descent by four distinct lines from Henry Third. Her royal origin was not her chief excellence, however, as the poet's verse abundantly attests. The memory of his mother's love was fondly cherished by the poet. In his beautiful poem "On the Receipt of my Mother's Picture" he says,

Thy nightly visits to my chamber made,
That thou might'st know me safe and warmly laid;
The morning bounties, ere I left my home,
The biscuit or confectionary plum,
The fragrant waters on my cheeks bestowed
By thine own hand, till fresh they shone and glowed;
All this, and more enduring still than all
Thy constant flow of love, that knew no pall.

The childhood so happily begun was soon clouded with grief. William was but six years old when his mother died.

I heard the bell tolled on thy burial day,
I saw the hearse that bore thee slow away,
And turning from thy nursery window drew
A long, long sigh, and wept a last adieu.

At the death of his mother the sensitive boy was plucked up from the midst of the tender influences of home and transplanted to a school in Bedfordshire. Here he was the victim of the petty tyranny which was once permitted in English schools. The tyrant who filled young Cowper's days and nights with terror was a lad of fifteen, but so thorough an adept was he in the arts of cruelty that many years after Cowper wrote, "I well remember being afraid to lift my eyes upon him higher than his knees; and I knew him better by his shoe-buckles than any other part of his dress." The poor child bore these cruelties for two years without daring to complain, but at last the young tyrant was brought to justice and expelled.

While at school young Cowper was threatened with blindness, and was placed under the care of an eminent oculist, whose treatment was unsuccessful. The alarming symptoms were at length removed by an attack of small-pox in his thirteenth year.

Young Cowper became a pupil in Westminster School, and applied himself with energy to manly sports and diligent study. He excelled in the favorite games of cricket and foot-ball. Such vigor of limb and regularity of pulse did he enjoy, that he was beguiled into the notion that he should never die. This strange delusion did not long retain place in his mind, for the visitation of some ordinary mental aches soon convinced him that he was the inheritor of at least his share of the infirmities and maladies of human nature.

Cowper was no less zealous and successful in study than in play, and soon made great proficiency in Latin and Greek classics. The young scholar, however, owed very little of his success to tutorship. His teacher, Vincent Bourne, was justly celebrated for his classical attainments and skill in Latin poetry, yet as a teacher no one could possibly be more worthless. He carried his conduct to the highest pitch of laziness and neglect. As is not unfrequently the case, his indolence was accompanied by the highest degree of good nature. He took it in good part when the young Duke of Richmond set fire to his locks, and then boxed his ears under pretense of zeal for putting out the blaze.

In spite of the influence of such a teacher Cowper left school, at the age of eighteen, with no inconsiderable amount of classical attainment. Seven years of student life at Westminster School, however productive of intellectual advantage, was by no means favorable to his morals. He says, "The duty of the school-boy swallowed up every other, and I acquired Latin and Greek at the expense of knowledge much more important." It was a quaint but forcible remark of Legh Richmond, that "Christ was crucified between Classics and Mathematics." The poet describes himself at eighteen as being tolerably furnished with grammatical knowledge, but as ignorant in all points of religion as the satchel at his back.

It is strange that Cowper, whose mature character was made up of the most amiable moral traits, should have been in early life an adept in falsehood. From his own showing, he could not take a course so crooked but his ready wit could make it appear straight in the eyes of his unsuspecting teachers.

At the age of eighteen Cowper was articled to a London attorney. The study of the law was not in accordance with the tastes of the future poet. In fact, legal study had little opportunity of coming in conflict with his tastes. He observed the formality of keeping his lodgings at Mr. Chapman's, but spent his days at the house of his uncle, Ashley Cowper, enjoying the society of two charming young ladies. He was accompanied on these visits by his fellow-student at law, afterward distinguished as Lord Chancellor Thurlow. This young man by most earnest application at night to some extent re-

deemed the lost days, which the improvident Cowper allowed to glide by without a thought of improvement.

At the close of his three years' apprenticeship with Mr. Chapman, William Cowper, Esq., took rooms at the Inner Temple. This step, as well as his entry upon legal study, was taken with a view to gratify an excellent father, and not as the dictate of personal desire. His proceedings were as idle and aimless as ever. His affections were deeply enlisted for one of his fair cousins, Miss Theodora Cowper. Meanwhile a malignant eruption appearing on the young man's face interfered with his desire to present a good appearance. He applied to a quack doctor, who promised to remove it, and was as good as his word. By unwise applications the disease was driven inward, and most calamitous results ensued. His mind became seriously affected. Of himself he says, "I was struck with such dejection of spirits as none but they who have felt the same can have any conception of. Day and night I was upon the rack, lying down in horror, and rising up in despair."

Having been in this dreadful situation near a twelvemonth, he applied himself to prayer and experienced partial relief. Being advised to try a change of scene, he went to the sea-side, where he spent several months. One day, when he had walked about a mile from Southampton, and seated himself on an eminence overlooking a wide prospect of sea and shore, suddenly the weight of misery was removed. His heart became light and joyful. Had he given way to his emotions he would have wept with transport. He afterward believed and acknowledged that this was a merciful deliverance wrought for him by the Almighty in acceptance of his prayers. He was tempted, however, to believe that his deliverance was the result of a change of scene and the amusing varieties of the place. He conceived that nothing but a continued round of diversion could save him from relapse. He accordingly repaired to London, burned his prayers, and began anew his life of idleness and folly. He was speedily engaged to his fair cousin, and reference was made to her father for his ratification. He presented two insurmountable objections, the nearness of their relationship, and the inadequacy of young Cowper's fortune. The real reason doubtless was the alarming

symptoms of disease which had recently appeared in the young man's mind. The lovers were not so rash as to make a pilgrimage to Gretna Green, but submitted to the hard fate which separated them. The poet in some lines addressed to the lady at parting, indicates that their mutual affection was no transient emotion:

> Yet ere we looked our last farewell
> From her dear lips this comfort fell:
> Fear not that time, where'r we rove,
> Or absence, shall abate my love.

The event proved that this was no poetical exaggeration. The lady died, unmarried, in 1824, preserving for him "a proud affection to the last."

The twelve years succeeding Cowper's establishment in the Temple were spent to little purpose, and were marked by few events save the unsuccessful issue of his love, and the early death of his friend, Sir William Russell, which he deplored in the following lines:

> Doomed as I am in solitude to waste
> The present moments, and regret the past,
> Deprived of every joy I valued most,
> My friend torn from me and my mistress lost,
> See me, ere yet my destined course half done,
> Cast forth to wander in a world unknown.
> See me, neglected on the world's rude coast,
> Each dear companion of my voyage lost.

Cowper passed his time amid the gayeties of the town, and in the indulgence of a taste for desultory reading. According to his own account, he wandered from the thorny road of his austere patroness, Jurisprudence, into the primrose paths of literature and poetry. He cultivated the acquaintance of some reckless literary friends, among whom were Coleman and Lloyd, both of whom, after short lives of dissipation and folly died, one in a mad-house and the other in prison.

As Cowper had never seriously devoted himself to his profession, it yielded him no income, and as his patrimony was well nigh expended, he began to be apprehensive of approaching want. At this juncture three clerkships in the House of Lords fell vacant, to which his relative, Major Cowper, had

the right of appointment. Two of these, the office of Reading Clerk, and that of Clerk of the Private Committees, were offered to the poet. The idea of reading in public, a duty which one of these offices would impose upon him, fell on him with such crushing weight that he was well nigh driven to distraction. He prevailed upon Major Cowper to bestow these situations on another, and give him one which, though the least lucrative, would not involve his constant appearance in public. He accordingly took measures to enter upon the duties of Clerk of the Journals of the House of Lords. A party questioning Major Cowper's right of appointment insisted that an examination should be had before the bar of the House to test the qualifications of the candidate. The very thought of obtaining the office at such a cost was intolerable. "I knew," said he, "to demonstration, that upon these terms the Clerkship of the Journals was no place for me. They whose spirits are formed like mine, to whom a public exhibition of themselves is mental poison, may have some ideas of the horrors of the situation, others can have none."

Not possessing sufficient strength of will to decline the office, he proceeded to prepare himself for the examination by a study of the Journals of the House of Lords. He found it impossible, in his violent perturbation of spirits, to make any progress in his preparation. Day after day for six months, scarcely knowing what he did, he turned the leaves of the ponderous Journals. At length on the approach of vacation he fled to the country, and attempted to forget his impending doom. When the day of examination drew near he went back to London, as unwilling as a criminal goes to execution. He cursed the day of his birth. He had a presentiment of approaching insanity, and only feared that it would not befall him in time to save him from the intolerable ordeal. He next thought of self-destruction, and by a course of sophistical reasoning persuaded himself that it could not be wrong. Intent on suicide, he purchased half an ounce of laudanum. Hoping, however, that some unforeseen circumstance might turn in his favor, he resolved to defer the use of the drug until the last moment. His diseased mind interpreted every thing he read as something against himself. Reading in the morning newspaper a letter in which he thought the writer was indulging in satire against him, and

attempting to urge him on to self-destruction, he exclaimed, "Your cruelty shall be gratified, you shall have your revenge." He rushed out resolved to commit suicide in some retired ditch. His courage failed him in the attempt, and he thought he might go abroad, and lose himself among strangers in foreign lands. When his money was expended he might seek refuge in a monastery, and thus be lost to his friends and enemies forever. When he commenced putting this plan into execution his mind recurred to suicide as still the better course, and he resolved to accomplish his murderous end by drowning. He took a coach and drove to the river, but the sight of a porter sitting on the shore turned him from his purpose. He rushed into the coach, and having shut himself in, put the laudanum to his mouth, but his tremulous hand refused to do the dictate of his will. Twenty times did he renew the attempt in vain. In his own apartment he made the final effort with the laudanum, but an invisible hand seemed to sway the bottle downward, and his fingers suddenly contracted in the effort. Stopping to muse for a moment, he became convinced that suicide was a crime, and indignantly threw his poison out at the window.

The night before the dreadful inquisition was to occur he resolved that he would not see the morning light. He fell asleep, but awoke at three o'clock with his murderous design deeply rooted in his mind. He held his penknife directed toward his heart for several hours, sometimes pressing upon it, as he thought, with all his strength; but fortunately the point was broken, and it did not penetrate the flesh. Morning dawned, and he was still alive, nor had delirium come to his relief. The moment was approaching when the messenger would come to summon him before the assembled lords. The emergency brought new desperation, and seizing his garter, he suspended himself to an iron pin in the wall, which bent under his weight. The frame of the bed-curtain was next applied to, but this broke at the critical moment. The halter was now fastened to one corner of the door. This time the attempt was well nigh successful, and the poor victim hung until unconscious, but the garter broke before life was extinct. His fall upon the floor and his dreadful groan aroused him to sensibility. He managed to make his way to bed, and sum-

moning a servant, he sent for Major Cowper, who, on seeing his plight, and hearing what had occurred, exclaimed, "You terrify me; to be sure you cannot hold the office at this rate." He carried away the deputation, and so ended the poet's long agony of office-holding.

The dread of the impending examination being over, Cowper was left at liberty to reflect on the sin of resolving on self-destruction, and from this he was led seriously to consider his other sins and follies, until he became seriously alarmed on account of his condition. He walked his room, and exclaimed, "There never was so abandoned a wretch, so hardened a sinner." Every book he opened seemed to address terrifying words to his alarmed conscience. In a book so far from having any coincidence with religious thought as Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays he saw something intended to alarm him in the sentence, "The justice of the gods is in it," which his eye accidentally rested upon as he opened the volume. He thought the narrative of the barren fig-tree was an allegorical representation of his condition and destiny. In this distress he sent for his kinsman, Martin Madan, an evangelical clergyman, who sat at his bedside, and affectionately expounded to him the way of life. Cowper saw with some emotions of joy a way of escape which he had never hoped to find, and yet his faltering and trembling spirit refused to enter.

Not long after this, while walking his room, groping in spiritual darkness, his conscience seized with indescribable terrors, he experienced a sensation in the head which seemed like a blow upon the brain. There could be no longer any doubt in regard to his condition, and he was carried to St. Albans, and placed under the care of Dr. Cotton, who kept a private asylum for the insane. From the 7th of December, 1763, until the middle of July following, his mind was under a cloud. Conviction for sin, and despair of mercy imbittered his existence.

At length the poet's melancholy was partially relieved by the cheerful conversation of Dr. Cotton. On one occasion, when Cowper was giving utterance to his conviction that [illegible] den judgment must soon fall upon him, his brother [illegible] that it was a delusion in such emphatic terms that the [illegible] lid's attention was arrested, and he exclaimed, "If it be a

delusion then I am the happiest of mortals." A ray of light seemed to enter his mind, and from this time his recovery began. The Scriptures, which he had entirely neglected during his months of despair as containing no message for him, were taken up, and became a source of continually increasing light. The way of faith became clear. He saw himself possessed of an interest in the salvation of Christ.

He beautifully describes his malady and the source of cure:

> I was a stricken deer that left the herd
> Long since; with many an arrow deep infixed
> My panting side was charged, when I withdrew
> To seek a tranquil death in distant shades;
> There was I found by One who had himself
> Been hurt by archers. In his side he bore,
> And in his hands and feet, the cruel scars.
> With gentle face soliciting the darts,
> He drew them forth and healed and bade me live.

The poet's brother, Rev. John Cowper, A. M., had a fellowship in Bennet College, Cambridge, where he resided. It was the poet's wish to live as near his brother as possible. In gratification of this wish a residence was secured at Huntingdon, fifteen miles from Cambridge. Soon after his arrival here he made the acquaintance of the Unwin family, which had an important bearing on his future life. Acquaintance soon ripened into friendship, and after a few months the poet regarded himself as having arrived almost at the summit of human felicity in being domiciled with them. Mr. Unwin, a clergyman in the Established Church, Mrs. Unwin, their son, a most amiable young man, and their daughter—all have their characters beautifully delineated in Cowper's poetry and letters. Mrs. Unwin he found a friend of incalculable value. Soon after he became an inmate of the family he wrote of her, "She is so excellent a person, and regards me with a friendship so truly Christian, that I could almost fancy my own mother restored to life again to compensate me for all the friends I have lost, and all my connections broken."

Not more than a year and a half had elapsed when the tranquillity of the household was broken by the violent death of Mr. Unwin. One Sunday morning when riding to his curacy he was thrown from his horse, and so badly injured

that he could not be carried home. He was taken to a neighboring cottage, where, having lingered a few days, he died. This great calamity produced no change in Cowper's relation to the family. They thought it necessary, however, to make a change in their place of residence. When they were still undecided where they should go the celebrated John Newton, who held the curacy of Olney, in passing through Huntingdon visited the family, and invited them to settle in his parish. Attracted by the prospect of enjoying the friendship and ministry of Mr. Newton, they finally resolved to remove to Olney, although the village was the dullest and most unhealthful of rural retreats; "in the summer adorned only with blue willows, and in the winter covered with a flood."

Companionship with so healthful and generous a nature as that of John Newton compensated somewhat for deficiencies in locality and landscape. The poet's garden was separated from that of his friend by an orchard alone, through which the well-beaten path attested the constancy of their friendly intercourse. In his garden Cowper had a rustic summer-house which he called his workshop. "It is the place," said he, "in which I fabricate all my verse in summer time. The grass under my window is all bespangled with dew drops, and the birds are singing in the apple-trees among the blossoms. Never poet had a more commodious oratory in which to invoke his muse." We are told by Mr. Bruce that this choice relic is still in existence, "in possession of a gentleman who is fully alive to its interest and value." The village of Olney, still "dismal and damp" as of old, possesses a charm, from having been the home of Cowper, which makes it a shrine for the poetry-loving pilgrims of every land.

Soon after his removal to Olney Cowper suffered a severe bereavement in the death of his brother. Though a highly accomplished clergyman, he did not sympathize with the poet's evangelical sentiments until his final sickness. Excessive study, by which he had acquired the renown of being the best classical scholar and the most liberal thinker in the University, prostrated him, and he summoned his brother to his bedside. Their earnest and affectionate conversation brought about a great change in the feelings of the invalid, and he died in possession of an earnest and evangelical faith in Christ.

Pious and benevolent labors, performed under the direction of the zealous Newton, occupied much of this portion of Cowper's life at Olney. As a kind of lay pastor he visited the sick, and administered to the wants of the poor. The villagers of Olney had great reason to bless the humble and unobstrusive piety of one for whose poetical talents they could have no appreciation.

Mr. Newton desired to enlist the literary abilities of his friend in the same good cause which occupied his other talents, and suggested that he should devote himself to the composition of devotional hymns. The idea pleased the poet, and he applied himself with great ardor to the work. In a short time sixty-eight lyrical pieces were produced, which were published under the title of "Olney Hymns." His unremitting application to poetical composition proved too great a strain upon his powers. His old infirmity of mind returned upon him in January, 1773. Mr. Southey attributed his malady to the religious topics upon which his mind dwelt in the composition of his hymns. Bruce, his last biographer, with more light and maturer reflection, does not believe that Cowper was driven mad by over-much religion. "His madness," he says, "was rather occasioned by want of religion than by excess of it; and the reception of definite views of Christianity, although it did not work his cure, exercised on his first recovery a very beneficial effect upon his health both of body and mind."

Cowper's melancholy, which several times culminated in madness, was the result of bodily infirmity. The unreasonable dread of the little harmless publicity connected with the clerkship in the House of Lords indicates a disordered state of nerves. The inexplicable terrors of that occasion, acting on an over-sensitive nervous organism, shook the throne of reason, which for a time resigned its scepter. A reasonable and pious Christian faith led back his mind to its proper orbit, and the eight years which follow are the happiest and most useful of his life. At length application too unremitting brought a recurrence of his disorder. Had he devoted himself so assiduously to poetical composition upon other topics, it is probable the result would have been the same. To the reader of the hymns there appears nothing whatever that would disturb the balance of a healthy intellect. Their prevailing temper is

cheerful. If a hymn opens amid the clouds which surround the soul convicted of its sins, it does not close until it has drawn away the vail which conceals the light of a holier and happier life. Nowhere in all lyrical literature is there a more splendid specimen of Christian cheerfulness in the contemplation of the workings of Divine Providence than in the last of the Olney Hymns, commencing,

> God moves in a mysterious way
> His wonders to perform.

He seems to be addressing his own desponding heart when he says:

> Judge not the Lord by feeble sense,
> But trust him for his grace;
> Behind a frowning providence
> He hides a smiling face.

The poor poet, in his second madness, was a victim of the delusion that God had commanded him, as a test of his obedidience, to offer himself a sacrifice, as Abraham had been required to offer up his son. Possessed of this infatuation, he made repeated attempts at suicide. Considering the failure of his efforts at self-destruction as proof of his faithlessness, he thought himself condemned to perdition. From this dreadful delusion he never awoke; it cast its dark shadow over the remainder of his life. Thenceforth he considered himself as having no more personal interest in Christianity; he took no more part in public or domestic worship. When Mrs. Unwin asked him in reference to the proper method of keeping the Sabbath he gave his opinion; but added that he considered himself as no longer interested in the question. Twenty-five years later, when prostrated by his last illness, a physician who visited him asked him how he felt. "Feel!" he replied; "I feel unutterable despair." The cloudless splendors of a brighter and better world at last dispelled his gloomy delusion.

In other respects Cowper's mind by degrees recovered its wonted temper. His mind began to be directed to objects of thought outside of itself. He took care of his tame hares, and busied himself with gardening, which became at length his most interesting topic of conversation. Some occurrence called

forth a smile, the first that had illuminated his countenance for many months. As a pleasing mode of occupying his mind he took to landscape drawing, and succeeded beyond his expectations. He thus alludes, in humorous style, to the excellence of his drawings: "I admire them myself, and Mrs. Unwin admires them; and her praise and my praise put together are fame enough for me." This employment proved injurious to his eyes, and he was forced to abandon it just as he was acquiring skill. He would put his learning to account, and made proposals to teach a few boys the rudiments of Latin and Greek; but none applied. "If it were to rain pupils," he said, "perhaps I might catch a tubful, but till it does the fruitlessness of my inquiries makes me think I must keep my Latin and Greek to myself."

It was absolutely essential to the poet's health of mind that he should have some employment. Had the winter of 1780 found him without occupation it would have left his mind in ruins. His good angel, Mrs. Unwin, makes the happy suggestion that he should devote himself to poetry in earnest. He approves the plan, and asks for a subject. She gave him "The Progress of Error." He completed his poem on this subject in December, and in the following month wrote "Truth," "Table Talk," and "Expostulation." As the publishing season was past these poems were withheld until the following autumn. Meanwhile the poet did not allow his pen to be idle, but continued his literary labors through the summer, more than doubling the quantity of his verse by the composition of "Hope," "Charity," "Conversation," and "Retirement."

He wrote with great facility, sometimes producing sixty or seventy lines in a morning. It excites the surprise of every reader of Cowper's life to see him first launching into publicity as a poet at the age of fifty. It is indeed wonderful that a mind which had been harassed by half a century of ill-health should still preserve elasticity and freshness enough to write poetry such as the world will not let die. The accident of inability to find other employment, accompanied by the casual suggestion of a friend, revealed to the world poetical talents of the first order.

In entering upon his literary efforts Cowper was in every case moved from without. His masterpiece, "The Task," owes

its title to the fact that its composition was enjoined upon him by Lady Austin, who was a great admirer of blank verse. In the summer of 1783 she requested Cowper to try his powers in this style of poetry. He promised to comply if she would furnish him with a subject. "O," said she, "you can never be in want of a subject. Write upon any thing; write upon this sofa." The poet improved upon the hint, and applied himself at once to "The Task." Describing the progress of invention in the construction of seats for man's comfort, he reaches the climax of luxury and taste, the sofa. He pauses here but for a moment, however, and allows his mind to wander at will to the various subjects which attract the attention of poetic fancy. He made a most happy "hit," and struck a vein which he wrought for the benefit of all ages. "The Task" is Cowper's masterpiece. It is not only superior to every thing else that he ever wrote, but it is the best poem of its kind in the English language. The varied scenes and circumstances of rural life are described in most appropriate language. Nature is looked upon with an appreciative eye, and a responsive heart. Her beauties are described in glowing, but unaffected style. His

> "raptures are not conjured up
> To serve occasions of poetic pomp,"

but are the real emotions of a heart alive to whatever is beautiful and good. It must not be presumed from the privacy of his life that his thoughts take a narrow range. He surveys the wide and busy world through the "loop-holes of retreat." Scarcely any topic of public or private interest is left untouched. He reaches those broad and universal sensibilities which belong to humanity in every age. The poet who does this gives immortality to his verse.

Art. VI.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Church of England — Her Principal Religious Societies.—The fate of the Church of England is a subject in which all Protestant Christians take a profound interest. That Church has heretofore been regarded by them as one of the principal branches of Protestant Christianity. If the total population connected with all the Protestant Churches is estimated at 97,000,000, nearly 20,000,000 of them are in connection with the Church of England and its offshoots in the British colonies and missions. The immense power of the British Empire, which numbers nearly 200,000,000 inhabitants, and is in point of population the second empire of the world, (being exceeded only by China,) is in many ways employed for promoting the interests of the Established Church, which seems to be sure of a great future in British America, in Australia, in India, and in many other of the British colonies. Whether—as the Low Church party desires—this Church will retain, in relation to other forms of Protestantism, the position of the sister Church; or—as the High Church School intends—break off all connection with Protestantism, deny its own Protestant character, and draw nearer to the Eastern Church, and even to the Church of Rome; or—in accordance with the plan of the Broad Church men—throw open its gates to all forms of belief and unbelief, is a question of immense importance. The development of events in the English Church has, therefore, never excited so universal an interest as at the present time. The following list of the principal societies of the Church will give an idea of the manifold and often conflicting energies put forth by that important Church for religious and ecclesiastical purposes:

1. *Society for Promoting the Employment of Additional Curates in Populous Places.* (Established in 1837.) This society, besides making annual grants toward the maintenance of additional clergymen, grants sums, not exceeding £500 in any single grant, in aid of endowments. Income for 1867–68, £32,464.

2. *Church Pastoral Aid Society* (1836) aims at providing means for maintaining curates and lay agents in largely peopled districts. Total receipts in the year 1866–67, £47,829; in 1867–68, £61,745.

3. *The Incorporate Society for Promoting the Enlargement, Building, and Repairing of Churches and Chapels in England and Wales* (1818) had in 1867–68 an income of £8,422. This society was incorporated by act of Parliament in 1828; until 1851 it was supported by a Triennial Royal letter, which produced about £30,000; since then it has been dependent on annual subscriptions, donations, Church collections, and legacies.

4. *The London Diocesan Church Building Society and Metropolis Churches Fund* (1854) had in 1867–68 an income of £15,130.

5. *Church of England Scripture Readers' Association* provides lay readers of the Scriptures to the poor, under the superintendence of the Parochial Clergy. Its income was in 1867–68, £13,440.

6. *The National Association for Promoting Freedom of Worship* (1858) has for its object to promote the restoration of the ancient freedom of Parish Churches as the true basis of the parochial system, and the only means of relieving spiritual destitution; and the scriptural system of weekly offerings as the most excellent way, especially enjoined by the Church of England, of raising money for Church purposes, and as a substitute for pew rents where endowments are not obtainable.

7. *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* This is the oldest society in the country. It supplies Bibles and Prayer Books, either gratuitously or far below cost price, issues books and tracts of a "sound Church tone," suitable for schools; lending libraries, working men's clubs and reading rooms, hospitals, workhouses, jails, etc.; also for the use of soldiers, sailors, and emigrants. The income (independent of rates) for 1866–67 was £28,547; for 1867–68, £29,700.

8. *National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church,* (instituted 1811; incorporated 1817.) The operations of this society embrace building schoolrooms and teachers' dwelling houses; maintaining colleges for the training of teachers; granting money toward paying the salaries of certificated teachers, etc.

The National Society during the time of its existence has made grants to the amount of more than £400,000, and this amount has been supplemented by at least £1,300,000 of private contribution for the building of schools, besides originating the expenditure of an immense annual sum for their sustentation. The total number of schools in connection with this society, in 1865, was 12,421, in which there were 1,186,515 scholars. The total number of scholars in the Sunday-schools was 1,818,476. The number of schoolmasters and mistresses trained in the colleges of this society is about 140 a year, and about 4,750 have been sent out during the last twenty-two years. The income of the society for 1864–65 was £20,267.

9. *Prayer Book and Homily Society* desires to promote the circulation of the "Book of Common Prayer and the Homilies" of the Church, which it has had translated into thirty-three languages. Its income for 1866–67 was £1,163; for 1867–68, £1,247.

10. The *Poor Clergy Relief Society* has, since its establishment in 1856, assisted one thousand one hundred and sixty-five poor clergymen and widows and orphans of clergymen with the sum of £8,254. In 1864–65 its income was £2,062, and grants were made to one hundred and one applicants.

11. *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (incorporated in 1701) is the oldest of all the English, and one of the oldest of all the Protestant missionary societies of the world. The society aims as much as possible at establishing complete Churches with Bishops at their head, and which shall ultimately become altogether independent of the society, wherever England has any territorial possessions. Its income in 1866–67 was £91,186, in 1867–68, £114,546.

12. *The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East* was founded in 1799. Its work is chiefly among the natives of the countries in which its missions are established. Its income in 1866–67 was £150,356, and in 1867–68, £157,288.

13. *The Colonial and Continental Church Society.* Its leading object is to send clergymen, catechists, and teachers of the Church of England to settlers in the English colonies, and to British subjects in different parts of the world. The income for 1866–67 was £31,079, for 1867–68, £34,120.

14. *The English Church Union* was formed in 1859, for the purpose of "watching over the interests of the Church of England, of resisting, by a combination of its members, the attempts of Dissenters and others to alienate the rights and injure the position of the Church, and also for the purpose of developing its internal energies." It is intended to be the central organ of the High Church party. The Union is managed by a council of twenty-four elected, and five ex-officio members, thirteen of these being clergymen and the remaining sixteen laymen.

15. *The Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom* was formed in 1857, for the purpose of uniting in a bond of intercessory prayer members both of the clergy and the laity of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Anglican communions. The members promise to use daily a brief prayer for the peace and unity of the Church. In 1866 the association numbered 8,827 members, divided as follows: Roman Catholics, 1,271; Orientals, including Servians and Armenians, 360; uncertain or miscellaneous, 75; Anglicans, 7,121.

16. *The Eastern Church Association* was founded in 1864. Its objects were stated to be to inform the English public as to the state and position of the Eastern Christians; to make known the principles and doctrines of the Anglican Church to the Christians of the East; to take advantage of all opportunities which the providence of God shall afford for intercommunion with the orthodox Church, and also for friendly intercourse with the other ancient Churches of the East; to assist, as far as possible, the bishops of the orthodox Church in their efforts to promote the spiritual welfare and the education of their flocks. It counts among its members English, Scottish, American, Colonial, and Greek Bishops.

17. *The Anglo-Continental Society* has for its object to make the principles of the English Church known in the different countries of Europe and throughout the world, and to aid in the reformation of National Churches and other religious communities.

18. *The English Church Association* was established in 1865, as the central organization of Low Churchmen. Its chief object is to counteract and prevent the spreading of High Church and Romanizing tendencies in the Church.

19. *The South American Mission Society*, established in 1852. Its object is to

send out missionaries to the native tribes of South America, to Englishmen in spiritual destitution there, and to take advantage of any openings for evangelization. Its income was in 1866–67, £7,431, and in 1867–68, £9,902.

20. *Irish Church Missions to Roman Catholics.* According to the nineteenth Annual Report, published in May 1868, the income was £25,577; the year before it was £22,507.

21. *London Society for Promoting Christianity among Jews*, established in 1809. The officers must be members of the United Church of England and Ireland, or, if foreigners, of a Protestant Church. Its income was in 1866–67, £33,327, and in 1867–68, £36,075.

THE STATE-CHURCH QUESTION — MR. GLADSTONE'S BILL IN THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT — THE ACTION TAKEN BY THE SEVERAL RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN.—The Irish Church Bill, proposed by Mr. Gladstone, almost monopolized during the past three months public discussion, and we therefore continue its history from the point where we left off in the preceding number of the "Quarterly Review." The House of Lords had for three nights an exciting debate on the second reading, which, as was expected, terminated in its rejection by a majority of 192 to 97. All the Bishops present voted against the bill. The 97 Peers who voted in its favor present to 305 livings; while the 192 who voted against it present to 1,692. Of the 27 votes which were paired off, those in favor present to 66, and those against to 154 livings. The total number was as follows: In favor 124 Peers, presenting to 371 livings; against 219 Peers, presenting to 1,846 livings; majority 95 Peers, presenting to 1,475 livings. Thus the aristocracy has rejected the reform which a large majority of the House of Commons demanded. As the dissolution of the Lower House and a new election has been ordered, the question goes now direct to the people. The maintenance or the abolition of the State Church of Ireland is felt by all to be the one issue at stake in the coming election.

It is of interest to record the attitude of the religious bodies of England with regard to this question. The Anglican clergy are controlled by the Bishops and the aristocracy, who together are the patrons of most of the ecclesiastical benefices. No one can, therefore, be surprised that the clergy are almost a unit against Mr. Gladstone's bills, and that some prominent men who have heretofore in political questions always supported the Liberals, have now gone over to the Tories. The High Church and Low Church parties, in particular, seem to be a unit in this question; and even the Ritualists, notwithstanding their denunciation by Disraeli, seem to go, in this question, with the Tories. Still there are some Anglican ministers, mostly belonging to the Broad Church party, who have courage openly to declare in favor of Mr. Gladstone. Lord Lyttleton presented in the House of Lords a petition signed by two hundred and sixty-one clergymen, praying the House to concur in removing the injustice of the Irish Establisment. Lord Lyttleton justly remarked that the number was surprisingly large when the obloquy to which the signers of the petition of course exposed themselves is taken into consideration. It is a fact worthy of being noted, that among these two hundred and sixty-one clergymen are some of the most important men of the Church, and, in particular, a large number of heads and professors of the first schools of the country. At the head of the list of signers are the Deans of Canterbury and Bristol, and the Archdeacon of Coventry; and associated with them are Professor Jowett, of Oxford, Professors Maurice and Kingsley, the Head Masters of Winchester, Harrow, Rugby, Clifton, and the City of London Schools, and many Fellows and Tutors of the two Universities.

The Wesleyans are greatly divided on the question, and at the recent Conference it was therefore deemed best not officially to commit themselves as a body either for or against Mr. Gladstone's bill. But all appear to agree in this, that rather than ever to consent to the endowment of the Church of Rome, they will work for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church not only in Ireland, but in England. As the Tories are the only political party which have ever intimated an intention of endowing the Church of Rome, the Wesleyans may be said indirectly to have shown some preference for the Liberals. One of the leading Wesleyan laymen, Sheriff M'Arthur, is a Liberal candidate for the House of Commons.

The other Methodist bodies of Great Britain are on principle decided opponents of every form of State Churchism.

The New Connection, the United Free Methodists, the Bible Christians, passed at their recent Conferences emphatic resolutions in favor of Mr. Gladstone's bill, and the Primitive Methodists and the Methodist Reformers are known to share the same views.

Of the Presbyterian bodies of Great Britain two receive aid from the State—the Kirk of Scotland, which in Scotland is the Established Church, and the Irish Presbyterians, who, under the name of "Regium Donum," receive an annual present of £30,000. The adherents of the Scotch Kirk, who, like the Anglicans of Ireland, constitute only a minority in the country, of which they are the State Church, justly fear that the abolition of the Irish Establishment would soon be followed by the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, and on that account their General Assembly almost unanimously adopted a resolution for the maintenance of the prerogatives of the Irish Church. The Assembly of the Irish Presbyterians was nearly equally divided. About one half of the members were of opinion that a total disconnection of the Irish Churches from the State would be preferable to the present condition of affairs, which not only gives the Anglican Church extraordinary privileges, but the Church of Rome also support for the Maynooth College, with a fair prospect of having that support largely increased in the future. A small majority, however, were unwilling to part with their own "Regium Donum," and therefore voted in favor of a petition for the maintenance of the connection with the State.

The other Presbyterian Churches cordially support the bill of Mr. Gladstone. The United Presbyterians are almost a unit on this question. The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland was so occupied with other important matters that the subject could not be discussed at length; but at a subsequent meeting of the Church Commission it was resolved, by 99 to 34 votes, to petition for the total disendowment of all religious bodies in Ireland.

The other dissenting denominations of Great Britain—as Baptists, Congregationalists, Unitarians, and others—are a unit, not only in asking for the disendowment of the State Church in Ireland, but for a general separation between Church and State in Great Britain.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

THE ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL—THE PAPAL BULL OF CONVOCATION—A NEW ERA IN THE RELATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE TO BE INAUGURATED—THE BISHOPS OF AMERICA.—In the meeting of Roman Catholic Bishops which was held in Rome in June, 1867, (see "Methodist Quarterly Review," October, 1867,) the Pope officially announced that he would at an early day convoke an Œcumenical Council. A congregation of seven Cardinals was subsequently appointed for the purpose of arranging the preliminaries, and a number of prominent theologians of various countries were called to Rome to take part in the preparatory labors. The promulgation of the bull convoking the Council, on the 8th of December, 1869, the festival of the Immaculate Conception, took place at Rome on the 29th June, 1868. The "College of Apostolic Prothonotaries," accompanied by a Pontifical chamberlain and the "Apostolic messengers," were present at this ceremony. One of the prothonotaries ascended a pulpit erected near the great gate of the Basilica, his colleagues sitting within, and, after a *fanfare* of trumpets, read aloud the Pontifical bull of convocation, two copies of which were afterward affixed by the messengers to the columns of the principal entrance. The same ceremony attended the publication of the bull at the Lateran Church, the Liberian Basilica, the Palace of the Curia Innocenziana, the Apostolic Chancery, and the Campo di Fiori.

As this Council is like to occupy a very prominent place in the history of the Church of Rome, we give below that part of the Papal Bull of convocation in which the Pope recounts his reasons for convoking the Council, and summons the Bishops to attend it in person unless excused by some valid reasons. It reads as follows:

It is already known and manifest to all how horrible a tempest now agitates the Church, and what grievous ills afflict civil society. The Catholic Church, her salutary doctrine, her venerated power, and the supreme authority of this Apostolic See, are opposed and set at naught by the bitter enemies of God and man. All sacred things are contemned, ecclesiastical property is plundered, Bishops and honored men attached to the Divine ministry and men distinguished for their Catholic sentiments are troubled in every way, and religious families suppressed.

Impious books of every kind, pestilent journals, and multitudinous and most pernicious sects are spread abroad on all sides. The education of the unhappy young is nearly every-where withdrawn from the clergy, and, what is worse, is in many places confided to masters of impiety and error.

Thus, to our poignant grief, and that of all good men, and with mischief to souls that can never be sufficiently deplored, impiety and corruption of manners have every-where propagated themselves; and there prevails an unbridled license, and a contagion of depraved opinions of all kinds, and of all vices and immoralities, and so great a violation of divine and human laws that not only our most holy religion, but human society also, is thereby miserably disturbed and afflicted. In the heavy accumulation of calamities whereby our heart is thus oppressed, the supreme pastoral charge confided to us requires that we should ever increasingly exert our strength to repair the ruin of the Church, to heal the souls of the Lord's flock, and to repel the assaults and fatal attempts of those who strive to uproot from their foundations, if that were possible, both the Church and civil society. And truly, by the help of God, from the commencement of our Pontificate, we, conscious of our solemn obligation, have never ceased to raise our voice in our consistorial allocutions and apostolic letters, and to defend constantly, by every effort, the cause of God and his holy Church, confided unto us by the Lord Christ, to uphold the rights of this Apostolic See, and of justice and truth, and to unmask the insidious devices of its enemies, to condemn errors and false doctrines, to proscribe impious sects, and to watch over and provide for the salvation of all the Lord's flock. And following the practice of our illustrious predecessors, we have deemed it opportune to assemble a General Council, which we have already long desired, of all our venerable brethren, the Bishops of the whole Catholic world, who are now called to take part in our solicitude. These our venerable brethren, prompted by the warmest love for the Catholic Church, and remarkable for eminent piety and for reverence toward us and this Apostolic See, anxious also for the salvation of souls, and excellent in wisdom, in doctrine, and erudition, and greatly lamenting with us the grievous condition of sacred and profane things, they will hold nothing more precious than to communicate to us their judgment, and confer with us in order to provide salutary remedies for so many calamities.

All these things have to be most carefully examined and regulated in this Œcumenical Council, more particularly with regard to all that in these evil times concerns the greatest glory of God, the integrity of the faith, the respect for Divine worship, and the eternal salvation of men, the discipline of the orders of the clergy, and their solid and salutary training, the observance of ecclesiastical laws, the amelioration of manners, the education of Christian youth, and the peace and concord of all. And further, the Council must seek by anxious study that by the help of God all ills may be removed from civil society, that erring wanderers may be led back into the right way of truth, and that vice and error may be eliminated, our august religion and her salutary doctrine may every-where be quickened by fresh life, and may still further extend their influence, and thus piety, honesty, probity, justice, charity, and all the Christian virtues may gather strength and flourish to the great benefit of human society. None can ever deny that the strength of the Catholic Church and her doctrine does not alone regard the eternal salvation of men, but is essential also to the temporal welfare of peoples, and to their real prosperity, order, and tranquillity, and even to the progress and solidity of human science, as the annals of sacred and profane history clearly prove by a series of splendid facts, and still constantly demonstrate.

And since Christ the Lord so greatly consoles and comforts us with those words, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them," we cannot doubt that in the abundance of his divine mercy he would vouchsafe to be present at this Council, in which we shall be able to establish those things that in any way regard the welfare of his holy Church.

Therefore, after most fervent prayer offered up day and night in the humility of our heart to God the Father of light, we have judged it to be expedient that this Council should be assembled. For this cause, strong in the authority of God the Father Almighty, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and of the holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, which authority we represent on earth, we, with the counsel and consent of our venerable brethren the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, by these present letters announce, convoke, and ordain the sacred Œcumenical and General Council to be holden in this our City of Rome in the coming year, 1869, in the Vatican Basilica, commencing upon the 8th day of December, sacred to the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, and to be prosecuted and conducted to its termination by the help of God, to his glory, and to the salvation of all Christian peoples.

We therefore desire and command that our venerable brethren, the Patriarchs,

Archbishops, Bishops, as also our beloved sons, the Abbots, and all others who, by right or privilege, are entitled to sit in General Councils and to manifest their opinions to the same, should from all parts repair to this Œcumenical Council, convoked by us, and to this effect we invite, exhort, and admonish them, both in virtue of the oath they have taken to us and this Holy See, and of holy obedience, and under the penalties by law or custom decreed against those who fail to appear at the councils. We rigorously ordain and prescribe that they shall be bound to attend this sacred council unless withheld by some just impediment, which, however, must in all cases be proved to the Synod by the intermediary of legitimate proxies.

We cherish the hope that God, in whose hands are the hearts of men, showing himself favorable to our desire, may grant that, by his ineffable mercy and grace, all the supreme princes and governors, more especially Catholic, of all nations, growing daily more conscious of the immense benefits which human society derives from the Catholic Church, and knowing that the Church is the most stable foundation of empires and kingdoms, not only will not impede our venerable brethren the Bishops and others from attending this Council, but will rather aid and favor this object, and cooperate zealously, as becomes Catholic princes, in all that may result to the greater glory of God and the benefit of this Council.

Roman Catholic papers, usually well informed about affairs in Rome, state that an invitation to attend the Council will be extended to the schismatic, but not to the heretical Bishops. The former class comprises the Bishops of the Greek and other Oriental Churches; the second the Anglican, Lutheran, and such other Bishops as are supposed to be unable to prove the apostolical succession. The ultra Romanizing party in the Anglican Church would, of course, be delighted to see their Church included in the invitation and their Bishops accept it, and therefore feel considerably slighted by the distinction made in Rome.

The leading Roman Catholic newspaper of the world, the *Univers* of Paris, edited by the well known Louis Veuillot, notes as a circumstance worthy of special notice that the Papal bull invites none of the Catholic powers to be present. Other communications from Rome state, however, that the question whether secular princes should be specially invited is still under consideration. But another comment of the *Univers* on the coming council seems to be generally accepted. The Catholic governments, says the ultramontane paper, have all of them ceased to be truly Catholic, (that is, in the sense of medieval Papacy.) They no longer regard it as their chief mission to be the secular arm for carrying through the will of God as manifested to them in the law of the Roman Catholic Church, and the decrees of the Pope. The Roman Church, therefore, can no longer allow these princes to exercise any influence upon the appointment of Bishops and other ecclesiastical matters.

The coming Council, it is thought, will inaugurate a new order of things, in which the Church will be independent of the State. Though the Church cannot now sanction the principle of a separation between Church and State, which has so often and emphatically been denounced as a heresy, the new order would practically amount to the same thing. The Church may continue to teach that the model form of civil society is the one in which the obligatory character of the Church and Papal decrees upon all mankind, and the duty of all civil authorities to enforce these decrees, is universally acknowledged; but in the present state of public opinion, which is viewed in Rome as a grand apostasy from Christianity, the Church finds it necessary to limit herself to demanding freedom of teaching and governing those who voluntarily recognize her jurisdiction.

It is, at all events, evident that Rome herself regards the medieval theory about the superiority of the Church over all the States as being for the present a complete failure. Important practical changes will be made in the relation of the two powers, and it is highly probable that the great movement for the separation between Church and State, which ever since the establishment of the United States of America has undermined the whole system of European State Churchism, will receive in the coming Council an unexpected ally—a reluctant and involuntary ally, it may be, but yet a very efficient ally.

The statistics of the Roman Catholic Church in the preceding number of the "Methodist Quarterly Review" will give an idea of the present extent of the Church for which the coming Council is to legislate. To the statistics there

given, it may be added that the total number of Bishops of the Church of Rome was, according to the last number of the official Papal Almanac, about 1,100. There were 865 patriarchal, archiepiscopal, and episcopal sees effective, and 229 prelates with sees *in partibus infidelium*. The countries where the hierarchy is not regularly established comprise 113 vicarites, five delegations, and 22 prefectures, administered by missionary prelates. The College of Cardinals, in its complete form, consists of 6 Cardinal Bishops, 50 Cardinal Priests, and 16 Cardinal Deacons, but this number is rarely full. Generally more than one half of the Cardinals are Italians.

The coming Council will be the first Œcumenical Council of the Church of Rome at which America will be represented. When the Council of Trent was held (1545) the New World had but recently been discovered, and the Church of Rome in it was not yet fully organized. Now the following American States will be represented in Rome: United States, Mexico, Guatemala, San Salvador, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, United States of Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Peru, Chili, Bolivia, Argentine Republic, Uruguay, Brazil, Hayti, San Domingo, and besides, a number of Bishops from the British, French, and Spanish dominions in America will attend. Altogether the number of American Bishops exceeds one hundred.

Art. VII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Two volumes of Sermons by the late Dr. Rothe, to be published by Dr. Schenkel, are announced. The first, which has appeared, contains sermons preached from 1824 to 1828, in the evangelical congregation at Rome, of which Dr. Rothe was pastor. It also contains his portrait, and a biographical sketch, (*Nachgelassene Predigten.* Elberfeld, 1868.)

Professor Hausrath, of Heidelberg, author of a work on the Apostle Paul, has begun a work on the History of the Times of the New Testament, (*Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.* Heidelberg, 1868.) The first volume contains the Times of Jesus. A second volume will complete the work. The author belongs to the "Liberal School."

Two new volumes of Lange's Bible-work are announced, one (volume xiii) of the Old Testament, by Dr. Zöckler, on the Song of Songs; and another by Dr. Kleinert, (volume xix of the O. T.) containing six of the minor prophets.

We mentioned in the last number of the "Quarterly Review" the appearance of *fifty theses* on the present condition of the Church, by Dr. Michelis, who for many years has been a prominent champion of the Church of Rome, a member of the German Parliament, and is at present Professor of Theology at one of the Episcopal Seminaries of Germany. These theses are an interesting proof, that beneath the outward uniformity which seems to prevail in the Church of Rome, there is a very large amount of latent discontent, and a longing for at least a partial emancipation from the traditions of the Church. In Rome no time was lost to put these theses, which fully approved of the liberal legislation in Austria, in the Index, but in Germany some of the prominent literary papers of the Roman Catholic Church did not conceal their sympathy with the author, and with at least some of his positions. The author has published a new edition of the theses with a long preface, in which he appeals from the Roman Congregation of the Index to the Bishop of Münster, his immediate superior. He declares the proceedings of the Congregation of the Index to be unjust and immoral, and a symptom of disease in the Church. He gives it as his opinion that this Congregation, by its proceeding against Galilei, has inflicted a greater injury upon the Church than all the heresies of modern times together.

Another work, showing the opposition in Catholic Germany to the Papal Government, has been published by Dr.

Leopold Schmidt, (*Mittheilungen aus der neuesten Geschichte der Diöcese Mainz.* Giessen, 1868.) The author was, some twenty years ago, elected Bishop of Mentz, but on account of his liberal views rejected by the Pope. He is at present Professor at the University of Giessen, and about a year ago formally severed all connection with Rome.

Professor Oswald, of Paderborn, has published a work on Eschatology, on the doctrine of the (Roman Catholic) Church on Death, Judgment, Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell. (*Eschatologie.* Paderborn, 1868.) The author is an eccentric writer, and in a work on Mariolatry, published several years ago, went so far in the defense of the worship of the Virgin Mary that his work was put in the Roman Index.

An interesting addition to the literature on Mohammedanism is a work by A. von Kremer, on the "History of the Prominent Ideas of Islam: The Conception of God, Prophecy, and the Idea of State." (*Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams.* Leipsic, 1868.)

Among the best works on the History of Christian Art in Germany is the "Manual of Ecclesiastical Art-Archeology of Medieval Germany," by Otte, a Protesant Clergyman. (*Handbuch der christl. Kunst-Archäologie.* Leipsic, 1868.) The author, whose first work on this subject was published in 1842, has established for himself a reputation which is universally recognized.

A number of interesting books has recently been published by the house of F. A. Perthes, in Gotha. Among them are the following: Otto, "The Sacrifice of the Lord's Supper in the Ancient Church," (*Das Abendmahlsopfer der Alten Kirche*); Schulz, "The Union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches," (*Die Union*); Christern, "Outline of a History of the Formation and Development of the Gospels, (*Versuch einer pragmatischen Bildungs-u. Entwicklungsgeschichte der Evangelien*); the fifth volume of Gildemeister's important work on the Life and Writings of Hamann; Klostermann, "The Hope of the Pious of the Old Testament for a Future Redemption from the State of Death," (*Die Hoffnung Künftiger Erlösung*, etc.)

Among works soon to be published by the same house are mentioned the fifth volume of Polenz on the History of French Calvinism, (*Der Französische Calvinismus*); Dr. Lehmann on the Clementine Writings, (*Die Clementinischen Schriften*); Dr. Krauss, "The Doctrine of Revelation;" a Contribution to the Philosophy of Christianity; Dr. Zahn, "The Pastor of Hermas," (*Der Hirte des Hermas.*)

HOLLAND.

This little country shows a great literary productivity. The State Church has long been under the influence of Rationalism, and most of the theological publications proceed from that school, although it seems that the evangelical party is slowly gaining in strength. The most prominent theologian of the "Liberal" school is Professor Scholten, who is a very prolific writer, and has recently added to his numerous theological works a new one on "The most Ancient Gospel," (*Het oudste Evangelie.*) in which he examines anew the chronological relation of the first three Gospels to each other, and their gradual composition.

Another Rationalistic writer of note, Pierson, has begun the History of Roman Catholicism up to the Council of Trent, the first volume of which has just appeared, (*Geschiedenis van het Romeesch-Katholicisme.* Haarlem, 1868, vol. I.) He takes the novel and singular ground, that the Apostle Paul has remained without influence upon the inner development of Christianity. This opinion is combated by another Rationalist, Tjeenk Willink, in a work on "Justinus the Martyr in his Relation to Paul, (*Justinus Martyr in zijne Verhouding tot Paulus.*) who undertakes to prove that Justinus was well acquainted with the Epistles of Paul, but that he regarded their author as the founder of the Marcionitic heresy and as any thing but an Apostle of Christ, and that only the high esteem in which the Apostle of the Gentiles was at that time held by a large portion of the Christian world, restrained him from openly declaring against Paul.

FRANCE.

A new work on the geography of Palestine, historical and physical, has been published by E. Arnaud. (*La Palestine Ancienne et Moderne, ou Géographie Historique et Physique de la Terre Sainte.* Paris, 2 vols. 1868.) The author is a frequent contributor to the *Revue Chrétienne* and other Protestant periodicals, a

member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, and favorably known as a writer. The *Revue Chretienne* declares this book the best that has been written on this subject in the French language.

A new volume of the *Annuaire Protestant*, by De Prat, which contains full statistical information of all the Protestant Churches of France, has been published. (Paris, 1858.) This *Annuaire* is now only published once every three years.

"The Civil Relations of the Members of the Reformed Church" is the title of a work by Prof. L. Anquez, of the Lyceum of St. Louis. (*De l'Etat Civil des Réformés de France.* Paris, 1868.)

New documents on the history of the Protestant Insurrection under Louis XIV. are contained in a work by G. Forsterns, Professor at the University of Helsingfors, in Finland. (*Les Insurgés Prot. sous Louis XIV.* Paris, 1868.)

J. Guibal has published a book on Arnold of Brescia, and his interesting struggle for the overthrow of the temporal power of the Popes. (*Arnaud de Brescia et les Hohenstaufen.* Paris, 1868.)

B. Pozzi, a Protestant theologian, has published an essay on the history of the doctrine of redemption. (*Histoire du Dogme de la Rédemption.* Paris, 1868.)

Art. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Presbyterian and Theological Review, July, 1868. (New York.)—1. Completeness of Ministerial Character. 2. Preaching Christ. 3 Mill's Reply to his Critics. 4. Revolutions in the Light of the Bible. 5. The Men and Times of the Reunion of 1758. 6. The Tenth Article.

Baptist Quarterly, July, 1868. (Philadelphia.)—1. Development *versus* Creation. 8. Fallen Man in an Unfallen World. 3. The Pulpit—its Weakness and its Strength. 4. The Silence of Scripture. 5. Paradise. 6. The Christian Alternative. 7. Judge Read on Sunday Horse-cars.

Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, July, 1868. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Trial of the Rev. William Tennent. 2. Social Liberty. 3. Professor Fisher on the Princeton Review and Dr. Taylor's Theology. 4. Ireland—The Church and the Land. 5. The General Assembly. 6. The Protest and Answer.

Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1868. (Andover.)—1. Free Communion. 2. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. 3. Mill *versus* Hamilton. 4. Irony in History; or, was Gibbon an Infidel?

Congregational Review, July, 1868. (Boston.)—1. The Idea of Man. 2. John and his Gospel. 3. The Temptation. 4. The Apocalypse. 5. Modern Pagans *versus* Doctrines. 6. The Arabian Desert. 7. Exegetical Sermon.

Evangelical Quarterly Review, July, 1868. (Gettysburg.)—1. A Question in Eschatology. 2. The Seal of the Covenant. 3. Reminiscences of deceased Lutheran Ministers. 4. A Criticism on Genesis i, 1, 2. 5. Catechisation. 6. Was Isaac on Mount Moriah a Type of Christ? 7. Hickok's Mental and Moral Science. 8. Ministerial Education. 9. Kant, the Discoverer of the Road to True Science in Metaphysics.

Mercersburgh Review, July, 1868. (Philadelphia.)—1. Dorner's History of Protestant Theology. 2. Inspiration. 3. The Minister a Public Man. 4. Theories of the Atonement. 5. Recent Sanitary Operations in Europe. 6. Condition of Christian Scholarship. 7. The Faith of Christ. 8. Altar and Priest.

North American Review, July, 1868. (Boston.)—1. Laurence Sterne. 2. Meteoric Showers. 3. The Religious Reform Movement in Italy. 4. The Lumber Region of Michigan. 5. George William Curtis. 6. Liberal Education. 7. John Hookham Frere. 8. The Chicago Convention. 9. Dryden. 10. Commercial Immorality and Political Corruption.

New Englander, July, 1868. (New Haven.)—1. The Philosophy of Comte. 2. The Augustinian and the Federal Theories of Original Sin compared. 3. Divorce. 4. Princeton Exegesis: A Review of Dr. Hodge's Commentary on Romans v, 12–19.

The theological discussions of a just-past generation between the two Calvinistic "Schools," led on by Taylor and Tyler, Park and Hodge, seem to have attained a fresh resurrection from the project of reunion. Dr. Hodge still stands in columnar strength to meet the blows of young champions, whose beards have grown long since his laurels had waxed historical. The two new-fledged champions that appear upon the field are Professor Fisher, who has already won a distinguished name, and a Timothy Dwight, whose name was long since made eminent by a former bearer. The former, according to his bent, goes deeply into historical theology, in which field he would be a difficult competitor for any champion that challenges him. Dr. Hodge's well-battered shield will probably survive the heavy blows of the new-born Dwight.

It was the mission of Methodism to demonstrate, even in New England, not only the non-necessity but even the great injury of a fatalistic creed in converting men and spreading the most intense evangelism through the land. She interposed in the midst of the great reaction from old theological Predestinarianism to Rationalism, and rescued a living Gospel piety from being wrecked between the two. She showed the Christian world how to be evangelically *liberal* without being Pelagianly *liberalistic*. She powerfully repudiated and reprobated the "horrible decree" then reigning in all its horrors; she broke the limitations of partial atonement; she unlocked the fetters of a cast-iron necessity upon the free-will; she scouted the diabolical dogma of infant damnation; she flung open the glorious gates of Gospel day by the free offer of a full salvation to ALL, unbound by negative "decree," or fettered will, or moral impotence. At the same time she insisted intensely on justification through the atonement by self-surrendering faith, and the attainment of a full sanctification by the blessed Spirit. The Methodist preacher found the learning, the wealth, the aristocracy of the land against him; but "the common people heard him gladly." The popular heart beat responsive to his mission, and awakened even old hide-bound Calvinism not merely to a sense of danger, but to an aspiration after something at once more liberal yet not less evangelical. Hence the internal strifes of these "schools."

As yet the efforts of the theological doctors, after a satisfactory scheme, have proved a signal failure. They have sought the object by paltry expedients and patchings of new upon old cloth, and the "rent is made worse." Consistency is sadly in their way. The necessity of retaining the old ground of Calvinistic traditions and formulas while adopting a more expansive enlargement, involves them in tergiversations, contradictions, and "digladiations." There is no relief for them but in sending the remnants of old Calvinism back to the source from which they came, and coming out upon the platform of a bold, free, expansive, and consistent evangelical Arminianism.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1868. (London.)—1. Montalembert on St. Columba. 2. Cambridge Characteristics in the Seventeenth Century. 3. The Present and Future Position of the Church of England. 4. The Great St. Bernard Hospice. 5. Young's Life and Light of Men. 6. Tischendorf on the Gospels. 7. Mr. Gladstone's "Ecce Homo." 8. German Romanism.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1868. (London.)—1. John Stuart Mill. 2. The Old London Dissenters. 3. Camilla and her Successors. 4. Siluria, Cambria, and Laurentia. 5. Stanley's Westminster Abbey. 6. John Bright. 7. Montalembert's Monks of the West. 8. The Political Situation.

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, July, 1868. (London.)—1. Mediæval Religious Stories. 2. Recent Translations of Horace. 3. Bunsen. 4. The Bishop of Brechin on the Articles. 5. Municipal Government of Paris. 6. The Irish Church. 7. Celebrated Sanctuaries of the Madonna. 8. The Lectures and Essays of Max Müller. 9. The Ritual Commission.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Salem Witchcraft. 2. English Dictionaries. 3. The Apocryphal Gospels. 4. Lytton's Chronicles and Characters. 5. Wellington's Correspondence, 1819–1825. 6. The Modern Russian Drama. 7. Letters and Speeches of Leon Faucher. 8. Prince Henry, the Navigator. 9. New Germany. 10. The National Church.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. The Life of David Garrick. 2. Indian Railways. 3. Coleridge as a Poet. 4. Gunpowder. 5. Marco Polo and his Recent Editors. 6. History of Lace. 7. Sir Roderick Murchison and Modern Schools of Geology. 8. Proverbs, Ancient and Modern. 9. Ireland once more.

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, June, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. A Liberal Education—Schools and Universities. 2. Mistral's Mirèio. 3. Saint Louis. 4. Creeds and Churches. 5. Memoirs of Baron Bunsen. 6. The Greek Idyllic Poets. 7. On Sleep. 8. The History of Writing.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. The Character of British Rule in India. 2. Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament. 3. Co-operation applied to the Dwellings of the People. 4. Nitro-Glycerine; the New Explosive. 5. The Marriage Laws of the United Kingdom. 6. The Incas. 7. Church and State. 8. The Spanish Gipsy.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) Fourth Number, 1868.—*Essays:* 1. PLITT, The Doctrinal System of the Bohemian Brethren. 2. SCHRADER, Critical Remarks on the Original Text of the Psalms. 3. LINDER, The Efforts of Duræus for bringing about a Union in Switzerland. *Remarks:* 1. RIEHM, Sargon and Shalmaneser. 2. MAERCKER, On the Number 666 in Revelation xiii, 18. *Reviews:* 1. KLOSTERMANN, The Gospel according to Mark, Reviewed by WEISS. [*Das Markus Evangelium*, Goettingen, 1867.] 2. SACK, History of Homiletics in the German Evangelical Church. [*Geschichte der Predigt.* Heidelberg, 1866.] Reviewed by COSACK. 3. ROTHE, Theological Ethics. [*Theolog. Ethik.* Second Edition. Wittenberg, 1867.] Reviewed by PFLEIDERER.

This number of the venerable veteran among the theological reviews of Germany has a greater than usual abundance of interesting matter. In the first article Dr. Hermann Plitt, Inspector of the Moravian Seminary at Gnadenfeld, and probably the ablest living theologian of the Moravian Church, develops the doctrine of the original Bohemian brethren (the Protestants of Bohemia before the Reformation of Luther) concerning justification by faith, and the works of faith. The religious history of Bohemia has been, of late, the subject of several able works, on which this treatise on the doctrinal system of the Bohemian Brethren is based. In the third article on Duræus we have an interesting contribution to the history of the efforts to unite the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

Dr. Riehm, in the brief treatise on Sargon and Shalmaneser, elucidates a difficult point in the history of the Assyrian kings who are mentioned in the Old Testament. Only once the Old Testament mentions the name of King Sargon, (Isa. xx, 1,) and the ancient writers, from whom our knowledge of Assyrian kings is derived, do not mention him at all. The commentators of the Old Testament were therefore considerably exercised to define the relation of Sargon to the other more celebrated names of Assyrian kings. Some identified him with Sennacherib, others with Esarhaddon; but both views were thoroughly refuted by Vitringa, since whom the writers on the subject have either held that Sargon was identical with Shalmaneser, or (and this was the prevailing opinion) that he reigned for a short time between Shalmaneser and Sennacherib. (From 718–715 B. C., or from 716 to 713.) Entirely new light was shed on the history of Sargon by the discovery of the ruins of the palace of Nineveh and the partial reading of the numerous cuneiform inscriptions which were found there. Though there still is a great uncertainty and difference of opinion in the reading of these inscriptions, the following results are generally

accepted. Sargon was an upstart, the founder of a new dynasty, the father and predecessor of Sennacherib, and reigned at least fifteen years, during which time he made many military expeditions against Babylonia, Armenia, Egypt, and other countries. He in particular boasts of having taking captive the Israelites, and of having destroyed Samaria. On the other hand, the name of Shalmaneser as a king of this period is not mentioned at all in the inscriptions. Many, therefore, (among them Rawlinson, M. von Niebuhr, M. Duncker, Keil,) found in this circumstance a confirmation of the identity of Sargon and Shalmaneser; but Jules Oppert, (*Les Inscriptions Assyriennes des Sargonides et Les Fastes de Ninive*, Versailles, 1862,) who is generally regarded as the chief authority on cuneiform inscriptions, undertook to prove that Sargon was the successor of Shalmaneser V., and reigned from 721 to 701, while Shalmaneser reigned from 726 to 721, and Sennacherib from 701 to 680. His views have in the main been adopted by Rawlinson, (*The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World;* London, 1864;) and so able a writer as Dr. Delitzsch (Commentary to Isaiah) regards it as a settled result of the investigation of the cuneiform inscriptions that Sargon was the successor of Shalmaneser. In opposition to this view Dr. Riehm undertakes to show that the arguments in favor of the identity of Sargon and Shalmaneser have thus far not been refuted by the inscriptions, but that for the present the identity of the two names must still be regarded as the most probable solution of the difficulty.

According to Professor Maercker, in the treatise on the number 666, "recent investigations make it certain that the beast mentioned in Rev. xiii and xvii denotes the Roman empire. The explanation given by the author of the book himself, (xvii, 9–12,) that the seven heads of the beast denote both the seven hills (the seven hills of Rome) as well as seven kings, of whom five (Augustus to Nero) have fallen, one (Vespasian) is present, and one (the seventh) is yet to come, denote the Roman empire too clearly to admit of any other explanation. In the above enumeration Galba, Otho, and Vitellius are not counted in, as reigning too short a time, though in a subsequent passage, in the explanation of the ten horns, they are taken into account." Should still any doubt be felt as to the reference to the ten emperors, Professor Maercker thinks it must be removed by the circumstance that the initials of the ten emperors, considered as numerical figures, give, if added up, the mysterious number 666. It must only be remarked that the tenth emperor, who is yet to come, is not designated by a name, but as "the

tenth," by the letter used to designate the number ten. The calculation, then, is as follows:

Ὀκταβιανός (Octavianus)	ο′ =	70	
Τιβέριος (Tiberius)	τ′ =	300	
Γαῖος (Caius)	γ′ =	3	
Κλαύδιος (Claudius)	κ′ =	20	
Νέρων (Nero)	ν′ =	50	
Γάλβα (Galba)	γ′ =	3	
Carried forward.....		446	
Brought forward		446	
Ὄθων (Otho)	ο′ =	70	
Οὐϊτέλλιος (Vitellius)	ο′ =	70	
Οὐεσπασιανός (Vespasianus)	ο′ =	70	
ὁ δέκατος (the Tenth)	ι′ =	10	
		666	

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTOR. THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historic Theology.) Fourth Number, 1868.—1. NIPPOLD, David Joris of Delft. His Life, his Doctrine, and his Sect. (Third Article.) 2. KAHNIS, St. Elizabeth.

The second article, containing a biographical sketch of St. Elizabeth of Thuringin, by Dr. Kahnis, is a kind of reading but rarely met in this journal, which is generally devoted to the publication of documents and learned treatises illustrating dark and unexplored portions of ecclesiastical history; but being of a more popular caste, it is certain to find many more readers than most of the other articles of this periodical. Like every thing from the pen of Dr. Kahnis, it is of great merit, and undoubtedly the best biography of the sainted landgravine which has yet been published from a Protestant point of view. St. Elizabeth is a character which towers high above the ordinary saints of the Church of Rome, and whom the whole Church of Christ will never fail to honor. The article on David Joris is a sequel to those published in the volumes for 1863 and 1864 of the same periodical, and concludes the monograph on this prominent mystic of the seventeenth century. The author of the article, Dr. Nippold, has, since the publication of the preceding articles, been appointed Professor of Theology at Heidelberg, and has become more widely known as a Church historian of considerable ability by his Manual of Modern Church History. This concluding article contains two parts: the first giving a complete list of the numerous writings of Joris, with extracts from and a review of the more important ones; the second giving an exhibition of the doctrines of Joris on the one hand, according to his opponents, and on the other according to his defenders, and closing with a statement of the author's own opinion. An appendix gives an account of a new biographical work on Joris, published in Holland by Dr. Van de Linde, (The Hague, 1867,) and in particular of all the new matter in this book. Altogether, this monograph on Joris is one of those works which completely exhaust the subject, and which remain in the history of theological literature for ever the chief source for all who desire authentic information.

Art. IX.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Discussions in Theology. By Thomas H. Skinner. 12mo., pp. 287. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph. 1868.

Some months since the amiable and accomplished Dr. Patton, in urging the feasibility of Christian union, informed the public that a number of years ago Dr. Fitch, of New Haven, so presented Calvinism to view that Dr. Wilbur Fisk (we quote from memory) saw little difficulty in accepting it. In this statement there was a material mistake. Dr. Fisk did earnestly and doubly object to Dr. Fitch's presentation. He objected, first, to Dr. Fitch's duplicity in appropriating certain Arminian tenets, for which Methodism had long been contending against Calvinism, into his scheme under the name of Calvinism; and he objected, second, to the remnants of Calvinism which Dr. Fitch still retained and attempted to combine with the appropriated Arminianisms. Dr. Fisk frankly told Dr. Fitch that he thought when one abandoned Calvinistic dogmas it would be more honest and conducive to Christian union for him that much to abandon the Calvinistic name and colors. However interesting a neophytism it attributes to us to suppose we do not know our own doctrines when filched and re-presented to us as a skillful and acceptable "presentation of Calvinism," we are very likely after all to show perspicacity enough to recognize our own restored goods without any special gratitude for the restoration or respect for the restorer.

The present series of essays by the Professor in Union Seminary does not explicitly claim to be Calvinism. It does not, at any rate, claim to make a condescending presentation of Calvinism which the innocent simplicity of the admiring Arminians are implicitly and thankfully to swallow. It is mostly frank, outspoken Arminianism, without pretending to say what the author is. It does not pretend to instruct Arminians or address them at all. If the writer personally claims to be a Calvinist, then under that name he is so presenting Arminianism to his own denominational brethren that we do not think they can do better than accept it, whether they know what it is or not.

Dr. Skinner writes very pure English in a somewhat diffuse, but remarkably transparent style. He is a forcible writer just so far as the perfectly clear presentation of the thought is forcible. His topics are Miracles, the Atonement, Christ's Pre-existence, Christ's Preaching to the Spirits in Prison, the Will, Preaching, and Systematic Theology in a series of brief sections.

Miracles, he clearly demonstrates, are the central evidences of true Christianity, all other proofs being subsidiary. The self-complacent ejectors of miracles from among the evidences really contend, not for vital Christianity, but for a naturalism in its place, which is naturally averse to miracles. This is true ground, as we have often maintained; and Dr. S. demonstrates it with clear conclusiveness. Christianity, including our holy religion from the creation to the dissolution, is one stupendous miracle—an age-enduring supernaturalism; and how can such a supernaturalism show itself but as a supernaturalism, of which all individual miracles are special manifestations?

We suppose there are few points upon which New England Calvinistic theology has more prided itself than the distinction between natural and moral ability. But Dr. Skinner, a gentle iconoclast, using the ordinary Arminian logic, lets a few sunbeams into this fine distinction and dissipates it. By the so-called natural power is meant all the capacities necessary to a choice or act, except the inclination; the inclination is the moral power. Dr. Skinner easily shows that the term moral power is a misnomer; for the so-called *moral* power is as *natural* as any other power. He denies that the *inclination* is properly a power at all, being allowably so called only in a figurative sense. The explanation of the term as figurative we think (as shown in our work on the Will) to be incorrect; but let that pass. Dr. Skinner here demolishes one of the pet peculiarities of modern Calvinism. The term moral inability (for which we should use the term volitional inability) he equally repudiates.

Dr. Skinner next reprehends the ordinary methods of Calvinistic preaching. That preaching holds, first, that man's nature, as God created it, is so overlaid with a false second nature that it is absolutely certain that no man will, without special grace, become holy. So absolute is the certainty, that no preacher ever expected such a becoming holy; nay, it is a part both of his theology and his preaching, that no such becoming holy ever did or ever will take place. This certainty, Dr. S. tells us, is an "unchangeable law of voluntary activity," "a certainty equivalent in effect to a necessity." If it should happen, it would contradict one of the prime articles of Calvinistic theology. And now comes the contradiction which we Methodists have argued against and ridiculed from our birth. How contradictory it is for a preacher to insist that his hearers shall do what he insists that nobody ever did or ever will do! He urges them to do what he maintains that it is absurd to expect them to do. When we see our Calvinistic brother for long years

practicing so palpable a contradiction without being able to perceive it, we are inclined to ask with the disciples, "Lord, who did sin, this man or his parents, that he is born blind?" Dr. Skinner's lucid logic we trust will pour some illumination on the optics of these men, who would reject all light from us. That there may be a reformation of the Calvinistic pulpit on this subject we earnestly hope.

Yet there is a remnant of this absurdity even in Dr. Skinner's mind. Though this overlay of false nature secures a universal certainty of no natural repentance, though it is a certainty "in effect equivalent to a necessity," still men are obligated to natural regeneration and holiness, and may be damned for not attaining it! Until Dr. Skinner resigns that fallacy he is guilty of essentially the very absurdity which he reprehends. He is not quite emancipated from the multitudinous mazes of Calvinistic contradiction. For (to use nearly his own reasoning) how can he maintain that the pulpit should not preach that men should do what they are obligated to do? what they may be damned for not doing? *We* believe that the overlay of depravity is truly so powerful as to produce a true volitional powerlessness for natural holiness. It is out of the conditions of possible, persistent will. Hence a mediatorial probation requires an underlay of volitional ability in order to responsible obligation. You can call that underlay grace or justice; or you can call it grace and justice in identity; or grace on its one side and justice on the other; whatever you please to call it, there is not the slightest absurdity or incongruity in holding that such a basal element forms a part of the new covenant with man through Christ after the fall. Let our Calvinistic brethren take Dr. Skinner's logic and advice, and they will in due time find themselves logically impelled to the true ground.

Again, one of the persistent and favorite points of Calvinism is, that every movement and effort of the soul preparatory and tending to repentance and self-surrender to Christ is sin. "Repent now" was the inexorable word; and those steps necessary, from the very nature of mind, to that end, were condemned as "an abomination to the Lord." These directions were just as reasonable as to tell a man to jump "*now*" right on to a railroad car half a mile distant, without taking a single intermediate step, and to imprecate condemnation upon every step taken. The theoretical contradictions and practical perplexities to penitent inquirers from this preposterous view, Dr. Skinner very lucidly describes. How a Christian Church, with the Bible in its hands, could adopt either such a theory or such a practice has to us Methodists been a matter of

profound amazement. Dr. Skinner theologically denies that the necessary preparatory motions of the soul to attain the repentant point is sin; and he shows that practically so to teach and deal with awakened inquirers, is most preposterous and injurious. He earnestly moves for "a reform;" thinks there has been in this regard some "progress;" but that there is still great "room for progress" in the Calvinistic pulpit; in which views we most heartily concur. He bids Calvinistic preachers to "study psychology;" to learn how to deal with the mind as it is, and guide its movements by their natural route to the necessary point. This matter is of immense practical importance. What myriads of perplexed souls have been lost under the bewildering effects of these Calvinistic teachings, eternity alone can tell. A "reform" in this matter would tend to Christian union at a most important point, namely, the point of practical co-operation in the conversion of souls. Calvinists and Methodists now give to inquirers precisely opposite directions. The reform of the Calvinistic method would bring us to a new and most interesting oneness. Dr. Skinner's reply to the question, Can a man regenerate himself? is clear and true. In fine, should Dr. H. B. Smith, of the Union Seminary, be promoted, as we trust he may, to some more eligible position, (that is, some position where he will propagate less error,) we hope some Calvinist (?) of Dr. Skinner's stamp may fill his place; and doubtless he could with little inconsistency adopt for a text-book Whedon on the Will, which would be another great "reform." We are not without hopes for our Calvinistic brethren of great future improvement.

Genesis; or, The First Book of Moses, together with a General Theological and Homiletical Introduction to the Old Testament. By JOHN PETER LANGE, D.D., Professor in Ordinary of Theology in the University of Bonn. Translated from the German, with additions, by Professor TAYLER LEWIS, LL.D., and A. GORMAN, D.D. 8vo., pp. 665. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1865.

Upon the battle-field of Genesis Dr. Lange thinks it necessary to put on his boots and tackling, and come down to the fray in his own proper person. Neither journeymen nor lieutenants will do here. How much the never-to-be-"lost cause" is gainer by the accession of the prime leader we are not so positive, but we think that Dr. Schaff did wisely in selecting Tayler Lewis as the American editor to repair the deficiencies but too apparent in Lange.

As exhibited in the translation, (which we can scarce believe to have had the advantage of being filtrated through Professor Lewis's clear and simple English,) Dr. Lange, with all his affluent erudi-

tion, is decidedly a dim thinker and an obscure and circumlocutory writer. Apparent obscurity of expression may often necessarily arise from the nature of the subject. No one requires, reasonably, that a treatise on algebra, or the higher metaphysics, should be as easy reading as a novel. Edwards on the Will, and Kant's Kritik, are severe tasks to the clearest brain. But Dr. Lange is pleased to be difficult reading where there is no complexity of topic to justify. Passages, for instance, like the following are no rarity:

It is, however, more easy to do this when we assume that the history of the tower building was that of a gradually lapsing event, which is here all comprehended in its germinal transition-point, (as the commencing turning-point,) conformably to the representation of the religious historico-symbolical historiography. —Page 361.

No distinction has been made between the first germ-form which is peculiar to this doctrine, [of man's immortality,] as it is to most others in the earlier books of the Old Testament, and its later development; and, therefore, too, has there been no distinction made between the ramifying ontological definitives, (such as Sheol, Rephaim, appearings of the dead, awakenings of the dead, questionings of the dead,) the ethical definitives, (such as covenant with God, confidence in God,) and the synthetic, out of which the doctrine of the resurrection gradually came forth, (such as the tree of life, the translations of Enoch and Elijah, together with the doctrine of the resurrection that prevailed in the prophetic period.)—Page 213.

Instead of compact sentences we have heavy trails of clauses like the following:

The two poles by which the catastrophe of the speech-confounding are limited are the following: In the first place, even after the confusion of languages, there exists a fundamental unity; there is the logical unity of the ground-forms of language, (verb, substantive, etc.) the rhetorical unity of figurative modes of expression, the lexical unity of kindred fundamental sounds, the grammatical unity of kindred linguistic families, such as the Shemitic, the Indo-Germanic, and the historical unity in the blending of different idioms; as, for example, in the κοινή, or common dialect, there are blended the most diverse dialects of the Greek; so in the New Testament Greek, to a certain extent, the Hebrew and old Greek; in the Roman languages, Latin, German, and Celtic dialects; so, also, in the English; in the Lutheran High German, too, there are different dialects of Germany.—Page 361.

The following passages unquestionably have a meaning; or, perhaps, they cut a line half way between a meaning and no meaning:

As the first man is not a myth, so neither is his first residence. But on the other side, also, the streams and trees of Paradise are just as little to be regarded as barely natural, or belonging to the natural history of Paradise, or the *mere individual forms, particularities of the pre-historical world.*"—Page 73.

The significance of Paradise is this, that it declares the original ideal state of the earth and the human race, the unity of the particular and the general, the unity of spirit and nature, the unity of spiritual innocence and the physical harmony of nature, the unity of the fall and the disturbance of nature, lastly the unity of facts and their symbolical meaning, which both the barely literal and mythical explanations of the record rend asunder.—Page 73.

But this also must be kept in view, that in the dispersion of the people we have revealed the peculiar teleology of heathenism. It has a prevailing admonitory and yet preserving character. The people should not lose their peculiar character

under the despotism of imperial uniformity; they should develop themselves according to all their peculiarities, in their different languages. Above all, the way was prepared for the development of Shem.—Page 78.

Philosophy generally thinks that it is here dealing with a myth, which is arranged *partly through its orthodox positiveness*, and partly through its sensuous pictures or images.—Page 71.

Nor does he make amends for this by bringing his commentary down to the present hour. With the great problems that at this moment are reducing the earlier sections of Genesis, in the minds of thousands of thinkers, to a series of myths, he often refuses a manly grapple. To these great problems he often but superficially alludes, sufficiently to show that he is enough aware of them to be without excuse for not giving them a thorough dealing. On the origin of man, the unity of the race, the creational Sabbath, the antiquity of the secular empires, the extent of the flood, and the rival chronologies, he furnishes little satisfaction. These glaring deficiencies are in a measure remedied by Professor Lewis, with a learning more profound, a logic more subtle, a faith more unfaltering, and a style far more graceful and lucid. It is much to be regretted that the Professor did not furnish the entire commentary, or at least the eleven first chapters. Or more explicitly we may say, that it is much to be regretted his rare qualifications have not been for years expended upon that production of original commentary rather than in flinging out fugitive articles, or in translating and annotating the works of authors his own inferiors.

His contributions, mostly the gems of the book, are twenty-nine in number. The first Excursus, on the Rivers of Paradise, is remarkable for its philological erudition, and very ingenious speculations. He maintains in the second, with great force and beauty, the limited geographical extent of the flood, yet asserts the destruction of the entire human race, save the arkite family. *Asserts*, we say, for the same logic that affirms the limited destruction of animals could perhaps be made to prove the limited destruction of men. On Hebrew chronology he is subtle and persuasive, but not so satisfactory. There is an army of difficulties here not easily overcome without a change of position. The issue is not between Hebrew chronology and Egyptological chronology alone, but between this and several other as yet unrefuted counter chronologies. The issues rather grow more than less palpable with every advancing decade. In regard to primitive man, Professor Lewis, long before Darwin wrote, and while geologists with one voice maintained that no geological fossil man had ever been discovered, took the ground that Scripture is perfectly consistent with the development theory, if science should ever affirm it. Of the linguistic

question he finds a due solution in the confusion at Babel. Languages, he maintains with great plausibility, in their very diversity of structure, and in the interior grammatical completeness of each, demonstrate the existence of some great convulsion in linguistic history, as truly as huge geologic masses demonstrate great convulsions in geology. A language has a homogeneous structure of inner relations, so fundamental and systematic as to prove a certain unity of origin, a certain unity of tendency in the minds of its first speakers, showing a distinct unity of origin and history. This argument can scarce be answered except on the theory of races of different origins; or at least races who by distant emigrations lost their primitive language, and subsequently began and built their language anew. These questions wait further researches.

With all its drawbacks this Genesis must, with its fullness of learning and fresh suggestions, maintain a standard position, until American scholarship can be roused to furnish, as it is amply able, a better. The energy of the American general editor and publisher, in pressing it rapidly through, evinces the success the entire publication meets. The Old Testament is now begun; and, as it is here our need is greatest, we trust the work will progress to a rapid completion.

The First [*and Second*] *Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians.* By CHARLES FRIEDRICH KLING, Doctor of Theology, and late Dean of Marbach on the Neckar. Translated by DAVID W. POOR, D.D., Pastor of the High-street Presbyterian Church, Newark, N. J., and CONWAY P. WING, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, Pa. 8vo., pp. 220. New York: Scribner & Co. 1868.

Most of the American work upon this (the sixth) volume is by Dr. Wing. The translators have, with Dr. Schaff's consent, freely straitened and abridged the involved and prolix, but learned and valuable, periods and paragraphs of the German original. This is a justifiable freedom. Where the original is a work of esthetic genius, like the Homeric poems, the desideratum is to transfer the style and spirit of the author with the most perfect precision. But where the matter is the object, the original should be rendered with the concisest and clearest possible English. What is circumlocutory, diffuse, or obscure should, if possible, be made direct, compact, and lucid. The present accomplished American translators have well done their work.

Both the original authors and the translators of both this and the eighth volume are rather zealous advocates of the pre-millennial advent theory. They hold to two resurrections a thousand years apart; the first takes place for the saints alone, when their resur-

rected bodies rule on earth over the living generations of men in the flesh until the second resurrection. It is to be regretted that these volumes should be even slightly applied to the advocacy of a theory so unscriptural, and, as experience in all ages has shown, so pernicious.

The theory of the pre-millennialists is based upon a most mistaken interpretation of the 19th and 20th chapters of Revelation. Their mistakes are *three.* FIRST, they identify the judicial advent of Matt. xxv. with the descent and going forth of Christ as "the Word of God," in Rev. xix, marching as a conqueror and subduing the nations to his triumphal sway, fulfilling the mission of the second Psalm. Their SECOND mistake is confounding the life of the SOULS of Rev. xx, 4 with that of bodies. Why cannot these boasting literalists allow *souls* to be literal *souls?* John in his Gospel does most explicitly maintain that there is a glorified life of the soul—the *vita celestis*—above not only its unconscious *existence*, but above its conscious *life*, and contrasted with the *death* of the disembodied soul of the damned. This same John does in his Gospel (v, 25–29) distinguish the first and second resurrections to be successively the resurrection of the soul and the resurrection of the body. And of this first resurrection of souls, described in his Gospel, exalted to its glorified state, does the same John catch a glorious pictorial glimpse in his Apocalypse. He lifts up his eyes into the high heavenly world, and beholds the *souls* of the triumphant martyrs and confessors enthroned with Christ himself in spiritual authority over the living nations of this world. Their thrones are in paradise, their sway is on earth. This picture has for us a double aspect. *First*, in its earthward aspect it stands as a symbol of the triumph of truth and righteousness on earth. It stands in precise contrast with the *souls* of the martyred in Rev. vi, 9–11, whose condition symbolizes the suppression of religion and truth in the world. In the one case they lie under the altar; in the other they are exalted upon thrones. But let our literalizing brethren note that in both cases, first, it is *souls* and not *bodies* that are seen with the spirit's eye; showing that the apostle, by the word *souls*, means what he says; and second, that the state of these souls represents the state of Christ's blessed religion on earth. *Second*, this scene in its celestial aspect gives us a specimen of the disembodied Church, "the spirits of just men made perfect," in its glorified state with Christ. The second death has no power over them; for though still detained in the intermediate state, they are waiting for the consummation of their embodied perfection, when the whole elect of God shall be gathered in at the universal resurrection

of the body at the judgment scene of Rev. xx, 11, identical with Matt. xxv. This is perfectly consistent with verse 5: *the rest of the dead lived not again.* The word *again*, in the English, is spurious. They *lived not* the glorious life of the soul, like the enthroned spirits —they lived not the life of the body; they live neither life until the second resurrection. Then they will live the life of the body and die the second death. The THIRD mistake confounds a corporeal earthly kingdom with the glorified reign of the blessed *spirits* with Christ in paradise over the sanctified earth, which will last a period symbolically designated a thousand years. Thereafter the literal Antichrist, (perhaps Satan incarnate, the devilish antithesis of Christ incarnate,) of whom this same John tells us there are many lesser antichrist types in the world, (1 John ii, 18,) will come forth in deceiving power. Upon this last great apostasy the judgment shall come like a thief in the night.

This brief and literal exegesis of that celebrated passage would have suggested to the American translator and annotator upon 1 Cor. vi, 3 a different explanation from any he has given, and we think very far preferable to either.

Upon 1 Cor. xv, 23, 24 the translator insists that the two Greek conjunctions, ἔπειτα and εἶτα, *afterward* and *then*, require for the second a millennial extension, inasmuch as the first has really extended now over eighteen hundred years. Does he not forget that eschatological prophecies are usually timeless? To the predictor the future events stand like objects in perspective against each other, revealing not the intervals between them, longer or shorter. Paul used words indefinite, but more naturally expressive of, and expressing, perhaps, to his mind, a rapid succession. Time, the great expositor of prophecy, has stretched the former over near two thousand years. It is under no obligation to stretch the latter over a moment. We suspect that neither German author nor American translator ever thought of this view of the matter.

The Prodigal Son. Four Discourses. By Rev. W. MORLEY PUNSHON, M. A. 12mo., pp. 86. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

We have here a brief but brilliant installment of Mr. Punshon's oratory, bound in stiff pink cover, and, we trust, the price of copyright duly secured. The hero of the great parable is presented with wonderful power as the representative person of all wandering, repenting, and returning sinners; the type of all our race in the first of the three points, of the elect in the last two.

The sermons stand in the first class of pulpit oratory. A torrent-like flow of language, language of the most perfectly sustained finish

and elevation, clothing a succession of original, pictorial, emotional thoughts, stretches from end to end of every sermon and of the whole book. Mr. Punshon never for a moment lets himself down. Unlike Spurgeon, he never descends to homeliness, and never exerts the power that often lies in frank downrightness.

What a vivid completeness of picture, blended with the mellowest rhetorical cadence, approaching too nearly, perhaps, a poetic rhythm lies in sentences like the following, contemplating the prodigal as a *ruin:*

> Amid the broken columns of Baalbec or Palmyra, shapeless heaps, where once proud cities stood—in some desolate fane, with the moonlight shining ghostly into crypt and cloister—the mind dwells regretfully upon the former time, when the hum of men broke lively on the listening ear, or through the long aisles there swept the cadence of some saintly psalm. We gaze mournfully upon a deserted mansion, with the sky looking clear upon its crumbling masonry or naked rafters; the tall, dank grass in the court-yard, which once echoed to the hoof of the baron's charger; the garden, erst kept so trimly, now a gloomy wilderness of weeds and flowers, and trailing languidly over the blackening walls the ivy, that only parasite which clings faithfully to ruin. Sadder still is it to look upon the overthrown temple of the human mind when morbid fancies prey like so many vultures on the distempered brain, and when the eye, which ought to be kingly in its glances, is dulled in the sullenness of the idiot, or glares in the frenzy of the madman.—Page 21.

Upon the subject of "hope" we know scarce any thing in religious literature superior to the following passage:

> "We are saved by hope," says the apostle, and there is a sense in which it is true of us all; we are saved by hope before we are saved by faith. The hope of mercy is in itself a thing in which the good Lord "taketh pleasure." The hope of Christ is a staff in the hand of the weary before the arm of Christ is stretched out, on which he may be privileged to lean. Hope is a marvelous inspiration which every heart confesses in some season of extremest peril. It can put nerve into the languid, and fleetness into the feet of exhaustion. Let the slim and feathery palm-grove be dimly descried, though ever so remotely, and the caravan will on, spite of the fatigue of the traveler and the simoom's blinding, to where by the fringy rootlets, the desert waters flow. Let there glimmer one star through the murky waste of night, and though the spars be shattered, and the sails be riven, and the hurricane howls for its prey, the brave sailor will be lashed to the helm, and see already, through the tempest's breaking, calm waters and a spotless sky. Let there be but the faintest intimation that all is not utterly hopeless "when the grave and skilled physician by the trembling patient stands," and anxious love will redouble its watching, and feel as if new feet had been given to the leaden hours; and the blood which had begun to curdle, as if in sympathy with the dying, will flutter itself loose again into thankful and regular flow. O who is there, however hapless his lot or forlorn his surroundings, who is beyond the influence of this choicest of earth's comforters—this faithful friend which survives the flight of riches and the wreck of reputation, and the break of health, and even the loss of dear and cherished friends? My brethren, I would fain rouse you all to the exercise of this your undoubted privilege in those higher matters which are between yourselves and God. Are you disquieted because of sin? Then you may hope. Are you guilty of transgressions which you feel to be both heinous and aggravated? Then you may hope. Are you conscious that yours have been sins of no common type of turpitude, towering above the guilt of ordinary sinners as the mountain above the lake which mirrors it? Still you may hope. Have you been a champion for evil, and trampled upon grace, and been both an adept and a teacher of ungodliness, and gone so recklessly on your hell-

ward travel that you feel as if brain and heart were already scorched by its consuming fire? Still there is hope—nay, hope! there is certainty—that if in right earnest you will begin at this moment, and in penitence for past sin, and in purpose of future holiness, set about the seeking for salvation, no power on earth can hinder—the whole army of demons cannot hinder—and the gracious God who calls you would, if it were necessary, unclasp the arms of Satan, which were already closing around you, and make the fires of torment lambent, lest one hair of your head should be singed by the devouring flame.—Page 53.

The Witness of the Holy Spirit. By Rev. Charles Prest. 12mo., pp. 172. London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 2 Castle-street, City Road. 1867.

If Luther is held to have said truly that the doctrine of justification by faith is the test article of a standing or falling Church, perhaps it is equally true that the retention in its full force of both the doctrine and the practical experience of the witness of the Spirit is the test of a standing or falling Methodism. Before the definite individualism which this test requires both in the first assurance of conversion and in the continuity of Christian life, priestly intervention disappears, ritualism and formalism lose all luster, and religion is ever reduced to a personal home-coming matter of the heart and life. And while that is the case, how can a Church fail of retaining vitality, power, and aggression?

And this test, too, is a great conservator of an evangelical orthodoxy of creed. It pre-assumes all the great truths of evangelicism in all their power and freshness. It demands the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in all their divinity and oneness. It demands the blood of the atonement in its full and saving power. It has no fellowship with a self-sufficient rationalism. It feels and knows the inspiration of the divine word; it finds so rich an aliment in the Gospels, it is conscious of so divine a sympathy with the deepest utterances of the Pauline Epistles, that it fastens itself with a firmness to the New Testament that no modern pseudo-criticism can disturb. How, then, can the Church with this ark of the covenant unmoved from its central sanctuary, fail of life and victory? And just here it is that we find our ground of trust, that, amid the darkness and storm of the coming age of infidel power and onslaught, Methodism will not only stand her ground but win the triumph for the truth and Christ. With the witness in her heart there can be no faithlessness, no heresy, no cowardice, no shrinking from the fight, no yielding of a single post, but onward, right onward, must be the word till a dying world is saved.

Mr. Prest's little work is written with much clearness and force of argument. Without aiming at any great degree of originality or novelty of view, it presents the argument in the light of modern thought. But what constitutes a great value in the book is its

rich anthology of choice testimonies to the doctrine most refreshing to read, given by wise and holy men of the Christian Church in ancient and modern ages; the early fathers; the prelates and magnates of the English Church; and the reformers, both Lutheran and Calvinistic, including Calvin himself. One of the most remarkable passages is from Jonathan Edwards.

The following, given upon Mr. Prest's title-page, is from Bishop Hopkins, an eminent English prelate. Doubtless the American Bishop Hopkins would have pronounced it "fanatical."

"The Spirit itself beareth witness; and what God speaks is infinitely more certain than that which our very eyes see. The witness that the Spirit gives is such a full assurance as removes all doubts and fears; for it is the witness of God himself. Now, such a witness as this the Christian may have; nor is this possible by way of revelation, as a special privilege indulged only to some few, and these the choicest of God's servants, but is possible to all."

The eminent French nobleman, Philip de Mornay, on his deathbed said that "he was perfectly persuaded of it, and was so by the demonstration of the Holy Spirit, more powerful, more clear and certain, than any demonstration of Euclid."

The Word of God Opened. Its Inspiration, Canon, and Interpretation Considered and Illustrated. By Rev. BRADFORD K. PEIRCE. 16mo., pp. 223. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

Dr. Peirce, has in this beautiful volume, furnished a valuable biblical manual for the beginner in biblical study. He has rendered the subject popular so far as it is susceptible of being popularized. From a wide range of reading he has selected numerous and choice extracts from the ablest masters of the field, but has embodied them in a mass of his own thought, expressed in graceful style, and shaped in lucid order. The book should, and we trust will, aid in giving a new impulse in our Church in prosecuting these momentous and fascinating studies.

The inspiration of the Bible, the history and genuineness of the canon, the general principles and specific rules of interpretation, the requisite preliminary studies, and the place of the Bible in the world's literature, are the leading topics. Besides the attractive style and arrangement of the contents, the fresh typography, the tinted paper, and elegant exterior, serve to commend it to the taste, especially of youthful inquirers into its great subject.

Mr. Parton, in a late *Atlantic Monthly*, recommends the issue of a body of tracts by the leading American Rationalists of the hour in behalf of semi-infidelity. The New York East Conference resolutions express the view that *we* need a body of tracts for the

times calculated to neutralize the poison of the vipery brood. The closing chapter of this manual would, with some modification perhaps, be a valuable specimen of the article needed.

Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Chicago, Illinois, 1868. Edited by Rev. WILLIAM L. HARRIS, D.D., Secretary of the Conference. 8vo., pp. 640. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1868. With an Appendix. 12mo. and 24mo. editions, pp. 319 and 374. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

DR. HARRIS undergoes the penalty of doing his work well by having work liberally and generously bestowed upon him. No man in the Church could edit our Discipline better, and hence we indorse the wisdom of our General Conference in making him do it.

The progress of our Church is illustrated in the increased bulk of its published Journal, and we may add in its superior paper and neat typography. Of the two editions of the Discipline, the large is done up in a style fitting it for the parlor table. We anticipate that the thousands of critical eyes that are now scanning its pages will pronounce "all correct."

Foreign Theological Publications.

Schlaf und Tod. [*Sleep and Death, with the kindred phenomena of Psychic Life.*] By FRANZ SPLITTGERBER, Königl. Garnisonprediger der Festung Colberg. 8vo., pp. xx, 493. Halle: Julius Fricke. 1866.

A psychological argument against Materialism. The thought of making the soul defend Christianity is not new; but the treatment in this work is quite out of the usual line, and the facts presented bear the trace of careful and patient investigation. The author, who pursues throughout the inductive method, examines what he calls the "night side" of the human soul, or in other words "sleep and death." Sleep, he holds, is not an unmeaning thing, but has a deep moral significance, which has been too long lost sight of. It is not a negative condition of mind and body, a state of total inaction, but a condition in which the soul leaves for a time its restraining body, and wanders in a sphere of a different and higher character than the one to which it is confined in the waking state. The soul is a being substantially and originally formed in the image of God, and in sleep it passes back to its original form of existence, and often passes through experiences which have a prophetic and often supernatural character. The soul in a dreaming condition is freed from its bonds and from the common disturbances of life, and its

discoveries under these circumstances are astounding to all who will cast off their gross materialistic prejudices. The following outline will give a fair idea of the scope of this carefully prepared work: Part I. Sleep and Dreams, with their connected manifestations of Soul-Life. Chapter 1. Sleep and Dreams. Here the life of the soul in dreams is described. Chapter 2. Mixed Conditions. Somnambulism is treated under this head, and is held by the author to be often an effect of intense intellectual and moral action. Part II. The Higher Illumination of the Life of the Soul in Dying. Persons in trance are claimed to be in a certain measure removed from the bondage of earth, but the freedom is not complete until death comes. The remarkable case of William Tennent does not appear to have been heard of by Mr. Splittgerber, for he could have used it to great advantage in building up his argument. One of the most interesting parts of the work is the account given of prophetic glimpses enjoyed by uninspired men in ancient and modern times. (Pp. 227–251.) But these instances are inferior in interest to those contained in Horace Welby's excellent little volume, "Predictions Realized in Modern Times." London, 1862. Those who are not acquainted with the German language, and cannot therefore read *Schlaf und Tod*, will find in Mr. Welby's other work, "Mysteries of Life, Death, and Futurity," London, 1861, a valuable substitute. The conclusions at which Mr. Splittgerber arrives are, that all the experiences through which the soul passes in sleep, dreams, and dying, are proofs of its immateriality and immortality.

Die Modernen Darstellungen des Lebens Jesu. [*The Modern Works on the Life of Jesus.*] By GERHARD UHLHORN, Dr. Theol. Four Lectures delivered in the Evangelical Association at Hanover. Third edition. Pp. 146. Hanover: Carl Meyer. 1866.

Jesu Sundlosigkeit und heilige Vollkommenheit. [*The Sinlessness and Holy Perfection of Jesus.*] By DR. EDUARD NIEMANN. A Lecture delivered in the Evangelical Association at Hanover. Second edition. Hanover: Carl Meyer. 1866.

The Evangelical Union of Hanover is doing a good and great work. It has instituted a course of popular lectures, of which the above are fair specimens, for repelling the skepticism of the times. Dr. Uhlhorn is a plain, earnest, and evangelical preacher. The first two lectures are on Renan, Strauss, and Schenkel, and the latter two on the Gospels and miracles. One of the best points which he makes is his exposition of Schenkel's real purpose to found a new Church, with a new confession and new constitution. The great trickery of Renan, Strauss, and Schenkel is exhibited in its true light; and after this good task is completed the Doctor

brings his positive proof of the divine character of Christianity in grand relief. He does not go half way in accepting miracles, but holds that "if they be rejected we must give up Christianity." Balancing all the difficulties for and against the authenticity of the Gospels, he says, "All the difficulties that acuteness and inquiry have alleged against them are nothing compared with the difficulties to be encountered if their divine inspiration be denied." A good word, and true to the letter. Doctor Niemann, in his lecture on the "Sinlessness and Holy Perfection of Christ," does not call in any doctrinal system to aid in building up his argument for Christ's divinity, but proves his point by an impartial appeal to Christ himself. Christ was not merely *sinless*, (negative,) but his nature was that of *holy perfection*, (positive.) The most successful part of the work is the proof that Christ possessed a moral universality; that in him there was no particular temperament or nationality predominant. He was the Saviour of the world, a fact proved not only by his work and words, but by the very elements of his character.

Praeparation zu den Psalmen, mit die Uebersetzung und das Verständniss des Textes erleichternden Anmerkungen. [*Preparation for the Psalms, with Notes, illustrating the Translation, and facilitating the understanding of the Text.*] By Dr. AUGUST HEILIGSTEDT. 8vo., pp. 107. Halle: Eduard Anton. 1867.

A highly useful work, designed for all theologians who wish to become acquainted with the original text of the Psalms in the shortest possible time. The Psalms are not translated in full, but those words which elsewhere have various significations and applications are carefully defined in brief and pointed terms, and their exact force in the Psalms determined. The method reminds us of Bengel's *Gnomon*, though in Dr. Heiligstedt's work even a more intimate acquaintance with the original language is presupposed. The obscurity of a passage is relieved, not by translation, but by lifting the Hebrew words themselves from their local uncertainty. The author's facility in tracing them to their root is very striking throughout his *Praeparation*, which, being the work of a profound scholar, is calculated to make all who use it scholarly in their study of the Psalms. A manual on the same plan would be a welcome aid to theological students in the United States. This publishing house will be recognized as the one which has issued some of Tholuck's principal works, Herzog's valuable monograph on Wiclif, and Julius Müller's *Beweisstellen zur Dogmatic*. A translation of the *Beweisstellen* appeared in the *American Presbyterian and Theological Review* for 1865, pp. 337–360, 539–564.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

A Treatise on Meteorology: with a Collection of Meteorological Tables. By ELIAS LOOMIS, LL.D., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, Yale College, and Author of "A Course of Mathematics." 8vo., pp. 308. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

Man is, after all, essentially a fish. We infer this rather Darwinian conclusion not from the many "scaly" characters we encounter. But from Professor Loomis's book it is evident that we, the anthropologicals, are all groping upon the bottom of an immense ocean of a fluid somewhat subtiler than water, from fifty to five hundred miles deep. Our walk is but a perpendicular swim. The ocean is so boundless that we are never run ashore. It is so altitudinous that we never even for an instant, like a porpoise, frisk up above the surface, and catch a prospect of the upper space. We inhale and exhale this fluid as the very essential of our being, and if for a brief time we were fished out of its element we would flounce and pant until we stiffened into the cold quietude of death. But fishy as the animal *homo* is, he has an intense desire to ascertain the nature and incidents of the element in which he lives, and moves, and has his being. Concerted investigations, for the last forty years especially, have accumulated a mass of facts capable of being classified into a science of very respectable dimensions, but which, like our metropolitan Gotham, is very far from being finished.

The results of these observations are here booked up by Professor Loomis in a symmetrical and compact form, calculated especially as a manual of school and college instruction. The book is made up of nine chapters. The first four, directly upon the atmosphere, treats of its constitution and weight, its temperatures, moistures, and motions. The fifth treats of the precipitation of vapors in the form of dew, hoar-frost, fog, clouds, rain, snow, and hail. The sixth, upon the more violent phenomena, giving the laws of storms, treats of the cyclones, tornadoes, sand-pillars, and water-spouts, and discusses weather predictions. The seventh is upon electricity, thunder-storms, and the auroras. The eighth discusses optical meteorology under the heads of mirage, light-absorption, rainbow, coronæ, halos, and parhelia. The ninth is upon shooting-stars, detonating meteors, and aerolites. There are added thirty-six tables of various matters important to the meteorologist. The work abounds with illustrative cuts.

What is the "firmament?" and what, especially, the Mosaic firmament, which "divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament?" If rightly translated *expanse*, we would say it is the open and opti-

cally empty space between earth and sky. This divided the ever-existing waters in the clouds—the aerial ocean, the source of rains, —from the waters of the earth and terrestrial ocean. But meteorology suggests a slightly more specific firmament. The moistures of the earth, raised and diffused by heat, and especially upborne by ascending currents of heat from the earth, normally rise until they reach the region of cold, when they are condensed into visible clouds. The conceptual plane, then, of indefinite thickness, which forms the base of the cloud-forming region of cold, is mayhap the actual firmament. It divides off the upper ocean from the lower. Such a firmament is indeed not a thing that can be *created*. Like the luminaries of the fourth day it is only *constituted*, being the necessary resultant of previously existing conditions.

Meteorology shows that storms are regulated by laws as truly as the planets. Hence the *Westminster Review* vigorously maintains that the "Prayer for Rain" ought to be expunged from the liturgy. And truly it ought if there is no such being as a personal God, whose volitions are the identity of those laws. Psychology shows there are laws of thought as well as laws of matter. But no psychology can show that a higher mind cannot interfere within our human mind, influence our mental moods, avail itself of our irregular thought-associations, intensify our conceptions and perceptions, and more or less, through motives, control our volitions. There are "hidings of his power." Never can the profoundest science, in any age of advancement, so accurately trace the succession of events, either in mind or matter, but that God may control and remodel the whole without man's being able to detect the slightest variation in nature's apparently invariable sequences. Law rules the world, but God rules law. We move that the "Prayer for Rain" stay in the liturgy.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Norwood; or, Village Life in New England. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. 12mo., pp. 549. New York: Scribner & Co. 1868.

Ministers of the Gospel are not generally novel *readers*, much less do we expect them to be novel *writers*. They ought not to be, for as a class novels are pernicious. The purest leaders of public sentiment have enough to do to battle the vices which such publications breed without encountering the influence of a great popular preacher, which is used of course to justify the reading of the worst fiction as well as the best. Our most intelligent good men will there-

fore regret that Mr. Beecher ever consented to write "a story;" more, that he made the most injurious of American periodicals the medium of his access to the public; and still more, that he followed his "novel" to the theater, whither it legitimately leads.

The book must, however, be sharply arraigned as a dangerous misrepresentation of New England Christianity.

Mr. Beecher's favorite characters are generally religious, and some of them are assigned the highest rank in Christian manhood. But how does he make his distinguished good people? By the power of nature and self-elevation chiefly.

"Abiah Cathcart" is a model of natural goodness; a perfect man—as nearly so as Henry Ward Beecher can write him; but how does he become so? Why! he grows up an honest, hard-working, successful farmer. But he must have a regeneration; and, as if preparing the way for it, the writer breaks out into the most entrancing description of love. One would certainly think he meant the very holiest baptism of the Spirit from above, and the divinest form of the new life. But, alas! it turns out to be a simple introduction to the fact that "Biah" is falling in love with "Rachel Liscomb." As if intended to make the contrast between a real thorough Calvinistic and a Beecher conversion as sharp as possible, he makes an old woman say of "Biah," "I shouldn't wonder, by the way he looks, if he had got a hope;" and then declares "he had a hope." But, amazing! it is all explained by the marriage notice from the pulpit, and the wedding! This is not merely *a sneer* at the most sacred form in which New England Calvinists are accustomed to express true conversion; it is a plain substitution of the natural for the supernatural in regeneration. "Cathcart was a different man." "Taught from his childhood to reverence God, he felt suddenly opened in his soul a gate of thanksgiving, and through it came also a multitude of thoughts of worship and praise." "He worshiped God with reverence. He worshiped Rachel with love."

Mr. Beecher wished to construct a splendid New England Christian gentleman, and he made him an enthusiastic naturalist. True, he gave him the Bible, and sent him to church. But why did he send Dr. Wentworth into his other Bible—nature—of equal authority, and under his elm-tree in the garden, and out into the fields and woods, instead of to the Holy Book and Dr. Buel to get his Christianity? Why should he make the former so grand and potential, and the latter so dry and insignificant? Mr. Beecher must of course, in a Christian novel, make one female angel; but in bringing forward the agencies which formed his splendid "Grace

Wentworth," why do the inspired "means of grace" become so insignificant, and the flowers and the trees rise to such importance and power? If this is the true method of constituting a perfect Christian woman, Eve might as well have stayed in Eden and studied botany for her redemption from the fall.

Mr. Beecher must have one "fool," and a drunkard at that; but why does he assign "Pete Sawmill" so many of the noblest traits and highest functions possible to a man, if not to show that they are born of instinct and not of supernatural grace? Why, we may ask, does he make his garrulous, waggish sharper, "Hiram Beers," out among the horses in church time, appear to so much better advantage in his generous sympathies and usefulness than his solemn old Deacon Trowbridge, who goes reverently in and worships God, under the control of his rigid Puritan conscience? Why, indeed, does he make a rollicking jolly joker his favorite "deacon," and consign a grave man to church-sleeping obscurity and nothingness? Why that exaggerated caricature of "catechising" the young Wentworths, by the side of a glowing, joyous teaching from the out-door book, if not to bring the former into contempt and push the latter into its place? Why must the sound old orthodox divine, Dr. Buel, always appear to such disadvantage in grappling with the infidel judge, leaving him to be confounded by the naturalist Wentworth? And even "Barton Cathcart," the most Christian of all Mr. Beecher's Christians, seems to owe his great moral transition, not to any agony or rest in prayer, but mediately to the song of a robin uttering his call of "love *for* love," and immediately to the undefined pensiveness of love for "Rose Wentworth," which does not yet know that it is reciprocated. The gay, reckless "Frank Ezal" becomes a sober, sensible man, so as to be challenged by his bantering boon companions as a convert to religion and likely to be a preacher, by also falling in love with "Rose Wentworth," who, however, was made by Mr. Beecher for "Barton Cathcart," and is married to him of course. And "Tommy Taft," really Mr. Beecher's masterpiece, must be a rough, profane, godless wretch to the very hour of his death, that Mr. Beecher might show what magnificent moral perfection might co-exist with the roughest sin, and the sinner complete his preparation for death by *faith in a man*.

Now we deem it unnecessary to show that all this is as untrue to the history of New England Christianity as it is false to the teachings of the Holy Bible and of sound religious experience. The naturalistic spirit of "Norwood" does, it is true, correctly represent one seed development of Calvinism. But that form of

"liberalism" which exalts nature at the expense of grace, and supersedes the atonement and supernatural regeneration, is exceptional in New England. That Christianity which is so broad and deep as really to mold and characterize the mind and heart of New England is highly evangelical, and *practically* it is thoroughly orthodox.

It must, moreover, be impossible that Mr. Beecher should not be aware that a great change has occurred in New England within the period of which he is evidently writing. There is a life, a spirituality, a freeness in the salvation offered, an earnest demand for an immediate surrender to God, and a triumphant faith which reveals the power of prayer and the certain evidences of the new life, bringing the evangelical New England Churches into harmony with the most aggressive forms of experimental Christianity; and he surely knows that this has come, to a large extent, from the pervading spirit and growing power of the people of whom he takes no further notice than to make one of his shrewd triflers denounce them as "those pesky Methodists." No discerning Christian can go at random into any of these Churches, and listen to a sermon or attend a prayer or conference meeting, a Bible, tract, or missionary meeting, or read the productions of their religious press, or mingle with their great and good men or most humble Christians, without feeling and knowing that New England Christianity proper is tending most energetically and directly away from this nonsense of Henry Ward Beecher.

Considering its grand defects and pernicious tendencies in contrast with its good, we have no hesitancy in saying that "Norwood" ought to be condemned and cast aside. J. T. P.

The New Testament History. With an Introduction, connecting the History of the Old and New Testaments. Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D., Classical Examiner in the University of London. With Maps and Wood-cuts. 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

To understand the historical surroundings in which the life of Jesus is imbedded is an attribute requisite to the true understanding of the life itself. This can be accomplished in but a fragmentary and cursory way in commentaries. The regular, full history is the systematic source from which the commentary is meagerly borrowed. To supply in a compact and accurate form the history necessary for the due historical comprehension of the New Testament is the object of the present volume. It is written by the learned editor of the great Biblical Dictionary now in process of publication by Hurd & Houghton. Nowhere can the same

amount of historical illustration be found in so brief a compass as in this solid manual.

It commences with the age of Nehemiah and terminates with the destruction of Jerusalem. Hence it traces the interval of history between the Old and New Testaments. It next gives the history of our Saviour's earthly life. Then comes and completes the work, the history of the Apostolic Church and the genesis of the post-evangelic part of the New Testament. Appendices to each part discuss in some detail the various questions that arise. The amplest illustrations of ancient objects are furnished in shape of maps and wood-cuts.

The History of the Great Republic. Considered from a Christian Standpoint. By JESSE T. PECK, D.D. With forty-four fine steel Portraits. Sold by subscription only. 8vo., pp. 710. New York: Broughton & Wyman. 1868.

God and his Providence are usually ignored or but slightly acknowledged in our ordinary histories. They are written upon a secular if not an atheistic basis. We need at least one history of our country in which the events are seen to move as in the Divine presence, under the Divine eye and hand. This has been done with great beauty and power by Dr. Peck in the present volume. The view he presents blends the highest patriotism with the purest Christianity, and inspires us with gratitude to God for giving us such a country, and a strong faith that he who has guided our past insures our future. The work will be reviewed in an ample article in a future number of our Quarterly.

Periodicals.

Daily Christian Advocate. Rev. ARTHUR EDWARDS, Editor. Chicago: Poe & Hitchcock.

Among the little originalities which Methodism may claim to have brought into existence, and in which she is as yet without a rival, is the issuing a daily newspaper announcing the proceedings of her highest legislature. Our General Conference does not keep a poet, but she keeps a reporter. The reports are not much superior to the ordinary run of congressional newspaper reports, and there might undoubtedly be large improvements. The reports of the General Conference of 1844 by the late R. A. West have never since been approached, we think, in excellence, either in the reporter's or printer's department. Next, we doubt whether any deliberative body in existence dispatches with such completeness so much business in a given time. That the entire amount of matters

of so large a popular mass, spread over such an extent of surface, embracing such snarls of complexity, and frequently involving questions of large moment and intense interest, should be settled for four years in four weeks, is a marvel of working efficiency. Our impression is, that if our work extends for the next two or three quadrenniums as rapidly as in the past, a query will arise about biennial General Conferences.

By all concession the last General Conference showed itself equal to a satisfactory disposal of most, if not all, its great questions. The project of districting the episcopate fainted into silence, but not perhaps the silence of perpetual death. That our Bishops, after so immense an elongation of the catalogue of Conferences, with so stupendous an expansion of distances, should be as few as in 1864, is a matter which will suggest deep thoughts in men's hearts for the next four years. But if some apparent lacks are to be queried there are large performances to be commended.

1. And first, not so large in magnitude, but immediate in interest, are the thanks due to the General Conference from our readers for rescuing our Quarterly from degradation and destruction. The Committee on the subject reported that our Quarterly stood equal to the best periodicals of its grade in the country, but in order to extend its circle of readers it should be "popularized;" that is, should come down from its grade toward the ranks of a magazine. The Committee first paid it the highest possible compliment, and then required that it should henceforth be rendered unworthy of the compliment and should forfeit its truth. The first result would be, the retention indeed of a Quarterly in name and in the interval of its publication, but by sinking it to a mongrel concern, to destroy the Quarterly in point of position. The second result would be, the loss to the Church of an organ of her highest thought, for even if the extent of its subscription would be enlarged it would be, simply the great extension of a lower literature, a literature that might just as well go into our Advocates. But, third, our most scholarly men, comprehending the great body of the subscribers for the Quarterly, would, three fourths of them, fling the hybrid under the table in contempt, and subscribe for a real Quarterly, such as they bargain for, issued from some other Church. Proud as they are of the rank justly conceded by the Committee as maintained by our Quarterly, they would indignantly ask if, while other and much smaller denominations can sustain three or four Quarterlies, we must haul down the only one we possess; for degradation is synonymous with destruction. The editorship of the Quarterly, to whomsoever intrusted under such conditions, we

should consider as equivalent to a commission to entomb it beside the National Magazine. Fourth, it ought to be remembered that a high literature is necessarily limited among the few, and so ever finds it difficult pecuniarily to sustain itself. Our high schools, colleges, and theological seminaries have to be endowed. The "respectable minority" that attends them are not only unable to pay for their erection and maintenance, but are scarce able to pay their individual way after a benevolent munificence has furnished the endowment. Quarterlies of other denominations are, we believe, funded. The thanks of all concerned are, we think, due to the General Conference for giving the action of the Committee a very prompt negative.

2. We do not see our way so clearly as some optics do to a *one universal Methodist Church under one General Conference.* A united Methodism throughout the world we do most cheerily descry. Its image was visible in the fraternal embassies last May of nearly every Methodist body in the world. The Church warmly approves the organic admission of future delegates from our mission Conferences; but such an arrangement is, we trust, simply provisional. When an Asiatic Methodism grows into millions, it will be entitled to legislate for itself. Such a Church could *best* legislate for itself. It would act wisely in declining a perpetual colonial position. It would, in the name of Christian freedom, demand its rights. Nor would we nor could we, if a Methodism of forty millions should suddenly spring into existence in China, consent to be ruled by a General Conference held at Pekin in the Chinese language. The question of Churchly nationalities was settled at Babel centuries ago. In accordance with that settlement we would do well to expect our mission Conferences to assume, when their day of sufficiency comes, a position of fraternal independence. Yet over and above the independent national organizations for free internal legislation, we share the enthusiasm that cherishes visions of future ecumenical representative assemblies of catholic Methodism. We believe a truer catholicity would thus be attained than Rome can boast; and, therefore, we repeat our protests against mutilating the Apostles' Creed by striking the beautiful word CATHOLIC from its terms. We had far better retain and appropriate the grand old vocable as our own right.

3. And, whether with technical legality or not, the Church rejoices in the admission of the Southern Delegates. It is a gladsome sight to see our old Church resuming her national proportions. The prospect of the reunion with catholic Methodism of the fragment

broken off in 1844 recedes, we are sorry to say, further and further into the dim distance. Based on a sectional foundation, and inspired with an intensity of sectional animosity, the Church South laughs at "disintegration," and boasts her solid and growing power. That bitterness of spirit rather increases with advancing time; and, thoroughly impregnated with the political spirit, she baptizes her children so fully into the southern ex-slaveholders' political creed that rebellion and blood may, it is to be feared, become their terrible inheritance.

4. Taught by providential events, our Church is learning a truer Christianity toward the various non-Caucasian races. She is seeing the absurd hypocrisy of maintaining missionary establishments to win all races, climes, and colors into Christian brotherhood, and yet shutting from her brotherhood the colored races at home. This brotherhood means Christian equality. It means that there is neither race nor color to men's souls. It means civic equality in contradistinction to all oppression or withholding of civic rights. To exclude a properly qualified colored person from cars, schools, colleges, and churches on ground of mere color, is as absurd as to exclude Irishmen, Frenchmen, or Chinese on grounds of mere national descents. We have said heretofore that a colored Bishop of equal culture and ability with our existing Bishops should and would be without hesitation accepted to preside in his turn over the General Conference.

But while we reject all inequality in the Church we do not necessarily condemn all distinctness of arrangement, desired equally and freely by both sides, and required by convenience and the best development of either side. This is not caste, for caste always implies oppression. The assertion that all separation, even where based on mutual and equal convenience and unconstrained agreement, is intrinsically unchristian, has no basis. Separate schools, separate Churches, separate Conferences are perfectly right where they are the result of no oppressive exclusiveness, and are established with mutual concurrence.

Every race, color, and nationality has more or less deeply, even where no oppressive repugnance exists, a self-preference. Each follows its own free and rightful interior affinities. Were the city of Brooklyn composed of opposite colors, equal each in numbers, wealth, culture, and respectability, without repugnancy or oppressiveness on either side, and so no caste whatever, we entertain no doubt that while the Christian congregations of each side would exclude no one on account of opposite color, yet the distinctions of color would be equally and fully yet freely and spon-

taneously existent. The educated wealthy colored gentleman would still with his family pass the white church to the Ethiopian cathedral on the farther street. We abhor *caste*, and we abhor *cant;* and we think that to accuse this colored gentleman of caste for gratifying his preference would be *cant*. If this point be rightly understood we see no obstacle in the way of a free and equal reunion between the two colors of Methodism. So far as we have been able to observe there is a great good sense exercised by our Afric-American Methodism. The best opinions we have personally received from that quarter desire a reunion on equal foundations, yet with such arrangements as shall respect existing facts and allow full room for development on the side of the weaker party. We hope the negotiations on that subject between the two will be conducted with such Christian moderation, good sense, and freedom as will lead out one of the grandest Christian developments of the age.

5. The erection of a noble metropolitan church building, combining our publishing and missionary departments, was hailed with so unsectional and hearty a unanimity as to preclude all immediate and all future debate. The unanimous Church demands, provided the business condition of the country renders it safe, the one noble churchly structure, which, adjusted to every convenience, will exhibit a monumental dignity. It must tell the world that we expect to stand for ages. The enterprise is intrusted to an amply competent and judicious committee, who will, we doubt not, justify by the results the confidence of the Church.

Pamphlets.

The Protestant Episcopal Church: What she Has, what she Lacks, and what is her True Position with Reference to other Churches. Addressed to all of her Members who desire her Perfection. 12mo., pp. 26. New York: N. Tibbals & Co. 37 Park Row. 1868.

According to the writer of this pamphlet the Episcopal Church *has* a successional ministry, a ministry nearly a priesthood, and a liturgy of the greatest service for doctrine and habits of devotion. She *lacks* completeness in her liturgy, needing a great many more forms and formulas of the earlier Church; authority in teaching, not being able to enounce a dogma or practice, and enforce obedience; catholicity, being, with all the rest of Christian bodies, the Romish included, in schism, because all are not united in one organic body. How these *lacks* are to be supplied he does not suggest.

He gives a catalogue (*we* think a very sad one) of the motives with which people have generally joined the Episcopal Church:

> Some have been attracted by the order and beauty they have seen in the Ritual; some by the conviction that a historical succession in the Episcopate was requisite for a valid ministry; some have been repelled from other sects by disorders, by the extravagances of revivalism, by the tyranny of the espionage of democratic discipline; some have been drawn in by the notion that it was more genteel and aristocratic.

Ritual, succession, escape from revivalism and Church discipline, and gentility, are melancholy motives for becoming members of a professed Church of God. We suppose that the chief motives which have induced the main body of our people to become Methodists is the having experienced conviction of, and conversion from, sin under her ministry; the belief that under her guidance they will be led to the greatest self-consecration and holiness of life; and the fact that with her,—leaving ordinations and organizations and rites in their proper subordinate place,—are the witness of the Spirit and the entire sanctification; in fine, because they find in her *Christianity in earnest.* We should infer from all this that one unmentioned thing *lacks* the Episcopal Church yet—piety.

An Address on the Two Churches; or, The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Delivered in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Knoxville, Tenn., March 27, 1867. By Rev. Thomas H. Pearne, D.D. Second edition. With an Appendix. 12mo., pp. 34.

The reception of this second edition of Dr. Pearne's pamphlet reminds us that we omitted a due notice of the first. No recognition should be withheld from one who, in the forefront of battle, courting the post of duty and of danger, meets the strife with the skill and prowess here displayed.

Dr. Pearne *first* gives a brief review of the antecedents and present noble and prosperous status of the Methodist Episcopal Church; *second*, he traces the first pro-slavery ecclesiastical secession, and then the rebellion record of the Church, South; *third*, he exhibits the omens that, even in the South, the Methodist Episcopal Church will succeed and triumph; *fourth*, he maintains that the Church, South, cannot succeed; *fifth*, he refutes miscellaneous charges, such as that the Methodist Episcopal Church is a "Northern," a "Yankee," a sectional, an abolition, a political, a negro-equality Church; that it proposes degrading conditions to the southern Church: that for the Southerner to join us would be to dishonor his fathers; and finally, that Episcopal Methodists are "Church thieves."

All this gives impression that the Border—now a Border removed much further South—is a lively battle-field, even for the

churchly war of thoughts and words. We cheerfully hope that the time is coming when all this fearful feud, unavoidable as it now is, will be *sorrowful* indeed, yet *forever departed* history. Of that history Dr. Pearne's pamphlet will form a characteristic and interesting passage.

Semi-Centennial Sermon. Delivered before the Wyoming Annual Conference at its Session in Binghamton, April, 1868. By Rev. Z. PADDOCK, D.D. 8vo., pp. 36. 1868.

With heart as fresh and mind as clear as in his prime, (when we hesitatingly received from his hand our first ministerial license,) Dr. P. dwells in this memorial discourse less upon the past than upon the present. His views of that present and future are cheerful and buoyant, while he draws from his experience of the past some monitions and guidances necessary for our undiminished spiritual prosperity. A wide-spread circle of friends will receive his Semi-Centennial with pleasure.

Tobacco and its Effects. A Prize Essay, showing that the Use of Tobacco is a Physical, Mental, Moral, and Social Evil. By HENRY GIBBONS, M. D., of San Francisco, California, Professor of Materia Medica in Tolland Medical College, and Editor of the Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal. 8vo., pp. 48. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1868.

A timely tract upon a subject which demands the earnest attention of the Church. It takes a medical man first to deal efficiently with this subject by showing how tobacco destroys body, mind, and soul. Next let the ministry take it up, and first convert all our ministers from this "filthiness of the flesh," and then they may hope to reach the people.

Ministerial Culture. By Rev. AUSTIN PHELPS, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in the Theological Seminary, Andover. 12mo., pp. 28. 1868.

Professor Phelps, in his own clear style, portrays the desertion of evangelical preaching by the poorer masses, at which not only the Calvinistic pulpit complains, but even the Methodists, he says, are beginning to be alarmed. The sole remedy he finds, not in lay preaching and other special appliances, but in a profounder sympathy with the poor in the regular ministry.

History of the Church. 8vo., pp. 16.

Specimen pages of Dr. Hurst's translation of "Hagenbach's History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," from plates by our Tract House in Bremen, Germany. It will appear during this season in two octavo volumes, with a chapter on "American Church History, by Dr. Hurst." It will be a volume of great interest to the Christian public.

Romanism and Religion. Freedom: A Sermon on the Last Allocution of the Pope. Preached in the Centenary Methodist Episcopal Church, Chicago, on Sabbath evening, July 16, 1868. By Rev. Robert Hatfield, D.D. 12mo., pp. 24. Jersey City, N. J.: Rev. H. Mattison. 1868.

Dr. Hatfield seldom aims a shaft at any venerable rookery without at least making "the feathers fly." If we mistake not the present utterance disturbed the composure of even the Republican politicians. *His* pulpit, however, is not accustomed to accept dictation from the caucus.

Ethic Hymns and Scriptural Lessons for Children. By Rev. S. LUCKEY, D.D., Regent of the University of the State of New York, Author of "Treatise on the Lord's Supper," etc., etc. Rochester, N. Y.

The Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Decalogue, and a number of select Scripture passages, done in very plain versification by our venerable friend.

Dickinson College. Baccalaureate Sermon delivered before the Graduating Class of Dickinson College. June 21, 1868. By Prof. S. L. BOWMAN. 8vo., pp. 23. 1868.

An earnest and eloquent performance.

Miscellaneous.

Washington College. The Class of 1842. A Biographical and Memorial Address, Delivered before the Class August 1, 1867, in Washington, Penn. By Rev. FRANKLIN MOORE, D.D. Washington, Penn. 8vo., pp. 20. 1868.

Christian Separation from the World: Its Philosophy, Obligation, and Extent Considered with Especial Reference to Popular Amusements. By Rev. S. H. PLATT, M. A. 8vo., pp. 32. 1868.

Constitution of the National Institute of Letters, Arts, and Sciences. Founded 1868. 12mo., pp. 13. New York: Moorhead, Bond, & Co. 1868.

Excelsior Monthly Magazine. Devoted to the Elevation of the Race. Vol. I, No. 1. June, 1868. 8vo., pp. 40. New York: Olmsted & Welwood.

Midshipman Easy. By Captain MARRYATT. Author of "Peter Simple," etc., etc. 16mo., pp. 405. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Cape Cod and All Along Shore. Stories. By CHARLES NORDHOFF. 16mo., pp. 235. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Monastery. A Romance. By Sir WALTER SCOTT, Bart. 16mo., pp. 176. New York: D. Appleton. 1868.

Heart of Mid-Lothian. A Romance. By Sir WALTER SCOTT, Bart. 16mo., pp. 231. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868.

Notices of the following are postponed to the next number: "Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion;" "Draper's History of the Civil War in America," Vol. II; and "The Opium Habit;" all from Harper & Brothers.

Received also from Carters', too late for notice, an octavo edition of "Howe's Works."

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